

THE Second volume of *Chronicles :*

Containing the description,
conquest, inhabitation, and trouble
some estate of Ireland; first col-
lected by *Raphaell Holinshed*; and
now newlie recognised, augmen-
ted, and continued from the death
of king *Hencie the eight* vntill this
present time of *sir Iohn Perot*
knight, lord deputie: as
appeareth by the sup-
plic beginning in
pag. 109, &c.

By *Iohn Hooker alias Vowell gent.*

Wherevnto is annexed the de-
scription and historie of *Scotland*,
first published by the said *R. H.* and
now newlie reuiled, enlarged, and
continued to this present yeare;
as appeareth in pag.
405: &c.

By *F. T.*

With two tables seruing both
countries added in the end
of this volume.

Historia placuit nostrates ac peregrina.

1586



TO THE RIGHT HO-
 norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,
 lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and
 one of hir maiesties priuie counsell within hir
realme of England.



Taking in hand (right honorable)
 to gather the particular histories of diuerse
 countries and nations, to ioine with a cos-
 mographie, which one Reginald Wolfe late
 printer to the queenes maiestie meant to
 publish in our English toong: when I came to
 consider of the histories of Ireland, I found
 my self so vnprouided of helps, to set downe
 anie particular discourse therof, that I was in
 despaire to enterprise to write anie thing at
 all concerning that realme, otherwise than
 incidentlie as fell to purpose to touch the
 same in the historie of England. At length

yet as maister Wolfes vse was, to impart to me all such helps as he might at anie
 hand procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other histories, where-
 with I speciallie dealt; his hap was to light also vpon a copie of two bookes of the
 Irish histories, compiled by one Edmund Campion, fellow sometime of S. Iohn
 Baptists college in Oxford, verie well penned certeinlie, but so breefe, as it were
 to be wished, that occasion had serued him to haue vsed more leasure, and thereby
 to haue deliuered to vs a larger discourse of the same histories: for as he himselfe
 confesseth, he had not past ten weekes space to gather his matter: a verie short
 time doubtlesse for such a peece of worke. But how breefe so euer I found him, at
 the persuation of maister Wolfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I resolved to
 make shift to frame a speciall historie of Ireland, in like maner as I had doone of o-
 ther regions, following Campions order, and setting downe his owne words, ex-
 cept in places where I had matter to enlarge that (out of other authors) which he
 had written in breefe. And this I haue thought good to signifie, the rather for that I
 esteeme it good dealing in no wise to defraud him of his due deserued praise.

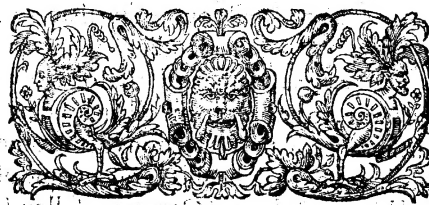
But now after I had continued the historie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cam-
 brensis, Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare 1509, in which
 that famous prince Henrie the eight began his reigne; some of those that were to
 bestow the charges of the impression, procured a learned gentleman maister Ri-
 chard Stanihurst, to continue it from thence forward as he saw occasion, being fur-
 nished with matter to enlarge the worke, whereof for those latter times I found my
 selfe vtterlie void, more than that which Campion had deliuered. What I haue
 doone

The Epistle.

doone heerein, your honors discretion shall easlie conceiue. For the imperfection
 sith it is the first that hath beene set forth in print, I craue most humble pardon of
 your good lordship, beseeching you rather to respect my good will than the per-
 fectnesse of the worke, which (the wants considered) for the orderlie furnishing
 thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, much lesse in me the meanest of all,
 and least able to performe it. Hauing presented the right honourable the earle of
 Leicester with the historie of Scotland, to whom (as I haue heard) Campion made
 dedication of his booke, I could not remember me to whome I might more conue-
 nientlie offer this my trauell in this historie of Ireland, than to your lordship, be-
 ing hir maiesties lieutenant in that realme. And therefore in most humble wise I ex-
 hibit the booke to your honour, beseeching the same to beare with my bold at-
 tempt therein, and to receiue it in good part from him that wished to haue more
 amplie satisfied your good lordships expectation, if abilitie might haue answered
 good will. Thus I beseech the Lord to guide your heart in his holie waies, & to fur-
 nish you with politike prudence and skilfull knowledge to gouerne in your estate
 and office, so as your doings may redound to his glorie, the suertie of hir ma-
 iesties dominion there, your owne aduancement in honour, and conse-
 quentlie to the sure support and peaceable quietnesse
 of the true and loiall subiects of
 that realme.

Your honours most humble to command,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.





THE

Irish historie composed and written by Giraldus Cambrensis, and translated into English (with scholies to the same) by Iohn Hooker of the citie of Excester gentleman; together with the supplie of the said historie, from the death of king Henrie the eight, vnto this present yeere 1587, doone also by the said Iohn Hooker :

And dedicated to the honorable sir Walter Raleigh knight, lord warden of the stannarie in the counties of Deuon and Cornwall.

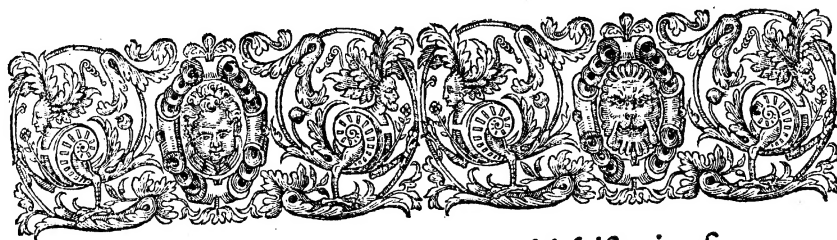
1. Esdras. 4.

And king Artaxerxes commanded the chronicles to be searched whether it were true that had bene informed.

Acts. 17.

And they daillie searched the scriptures whether the things taught were true or not.

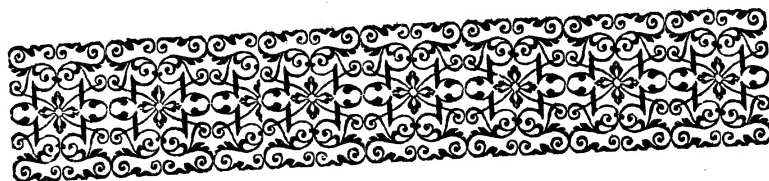
Historia placeant nostrates ac peregrina.



¶ The authors out of whom this historie of
Ireland hath bene gathered.

{ Giraldus Cambrensis.
Flatsburie.
Henricus Marleburgensis.
Saxo Grammaticus.
Albertus Crantz.
Rogerus Houeden. }

{ Guilielm. Paruus Nouoburgensis.
Polychronicon, siue Ranulfus
Higeden.
Iohannes Bale.
Edmund Campion.
Records and rolles diuers. }



The contents of the chapters following
in the description of Ireland.

- 1 The names of Ireland, with the compasse of the same, also what shires or counties it containeth, the diuision or partition of the land, and of the language of the people. Chap. 1.
- 2 Of the nature of the soile and other incidents. Chap. 2.
- 3 The names of the ciuities, boroughs, and hauen towns in Ireland. Chap. 3.
- 4 Of the strange and woonderfull places in Ireland. Chap. 4.
- 5 Of the lords spirituall of Ireland, their names and dignities. Chap. 5.
- 6 The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countrie of Ireland. Chap. 6.
- 7 The names or surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote. Chap. 7.
- 8 The disposition and maners of the meere Irish, commonlie called the wild Irish. Chap. 8.

A. 3.





TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,
lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and
one of hir maiesties priuie counsell within hir
realme of England.



MT verie good Lord, there haue beene diuerse of late,
that with no small toile, and great commendation, haue
throughlie imploied themselves, in culling and packing togi-
ther the scrapings and fragments of the historie of Ireland. A-
mong which crue, my fast friend, and inward companion,
maister Edmund Campion did so learnedlie bequite himselfe,
in the penning of certeine breefe notes, concerning that coun-
trie, as certes it was greatlie to be lamented, that either
his theame had not beene shorter, or else his leasure had not
been longer. For if Alexander were so rauisht with Homer
his historie, that notwithstanding Ther sites were a crabbed
and a rugged dwarfe, being in outward feature so deformed,
and in inward conditions so crooked, as he seemed to stand
to no better steed, than to lead apes in hell: yet the vali-
ant capteine, weighing how liuelie the golden poet hath set
forth the ouglie dandepat in his colours, did sooner wish to be Homer his Ther sites, than to be the Alex-
ander of that doltish rithmour, which undertooke with his woooden verses to blase his famous and mar-
tiall exploits: how much more ought Ireland (being in sundrie ages seized of diuerse good and couragi-
ous Alexanders) sore to long and thirst after so rare a clarke, as maister Campion, who was so vpright
in conscience, so deepe in iudgement, so ripe in eloquence, as the countrie might haue beene well asu-
red to haue had their historie trulie reported, pithilie handled, and brauelie polished.

Howbeit, although the glofe of his fine abbridgement, being matcht with other mens dooings, bare
a surpassing kind of excellencie: yet it was so hudled up in hast, as in respect of a Campion his absolute
perfection, it seemed rather to be a woorker roughlie hewed, than smoothlie planed. Vpon which ground
the gentleman being willing that his so tender a suckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, should haue
been swaddled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of time the ioints thereof were knit, and growen stron-
ger: yet notwithstanding he was so crost in the nicke of this determination, that his historie in mitching
ger: yet notwithstanding he was so crost in the nicke of this determination, that his historie in mitching
wise wandred through sundrie hands, and being therewithall in certeine places somewhat tickle toon-
ged (for maister Campion did learne it to speake) and in other places ouer spare, it twitted more tales out
of schoole, and drowned weightier matters in silence, than the author (vpon better view and longer
search) would haue permitted. Thus much being by the sager sort pondered, and the perfection of the
historie earnestlie desired: I, as one of the most that could doo least, was fullie resolu'd to enrich
maister Campion his chronicle, with further additions. But weighing on the other side, that my course
packthred could not haue beene sutablie knit with his fine silke, and what a disgrace it were, hungerlie
to botch vp a rich garment, by clouting it with patches of sundrie colours, I was forthwith reclai-
med from my former resolution, reckoning it for better, that my pen should walke in such wise in
that craggie and balkish waie, as the truth of the matter being surpris'd, I would neither openlie
borrow, nor priuie imbezell ought to anie great purpose from his historie. But as I was hammering
thers had brought our raw historie to that ripenesse, as my paine therein would seeme but needlesse.
Wherevpon being willing to be eased of the burden, and loath also in lurching wise to forsall anie man
his trauell, I was contented to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietlie to repara to mine usuall
and priuie studies, taking it not to stand with good manners, like a fluttering flie to fall in an other mans
his

The Epistle.

RICHARD STANIHURST.





A TREATISE CON-

reining a plaine and perfect description of Ire-
land, with an Introduction to the better vnderstan-

ding of the histories appertaining to that Island:
compiled by Richard Stanhurst.

The names of Ireland, with the com-
passe of the same, also what shires or coun-
ties it containeth, the diuision or
partition of the land, and of
the language of
the people.

The first chapter.



Delongth
and breadth of
Ireland.
Girald. Cam-
bren. lib. 1.
topog. dist. 1.
c. 1. a. Polych.
lib. 1. cap. 32.

He more 10
part aswel
of Cosmo-
graphers,
as Chrono-
graphers,
do wish on
accoide af-
firme, that
the nation
of Ireland
(the utter-
most wea-
sterne Ile
known) is
halfe as big as Britanmia. Which I take to be true,
if the word Britanmia so farre displate the significati-
on, that it compasse England, Wales, and Scotland.
To which opinion Giraldus Cambrensis relieth, say-
ing, that Britanmia containeth in length eight hun-
dred miles, and two hundred in breadth. Ireland
he taketh to be in length from the mountains called
Torach (the author of Polydronicon teemeth them
Brendane his hilles) to saint Columbe his Iland
eight daies iourneie; rating of long Irish miles for-
tie miles to the daie: and in breadth from Dublin
to saint Patricke his hilles and the sea of Connaght
fourte daies iourneie, according to the former rate: So
as by Cambrensis his seruice, who was a curious
inseacher therof, Ireland is three hundred & twentie
miles long of Irish miles, and one hundred and three
score miles broad. And accounting three hundred and
twentie Irish miles to amount to foure hundred
Engliss miles, which may well be reckoned accor-
ding to their iudgements that haue travelled in the
Irish territories: Ireland will be found halfe as big
as Britanmia: which Girald. Cambrensis auoucheth,
saying, that Ireland is as big as Wales and Scot-
land. Ireland hath on the east, England, within one
daies sailing; on the south east it hath France; Wit-
taine on the south, distant three daies sailing; on the
west the maine ocean sea.

The name
Ireland

Touching the name Ibernia, hyslogographers

are not yet agreed from whence it is deduced. Some
wrote it Ibernia corruptlie, and suppose that the
strangers finding it in an od end of the world, foltie
and moistie, toke it at the first for a verie cold coun-
trie, and thereof named it Ibernia, as to saie, the
Winter land. But this error being upon short expe-
rience reformed, it could not be that the name should
haue liued long, especiallie the first impositors sur-
uing the triall, and able to alter the first nomination.
Others bring a ghesse, that it should be named of Ir-
lreland. lamale. But because I read nothing of them in anie
probable historie, I purpose not to build upon that
conecture.

Most credible it is holden, that the Hispaniards
(the founders of the Irish) for deuotion towards
Hispaine, called then Iberia of Iberius the sonne of
Iubail, and the rather, for that themselves had dwel-
led beside the famous riuer Iberus, named the land
Iberia (for so Leland and manie foren choniclers
wrote it) or Ibernia, adding the letter (n) for diffe-
rence sake. And from Ibernia proceedeth Iberland,
or Iuerland; from Iuerland, by contraction Ireland:
for somtich as in corruption of common talke we
find that (w) with his vocale is easlie lost and supplie-
ted; so we saie ere for euer, nere for nener, thole for
thouell, ore for ouer, ene for euen, dile for diuell. At
the same time it was also named Scotia, in reue-
rence of Scotach the wife of Cathelus, ancient cap-
taine of those Iberians that fitted from Hyspaine
into Ireland: & the said Scotach was old grandame
to Hibernus and Hermon after the Scottish choni-
cles, who in anie wise will haue their countremen
deriued from the Irish, and not from the Britons.
The name Scotia is of late yeares so vsuallie taken
for that part of Britaine that compasseth Scotland,
that diuerse ancient Irish authors are holden to be
borne in Scotland, whereas in verie deed their native
soile is Ireland. As the famous scholemayn To-
hannes Duns Scotus, otherwile named Doctor subti-
lis, for his subtil quiddities in scholasticall contro-
uersies, was an Irish man borne, and yet is taken
for a Scot.

Some hold opinion that he was borne in Whith-
mon, a market towne five miles distant from
Wellsford. Others auouch, and that more trulie,
that he was borne in Downe, an old ancient citie
in the north of Ireland, and thereof they ghesse him
to be named Dunsensis, and by contraction Duns,
which tearme is so trinitall and common in all schols,
that whoso surpasseth others either in caunting logi-
cally, or subtil philosophie, is forthwith nicknamed a
Duns. Wherefore as Scotland is named Scotia mil-
nor,

Ireland.
Ibernia the
Hispans
riuer.
Leland in
cyc. cant.

Scotia.
Scotach.
Cathelus.

Tohan. maior.
Scot. lib. 1. ca. 9.

Johannes do-
minus Scotus
borne in Ire-
land.

whyscholes-
men are cal-
led Duns.

Scotia maior.
Scotia minor.

Caudelli.

Banno.

The river
Banno.

Bagganbun.

Internia.
Ioan. Camer-
tes in cap. 35.
Solui.

Hermol. Barb.
ca. 16. in lib. 4.
Ply. castig.
He name Ir-
ish and Ire-
land curious
luered.

1. Lagenia.
2. Connatia.
3. Hukonia.
4. Mononia.
5. Media.
West Heth
& east Heth.

Hebriades.

The shires
and counties
of Ireland.

An. mun. 253.
Cambren.
lib. 1. dist. 3.
rub. 5. & 6.

nor, so Ireland is tearmed Scotia maior, as the head
from whence the name of Scotia minor took his of-
spring. The Irish also were named of the foresaid
Cathelus, or Caudellus, Caudelli. In their Irish
rithmes, they tearme Ireland verie often Banno. I
cannot diuine what reason should lead their makers
thereto, vntlesse it be the river in the countie of Wex-
ford, named the Banne, where the Britons vpon the
conquest first arriued. The place otherwise is called
Bagganbun, according to the old ancient rithme: 10

At the creeke of Bagganbun,
Ireland was lost and wun.

For the remembrance of which river so notoriouslie
famosed, it carrieth great likelihood, that the name
should be to the whole realme generallie ascribed.
Sundrie Latine authors write Ireland Inuernia, or
Iberna, diuerse Ijerna. Claudius nameth it
Iberna. The diuersitie of which names grow, for that
in their time the true and certaine name was not
knowne, so that they were contented to take it as
they found it, which matter is handled by Hermo-
laus Barbarus.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in seu-
ring the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would
be named Ireland men, but in no wise Irishmen.
But certes, in my fantasie such curious distinctions
may be verie aptlie resembled to the foolish butcher,
that offered to haue sold his mutton for sixe grots,
and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate
vpon such nice diuersities, in respect that he is asha-
med of his countie; trulle (in mine opinion) his
countie maie be ashamed of him. Ireland is di-
10

uided into foure regions. Leinster, east: Connaght,
west: Ulster, north: Mounster, south: and into a fift
plot, be falked from euery fourth part, and yet inca-
ring on each part, called thereof Hedia, Heth,
compulsing as well east Heth, as west Heth. Lein-
ster batteth vpon England, Ulster vpon the Scottish
Ilands: which face with Hebriades scattered be-
tweene both the realms, wherin at this daie the Irish
20

Scot, successor of the elder Scythian, Hic, or Hed-
thanke dwelleth. Of these five, where they are fra-
mable to ciuilitie, & answer the wits of the princes
courts, be sundred into shires or counties in this ma-
ner. In Leinster lieth the counties of Dublin, Kil-
dare, Wickford, or Wickford, Catherlach, Bilkern-
nie, the counties of Leice & Heth, called the kings
and quenes counties: these two latelie so named by
parlement, in the reignes of Philip & Marie, ha-
uing thire townes accordant, Philips towne, and
Marie bourgh. Connaght hath the countie Clare:
30

Ulster the counties of Louth, Doune, Antrim, one
motie of the towne of Droghedagh, for the rest is in
Heth and Carregfergus. In Mounster lie the coun-
ties of Waterford, Limerike, Corke, the countie
palantine of Tipperarie, Berie, & the crosse of Tippe-
rarie. Mounster was of old time diuided into east
Mounster, Dimond, west Mounster, Delmond, south
Mounster, Donmound. The occasion why Ireland
was parted into these five principall regions grew
of this. There arriued in Ireland five brethren, that
were valiant & martiall gentlemen, to wit, Gaudus,
Cenandus, Sagandus, otherwise named Gaggan-
dus, Kutheragus or Kutheranus, & Slanius. These
five perceiving that the countie was not sufficient-
lie people, were agreed (as it were) to cast lots, and
to share the whole realme betwene themselves. The
four elder brethren seuering the countie into foure
parts, and being loth to vse their yongest brother
like an outcast or depsonne, condescended that each
of them shoud of their owne portion allot to
Slanius a paring or parcell of their inheritance.
Which being as heartilie receiued of Slanius, as it
was bountifullie granted by them, he settled himselfe

therein, and of that partition it took the appellation
of Hedia, Heth. The foure parts met at a certaine
stone at Heth, nere the castell of Kilaire, as an in-
different meate to seuer the foure regions.

But although Slanius in the beginning had the
least parcell, yet in short space he tooke so well to his
tacklings, and inchoed so far vpon his neighbors,
that he obtained the whole monarchie of Ireland. At
which time he did not suppress in obliuion his inheri-
tance of Heth; but did enlarge it, and decreed it
shoud be a countie appendant to the monarchie, his
diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by
Slanius stretched, yet it containeth not so much land
as anie of the other foure parts comprehendeth;
but rather by indifferent sorte, the halfe, daile,
whereof also it is not vnlkele named Heth. For
whereas in the time of Slanius, each of the foure
parts compriseth two and thirtie cantreds, Heth
containeth but sixtene cantreds. A cantred is named
so much land as containeth an hundred townships.
This Slanius is intomed at an hill in Heth, which
of him is named Slane. There hath bene in an-
cient time one Galfride Genuile, lord of the libertie
of Heth. This noble man became a frier preacher,
and decessed in the yeare of our Lord 1314, the thir-
tith of October, and was intomed in the abbey of
the Blacke friers at Trim.

There is also another diuision of Ireland, into the
English pale, and Irishye. For when Ireland was
subdued by the English, diuerse of the conquerors
planted the ingleses nere to Dublin, and the con-
fines thereto adioining, and so as it were inclosing
and impaling themselves within certaine liss and
territories, they seized awaite the Irish; in somuch
as that countie became mere English, and there-
of it was termed the English pale: which in ancient
time stretched from Dundalke to Catherlach or
Bilkernie. But now that for the slacknesse of mar-
chours, and inchoing of the Irish enimie, the scope
of the English pale is greatlie impaired, & is cram-
ped and coucht into an odd corner of the countie
named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land,
Heth, the countries of Kildare and Louth, which
parts are applied chieflie with good husbandrie, and
taken for the richest and ciuilest soles in Ireland.
But Fingall especiallie from time to time hath bin
so addicted to all the points of husbandrie, as that
they are nicknamed by their neighbours, for their
continuall dangerie, Colonnies, of the Latine word
Coloni, whereunto the clipt English word colome
seemeth to be answerable.

The word Fingall countenraileth in English
the race or sept of the English or estrangers, for that
they were solie seized of that part of the land, gri-
ping with their talants so firmelie that waie nest,
that from the conquest to this daie the Irish enimie
could neuer rouse them from thence. The inhabi-
tants of the English pale haue bene in old time so
much addicted to their ciuilitie, and so farre seque-
red from barbarous sauagenesse, as their onlie mo-
ther tongue was English. And tralle, so long as these
impaled dwellers did lunder themselves as well in
land as in language from the Irish: rudenesse was
daie by daie in the countie supplanted; ciuilitie in-
grafted, good lawes established, iustitie obserued, re-
bellion suppressed, and in fine, the coine of a yong
England was like to shot in Ireland. But when
their posteritie became not altogether so warie in
keeping, as their ancestors were valiant in conque-
ring, the Irish language was free deniued in the
English pale: this canker took such deepe root, as
the bodie that before was whole and sound, was by
little and little seuered, and in manner whelke putr-
fied. And not onlie this parcell of Ireland grew to that

Cantred.

Slane.

Genuile.

The Eng-
lish pale.

Fingall ex-
cellen in
husbandrie.
Colonnies
of Fingall
Colome.

Fingall, the
English pale.

The countie
of Ireland
anciently.

The description of Ireland.

11

Wesford
the noble man
touching the
English of
Wesford.

The saying of
a noble man
touching the
English of
Wesford.

Did English
in Wesford
and Fingall.

Sater.

The pronun-
tiation of the
Irish women.

The supersti-
tion of gam-
blers.

that chaulitie, but also Ulster and the greater part of
Pountier, as by the sequels of the Irish historie
shall plainly appere. But of all other places, West-
ford with the territorie baied and perclosed within
the river called the Bill, was so quite estranged
from Irishrie, as if a traveller of the Irish (which
was rare in those daies) had pitcht his foot within
the Bill and spoken Irish, the Westfordians would
command him forthwith to turne the other end of
his tong and speake English, or els bring his trouch-
man with him. But in our daies they haue so ac-
quainted themselves with the Irish, as they haue
made a mingle mangle or gallimaufrie of both the
languages, and haue in such medleite or checkerwise
so crabbedlie iumbled them both together, as com-
monlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake
neither good English nor good Irish.

There was of late daies one of the pères of En-
gland sent to Westford as commissioner, to decide
the controuersies of that countrie; and hearing in
affable wise the rude complaints of the countrie
clowns, he conceiued here & there sometime a word,
other whiles a sentence. The noble man being verie
glad that vpon his first comming to Ireland, he un-
derstood so manie words, told one of his familiar
friends, that he stood in verie great hope to become
shortlie a well spoken man in the Irish, supposing
that the blunt people had prattled Irish, all the while
they tangled English. Howbeit to this daie, the
dregs of the old ancient Chancer English are kept
as well there as in Fingall, as they terme a spider,
an aftercop, a twisp, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a po-
chet, or a pucket, a sillibucke, a coppers, a faggot, a
bleake, or a blase, for the short burning of it (as I
iudge) a physician, a leach, a gap, a thard, a bafe court
or quabangle, a balwen, or rather (as I do suppose) a
barton, the household or folks, meanie, tharpe, kéene,
estrangle, vnconth, easie, æth or æse, a dunghill, a mi-
zen. As for the word bater, that in English purpor-
teth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a
maere Irish word that crept vnwares into the En-
glish, through the daillie intercourse of the En-
glish and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie
in all countries the women speake most neatlie and
perillie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, spea-
king in the person of Crassus seemed to haue obser-
ued: yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out
contrarie. For the women haue in their English
tong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with
vtttering their words so péntillie and faintlie, as
though they were halfe sicke, and ready to call for a
posset. And most commonlie in words of two syl-
lables they giue the last the accent: as they saie,
markeat, balkeat, golloupe, pulloat, Kobart, Fi-
clase, &c: which doubles doth disbeautifie their En-
glish above measure. And if they could be weaned
from that corrupt custome, there is none that could
dislike of their English.

Here perchase some snappish carper will take me
at rebound, and snufflingie snib me for debasing the
Irish language: but trulie, who soeuer shall be found
so ouerthwartlie bent, he takes the matter farre a-
wrye. For as my skill is verie simple therein, so I
would be loth to disuelse my rashnes, in giuing light
berdia in anie thing to me vnknown: but onelie
my short discourse tendeth to this dytt, that it is not
expedient that the Irish tong should be so vnuer-
sallie gagled in the English pale: because that by
prose and experience we see, that the pale was neuer
in more flourishing estate than when it was wholie
English, and neuer in worse plight than since it
hath enfranchised the Irish. But some will saie, that
I shew my selfe herein as fitiolous as some loosing
gamblers some superstitious, when they plaie them-

selues drie, they gogle with their eyes hither and thi-
ther, and if they can prie out anie one that gliueth
them the gaze, they stand lumping and lowering,
fretting and fuming, for that they imagine that all
their euill lucke proceeded of him: and yet if the
stander by depart, the loser may be found as drie
shauen as he was before. And euen so it fareth with
you, because you see all things run to ruine in the
English pale, by reason of great enozimities in the
countrie, either openlie pzactised, or couertlie win-
ked at; you glanse your eye on that which standeth
next you, & by beating Jacke for Will, you impute
the fault to that which perhaps would little further
the weale publike if it were extiled. How trulie you
shot verie néere the marke. But if I may craue
your patience till time you see me shoot my bolt, I
hope you will not denie, but that as néere the picke
as you are, and as verie an hagler as I am, yet the
scantling shall be mine. First therefore take this
with you, that a conquest dyaweth, or at the leastwise
ought to dyaw to it three things, to wit, law, apparell,
and language. For where the countrie is subdued,
there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same
law that the conqueror is gouerned, to weare the
same fashon of attire wherewith the victor is vbered,
and speake the same language that the vanquisher
parleth. And if anie of these three lacke, doubtlesse the
conquest limpeth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin
by lawfull conquest brought vnder the subiection of
England, not onelie in king Henrie the second his
reigne, but also as well before as after (as by the dis-
course of the Irish historie shall euidentlie be deci-
phered) and the conquest hath bene so absolute and
perfect, that all Leinster, Meth, Ulster, the more
part of Connagh and Pountier, all the ciuities and
burrongs in Ireland haue bene wholie Englished,
and with English conquerors inhabited, is it decent
(thinke you) that their owne ancient native tong
shall be shrodded in obliuion, and suffer the enemies
language, as it were a tetter or ring worme, to bar-
bo: it selfe within the lawes of English conquerors?
No trulie.

And now that I haue fallen vnwares into this
discourse, it will not be farre amisse to stand some-
what roundlie vpon this point. It is knowne, and
by the historie you may in part perceiue, how braue-
lie Ulster whilom flourished. The English families
were there implanted, the Irish either vtterlie ex-
pelled or wholie subdued, the lawes dulie executed,
the reuenue great, and onelie English spoken. But
what brought it to this present ruine and decay? I
doubt not but you galle before I tell you. They were
inuiroined and compassed with euill neighbours.
Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance
waxed in the Irish tong, the Irish hooked with it
attire, attire baled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendred
ignozance, ignozance brought contempt of lawes,
the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion ra-
ked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the bitter
decay and desolation of that worthe countrie. If
these things, when first they began to chape, had bene
diligentlie by the dwellers stoped; hir maiestie at
this daie, to hir great charges, should not haue bene
occasioned to daim vp with manie thousand pounds,
yea and with the worthe carcasses of valiant soul-
doyers, the gaps of that rebellious northerne coun-
trie.

Now put the case that the Irish tong were as sa-
cred as the Hebrew, as learned as the Greeke, as
fluent as the Latine, as amorous as the Italian, as
courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the
French; yet trulie (I know not which waie it falleth
out) I see not but it may be verie well spared in the
English pale. And if reason will not lead you to
thinke

A conquest
implieth these
things.

The description of Ireland.

thinke it, trulle experience must force you to grant it.

In old time, when the Romans were first acquainted with the Greeke tong, as it is commonlie the nature of man to be delighted with newfangle toares: so he was accounted no gallant among the Romans, that could not prattle and chat Greeke. Marcus Cicero father to Tullie, being at that time kept in yeares, perceiving his countrymen to be come changelings, in being bilwise and polmad, and to sucke with the Greeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in words talkative, in behaviour light, in conditions quaint, in manners haughtie, in promises bulledfast, in oaths rash, in bargains waivering (which were reckoned for Greeklis properities in those daies) the old gentleman not so much respecting the neatnesse of the language, as the naughtie fruit it brought with it; said, that his countrymen the Romans resembled the bondslaves of Siria; for the more perfect they were in the Greeke, the worse they were in their manners and life. If this gentleman had bene now living, and had seene what alteration hath happened in Ireland, through the intercourse of languages, he would (I dare saie) breake patience, and would demand whie the English pale is more glutton to learne the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learne English: we must embrace their language, and they detest ours. One demanded merilie whie Oneile that last was would not frame himselfe to speake English: What (quoth the other) in a rage, thinkest thou that it standeth with Oneile his honor to with his mouth in clattering English: and yet forsooth we must gag our selves in gibblishing Irish: But I dwell too long in so apparant a matter. As all the civillies & towns in Irel. and, with Fingall, the king his land, & the countie of Kildare, Louth, & Meiford, speake to this daie English (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitants of the English pale, upon their first repaire into England, to learne their English in three or foure daies, as though they had bought at Chester a grotes worthe of English, and so packt by the rest to be carried after them to London) even so in all other places their native language is Irish.

I find it solemne aduouched, as well in some of the Irish pamphlets as in Girald. Camb. that Gathelus or Gaidelus, & after him Simon Brecke, deified the Irish language out of all other tongues then extant in the world. And thereof (saith Cambrensis) it is called Gaidelach, partlie of Gaidelus the first founder, and partlie for that it is compounded of all languages. But considering the course of interchanging and blending of speeches together, not by invention of art, but by use of talke, I am rather led to beleue (seeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the division of tongs) that Baffolenus a branch of Japhet, who first seized upon Ireland, brought thither the same kind of speech, some of the 72 that to this familie befell at the desolation of Babel. Unto whom succeeded the Scythians, Grecians, Egyp- tians, Spaniards, Danes, of all which the tong must needs haue borrowed part, but especiallie reteining the scraps of Spanish then spoken in Granado, as from their mightiest ancestors. Since then to Heric Fitzemprisse the conqueror no such inuasion happened them, as whereby they might be diuened to infect their native language, vntouched in manner for the space of seuentene hundred yeares after the arrivall of Iberius. It seemeth to borrow of the Spanish the common phrase, Comestato, that is, How do you: or how fareth it with you: It fetcheth sundrie words from the Latine, as argot of *Argentinus*, monie; salte of *sal*, salt; capoull of *Caballus*, a

plough horse, or (according unto the old English terme) a caball or caple; birreat of the old mocha- ten Latine word *Biretum*, a bonnet. The tong is sharpe and sententious, & offereth great occasion to quicke apophthegms and proper allusions. Wherefore their common tellers and rimers, whom they terme Bards, are said to delight passinglye these that conceine the grace and proprietie of the tong. But the true Irish indeed differeth so much from that they commonlie speake, that scarce one in five hundred can either read, write, or understand it. Therefore it is preferred among certeine of their poets and antiquaries. And in verie deed the language carrieth such difficultie with it, that for the strangenesse of the phrase, and the curious fancies of the pronuntiation, that a verie few of the countie can attaine to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forrener or stranger.

A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported, that he did see a woman in Rome, which was possessed with a babling spirit, that could haue chatted anie language saving the Irish; and that it was so difficult, as the verie diuell was grieved therewith. A gentleman that stood by answered, that he toke the speech to be so sacred and holie, that no damned fiend had the power to speake it; no more than they are able to saie (as the report goeth) the verse of saint John the euangelist, *Et verbum caro factum est*. Saie by God his merite man (quoth the other) I stand in doubt (I tell you) whether the apostles in their copious mart of languages at Jerusalem could haue spoken Irish, if they were appointed: whereat the companie heartlie laughed. As fluent as the Irish tong is, yet it lacketh diuerse words, and borroweth them verbatim of the English. As there is no vulgar Irish word (vntil there be some od terme that lurketh in anie obscure shrouds or other of their storehouse) for a cote, a gowne, a dablet, an hat, a drinking cup: but one lieth they vse the same words with a little inflexion. They vse also the contraded English phrase, God morrow, that is to saie, God giue you a good morning.

I haue apposed sundrie times the expected man that could be had in the countie, and all they could neuer find out an equiualent Irish word for knaue. The Grecians (according to Tullie his iudgement) were in the same predicament as touching the terme *Ineptus*: his words are these. *Ego mehercule ex omnibus Latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam semper putavi. Quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, si mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere dictum, quod non sit aptum, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlatum patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid posulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut coram, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnum aut multis est, is ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cumalata est eruditissima illa Graecorum natio. Itaque qui vim huiusmodi Graeci non vident, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Et enim quatuor omnia, quomodo Graeci ineptum appellant, non reperies.*

Certes I haue bene of opinion (saith Tullie) that amongst the whole crue of Latine terms the word *Ineptus* hath bene of greatest importance or weight. For he, whom we name *Ineptus*, seemeth to me to haue the etymologie or offspring of his name here hence deriued, that he is not apt; which stretcheth far and wide in the vsuall custome of our daile speech or communication. For he that doth not perceiue what is fitting or decent for euerie season, or gableth more than he hath commission to doe, or that in bragging, boasting, or peacockwise setteth himselfe forth to the gaze, by making more of

Cic. lib. 2. de orat.

Oneile whie he would not learne English.

Camb. lib. 1. dist. 3. rub. 3. The founder of the Irish language.

Baffolenus.

Epiphani. cont. har. lib. 1. c. 1. com. 1.

Sando.

The old name of the Irish.

The difference.

John. 14.

The word the Irish.

John. 14.

Lib. 2. de orat.

the body, than the flesh is woathy; or he that regardeth not the vocation and affaires of them, with whom he intermeleth: or in fine, who so is stale without grace, or ouer tedious in anie matter, he is tearmed *Ineptus*; which is almuch in English, in my phantasie, as faulce, or malapert. The famous & learned Greke nation is generallie dused with this fault. And so that the Grecians could not spie the enormitie thereof, they haue not somuch as framed a terme thereto. For if you should ranfacke the whole Greake language, you shall not find a word to counteruaile *Ineptus*. Thus far Tullie. Yet Budæus would not seeme to acknowledge this barrennesse, but that the Greke word *ἀνεπίσχετος* is equi-pollent to *Ineptus*: but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being verie willing to find out some other Budæus, that could fashion an Irish word for knaue, whereof this discourse of *Ineptus* grew. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is said, so each parcell differeth verie much in the Irish tong, euerie countie hauing his dialeat or peculiar manner in speaking the language: therefore commonlie in Ireland they ascribe a proprietie to each of the foure countries in this sort. Ulster hath the right Irish phrase, but not the true pronounciation; Munster hath the true pronounciation, but not the phrase; Leinster is deuold of the right phrase, and true pronounciation; Connaught hath both the right phrase and true pronounciation. There is a cholericke or disdainfull interiection vsed in the Irish language called *Boagh*, which is as much in English as twilly. The Irish both in ancient time and to this daie commonlie vse it, and therefore the English conquerors called them Irish poghes, or pogh porrice. Which taunting terme is at this daie verie wrongfullie ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interiection, *Fough*, which is vsed in lothing a ranke or strong fauour, seemeth to be sib to the other.

Of the nature of the soile, and other incidents.

The second chapter.

The soile is low and watery, including diuerse little Islands, inuironed with lakes & marishes. Highest hills haue standing poles in their tops. Inhabitants expectallie new come, are subiect to distillations, rheumes and fluxes. For remedie whereof, they vse an ordinarie drinke of *Aqua vite*, being so qualified in the making, that it disteth more, and also inflameth lesse than other hot confectiōns do. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of *Aqua vite*, wherein he praiseth it vnto the ninth degree. He distinguisheth thre sortz thereof, *Simplex*, *Composita*, and *Perfectissima*. He declareth the simples and ingrediences thereto belonging. He teacheth it to be taken as well before meat as after. It drieth vp the breaking out of hands, and killeth the flesh wormes, if you wash your hands therewith. It scoweth all scurfe & scalds from the head, being therewith daillie washt before meales. Being moderately taken (saith he) it sloweth age, it strenghteneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth legume, it abandoneth melancholie, it reliseth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, it cureth the hydropisie, it healeth the strangurie, it pounceth the stone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth abwaie all ventositie, it keepeth and preserueth the head from whirling, the eies from dazeling, the tong from lispīng, the mouth from mackling, the

teeth from chattering, and the throte from rattling: it keepeth the weasall from stiling, the stomach from wambling, and the heart from swelling, the bellic from writhing, the guts from rumbling, the hands from shiuering, & the sinewes from shanking, the belues from crumpling, the bones from aking, & the marrow from soaking. Vitradius also ascribeth thereto a singular praise, and woulde haue it to burne being kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the godnesse thereof. And trulie it is a soueraigne liquor, if it be orderlie taken.

The aire is verie holesome, not generallie so cleare and subtil as that of England. The weather is more temperat, being not so warme in summer, nor cold in winter, as it is in England and Flanders. The countie is stozed with bees, contrarie to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors, touching this countie, may easilie be erculed, as those that wrote by heare-saie. No vineyards, yet grapes grow there as in England. They doe lacke the Kobucke, as Polychronicon writeth. They also lacke the bird called the pie. Wholbeit in the English pale to this day, they vse to tearme a die coufener, a willie pie. Giraldus Cambrensis in his time complaineth, that Ireland had excess of wood, & verie little champagne ground; but now the English pale is too naked: turkie is their most felow and seacole. No venomous creeping beast is brought forth, or nourished, or can liue in Ireland, being brought or sent. And therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne not to be venomous, onelie because a frog was found lieng in the meadowes of Waterford somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their ouerthrow.

Bede writeth, that serpents conuected into Ireland did presentlie die, being touched with the smell of the land, that whatsoeuer came from Ireland was then of soueraigne vertue against poison. He exemplifieth in certeine men, stung of adders, who drank in water the scrapings of boakes that had bene of Ireland, and were cured. Generallie it is obserued, the further west, the lesse annoiance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it laie long in question, to whether realme, Britaine or Ireland, the Ile of Man should appertene: the said controuersie was decided, that for somuch as venomous beasts were knownen to breed therein, it could not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrariwise, the Orichades are abindged to be appendant to Ireland, because those Islands, neither breed nor foster anie venomous worme, as Hector Boetius auoucheth. Giraldus Cambrensis writeth that he heard certeine merchants affirme, that when they had vnladen their ships in Ireland they found by hap some toads vnder their ballast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, than they would puffe and swell vnmensurable, & shortly after turning vp their bellies, they would burst in funder. And not onelie the earth and dust of Ireland, but also the verie thongs of Irish leather haue the verie same force and vertue. I haue sene it, saith Cambrensis, experimented, that a toad being incompassed with a thong of Irish leather, and creeping thitherward, intending to haue skipt ouer it, suddenly reculed backe, as though it had bene rapt in the head: whereupon it began to spall to the other side. But at length perceiuing that the thong did embate it of all parts, it began to thrile, and as it were to dig the earth, where finding an hole, it sunk a waie in the presence of sundrie persons.

It happened also in my time, saith Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the north of England a knot of poouers took a nap in the fields: as one of them late snoring with his mouth gaping, as though he would

Vit. in celo phile. vel de lect. nat. cap. 11.

Poly. lib. 1. cap. 32.

Wille pie. Camb. part. 1. dist. 3.

No bene-uous worms in Ireland.

Comb. part. 1. dist. 1.

Bed. lib. 1. Angl. Hist. cap. 1.

The controuersie of the Ile of Man decided.

Orichades appendant to Ireland. Hector Boet. in Scot. reg. descrip. pag. 9. Sect. 50. Cam. topo. lib. 1. dist. 1. rub. 29.

Cam. lib. rub. 30. 31.

Irish leather killeth bees & venomous wormes.

Camb. in eo. dem loco.

Shuclines.

Bede. lib. 1. de Hist. & part. 1. cap. 1.

Irish boagh.

fough.

Aqua vite.

Theoric. Episc. Hermenensis in Romanula inu. Bononi. am.

The commo-bites of A. qua vite.

The description of Ireland.

haue caught flies, it happened that a snake or adder slipt into his mouth, and glided downe into his belly, where harbozing it selfe, it began to roame vp and downe and to feed on the young man his entrails. The patient being soze distracted and aboue measure tormented with the biting pangis of this greivous ghest, incessantlie prayed to God, that if it stood with his grattous will, either wholie to bereave him of his life, or else of his unspeakable mercie to ease him of his paine. The worne would neuer cease from gnawing the patient his carcase, but when he had taken his repast, and his meat was no longer digested, than it would give a fresh onset in bozing his guts. Diverse remedies were sought, and medicines, pilgrimages to saints, but all could not prevaille. Being at length schooled by the graue aduise of some sage and expert father, that willed him to make his speedie repaire to Ireland, would frate no time, but busked himselfe ouer sea, and arriued in Ireland. He did no longer drinke of the water of that Iland, and taken of the vittels of Ireland, but forthwith he kild the snake, avoided it downeward, and so being lottie and liuelie he returned into England. Thus far Giraldus Cambrensis.

whether be-
nicious
wormes were
expelled Ire-
land through
the prayers of
saint Patrike.

Polychr. lib. i.
cap. 32.

There be some that more question, whether the want of venenious wormes be to be imputed to the propertie of the soile, or to be ascribed to the prayers of saint Patrike, who converted that Iland. The greater part father it on saint Patrike, especiallie such as write his life aswell apart, as in the legend of Irish saints. Giraldus Cambrensis disaffirmeth flatlie that opinion, and taketh it to be a secret or hidden propertie naturallie vnto the soile, from whom Polychronicon doth not swaue. For my part as I am inducted to neither of both the opinions, so I would haue bene easilie persuaded, being neither hot nor cold in the matter, to rest as a lookewarne neuter, in omitting the one and the other vnkand, were it not that one maister Alan Cope, or some other that masketh under his visours, more slanderouslie than pithillie had busied himselfe therein. Wherefore, sith I may with better warrant defend my native countrie, than he or his betters may reproue it, especiallie where his slanderous reports are underpropt with him selfe surmises: I purpose vnder maister Cope his correction to cope and buckle with him herein: and before he beare the ball to the goale, to trip him if I may in the way. And because (gentle reader) I mind to make thee an indifferent vmpier in this controuersie, for the better vnderstanding of the matter, I will late downe maister Cope his words, in such wise as they are imprinted in his booke. First therefore thou must vnderstand, that his booke is made in dialog wise, a kind of writing as it is used, so commended of the learned. In these dialogs Irenæus an Englishman and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts. Irenæus entreteth into the stage, and in this wise be-
ginneth.

Alan. Copus
dialog. 3.
acd. 28.

Incipiam a sancto Paulo: nostri in Melita (quam hodie Maliam appellant) Paulum viperam a manu pendentem in ignem excussisse. In ea insula scorpiones, qui alibi sunt letales, Pauli, ut creditur, munere sunt innoxii.

Critobulus. Fortasse hoc habet à natura.

Irenæus. Falleris: nam insulam, ut Lucas refert, clamabant, delatum eo paritidum, cui cum mare peperisset, irati dii serpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent: nec quicquam magis quam presentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cum ille tantum abisset, ut nihil omnino damni aut doloris inde sentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè supra hominem esse, & deum sub humana specie.

Critobulus. Sic est, ut dicis.

Irenæus. Cetera itaque audi. E specu, ad quem diuertisse dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota ferme Europa salutare

Adhuc, quos nasci octavo calendis Februarii contingit (qui dies conuersionis eius memoria dicitur esse) quicunque eos orbis pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imo, quod magis est, sola alium horum morsum medentur. Id quod homo doctissimus & diligentissimus Thomas Fazellus nuper Thoma prodidit, vti ipso rerum, & certis, infallor, exemplis ab eo obseruatum.

Critobulus. Ista quidem digna sunt obseruatione: etiam recorder, me legisse ac sepius audisse, precibus beati Patricij Hibernie apostoli, ei regioni simile beneficium indultum, ne ea insula aliquid letale pariat. Dici fortasse inde à nonnullis solet, nihil esse in Hibernia venenati præter ipsos homines, quod propter feros & agrestes eorum mores dictum à plerisque accipitur.

Irenæus. Eam regionem nihil pestiferum aut venenatum alere, tum ex multorum sermonibus, tum ex Beda intelligo: adeo ut terra illius regionis exportata, pestifera ac venenata animalia extinguat. Verum id quicquid est, non Patrio, sed natura regionis tribuo, propterea quod longè ante Patricium natum constat, eam fuisse eius regionis dotem, quam non est difficile alibi reperiri.

I will begin (saith Irenæus) with saint Paule. You know that in Melita (which at this daie is called Malta) saint Paule slung into the fire a viper that sticke or did cleave to his hand. In that Iland scorpions which are elsewhere deadly or venenous, are become through the gift of saint Paule (as it is supposed) harmlesse.

Thus (quoth Critobulus) that may be percase incident to the nature of the soile.

Paule then (repleth Irenæus) you are in a wrong box. For the Ilanders (as saint Luke mentioneth) thought, that a parentquelloe was brought thither, and because he was not swallowed in the gulles of the sea, the gods being in their fustian fumes, sent serpents to slay him. And they looked for nothing sooner than to see him euen at a twinkling to perish. But when they perceiued him to be so farre distant from death, as that he sustained no harme, ne felt any paine, the people therewith amazed, said he far surpassed mans estate, & that he was a god inuested in man his shape.

You haue reason (answereth Critobulus) you haue hit the nail on the head.

Yea but I prate you clip not my tale (saith Irenæus) but take me with you. Stones are culled in the caue or den wherein saint Paule is said to haue bated or sozoned, which stones in maner in all Europe are soueraigne medicines to cure the bitings and stinges of scorpions and serpents. Furthermore, they that are borne the five and twentieth of Iannuarie (which daie is named the conuersion of S. Paule) in what part soener of the world they are borne, they feare not or grudge not at snakes: yea, that which is more to be admired, the stings of poisoned worms are healed by the verie spittle of this Iannuarie boy. Which thing hath bene of late published by a well lettered man Thomas Fazellus, to haue bene curiously noted of him, as well by prose and experience, as by face and substantiall examples, if I take not the matter amisse.

Then commeth in Critobulus, whose maister Cope maketh (I will not saie the vice or hiescorner) but the pleasant conceived gentleman of this enterlude, and fetcheth a long leape (for I am sure he could not lumpe so farre) from Malta to Ireland, and frameth his tale in this sort. By the faith of my bodie sir, here is stuffe worth the noting. And now I call to mind, that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath bene imparted to Ireland, through the prayers of saint Patrike the apostle of the said Iland, that is to saie, that Ireland breedeth no venenous worne. And thereupon percase some are accustomed to saie, that there is no poisoned or venenous

Bed. lib. i.
Ang. hist.

Sententia
finis cap. 35.

in 13 h' it y in Ireland, but onelie the people, which is taken to haue bene said of most men for their brutish and sauage manners.

So this (saith Irenaeus) I am done to vnderstand by the report of diuerse, and also by Bede, that no poisoned or venomous thing is bred in that realme: in somuch that the berie earth of that countrie being brought into other realmes, killetth all venomous and poisoned worms. But let the matter fall out which waie it will; I ascribe that propertie not to saint Patrike, but to the nature of the soile, because it hath ben known long before saint Patrike was borne, that Ireland was indowed with that propertie, which is elsewhere easie to be found. Hitherto Master Cope.

Judgement.

In this discourse (gentle reader) thou seest that Master Cope handleth two principall points, the propertie of Malta, and the nature of Ireland in destroying venomous worms, the one he ascribeth to the blessed apostle saint Paule, the other he will not in anie wise impute to saint Patrike. Touching the first, as I haue no occasion to intermeddle therein, so I purpose not for the quarell I haue to the person, to disprove his opinion so farre as it standeth with truth. Wherefore that God that of his bountifull godnesse gaue the grace to Moses, to turne Aarons rod into a serpent, to turne the riuier into blood, and to worke diuerse other effects that are mentioned in the scripture; to Iosue, to saie the sun, to Elias to raise the dead child; to Peter to make the lame go; to heale Eneas; to reuiue Tabitha; yea with his berie shadow to cure the sicke; and the God that gaue to that Paule, of whose matter Cope speaketh, his gracious gift to make the lame go; to quicken and raise the deceased, and for his sake to saue his fellow passengers: it is not to be denied, but that God would impart his goodness to anie region, euen the soner that any of his blessed seruants would harbourough there. And as I doubt not but Simon the tanners house was nothing the worse for lodging so happie a guest as Peter: so I am sure Malta was farre the better for harbouring so blessed a traueeller or passenger as Paule. Which saint Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they which were sicke in the Island, flocked to Paule, and were cured; and also that the patient that was father to Publius, in whose house they were three daies berie courteously intertained, was by saint Paule healed. Which cure as well of that patient, as of the residue of the Islanders, did not onlie extend to their bodies, but theie & especiallie to their soules, according to the opinion of the learned diuines. For as our saul or Iesus Christ was neuer thought to cure anie ones bodie, but he would also heale his soule: so it must be thought of his apostles, in whose steps both in life and miracles they traced. And therefore the learned hold opinion, that saint Paule being in Malta expelled from diuerse of their soules the old serpent that deceived our progenitors Adam and Eue; for which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought god here to insert, as a clause not wholie swaruing from that we treat of, and also that I would be found prect and readie, as farre as my simple skill stretcheth, to vnderstand anie opinion that tendeth to the honoz and glorie of God.

Howbeit forsomuch as Master Cope hath so strictlie dealt with Ireland, as with a countrie nothing appertaining to this matter, I trust he will pardon me, to be somewhat bold with him, touching the history of Malta, that as his negligence shall be in the one disclosed, so his laudorous iudgement maie be in the other reuered. First therefore where he writeth, that the inhabitants of Malta clamabant, that is, cried, or shouted, it was not so. The Greeke text runneth,

οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κύριος, Dicebant ad inuicem, that is AA. 28. vers. 4. to saie, They muttered one to an other. And saint Luke paraphraeth his meaning after. For when they perceived that the viper did not amone Paule, then saith saint Luke, Convertentes se, dicebant eum esse deum; They turning the one towards the other, whispered or muttered that Paule was a god. Now put the case they cried, as Master Cope saith, is it like that Paule was so busie in making of a fire, or that his cares did wander so farre off, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard them, thinke you that he would haue bene thus, in hearing God so farre blasphemed, as that he would suffer himselfe to be deceived? For trulie, he would haue taken on, as he and Barnabas did at Lissris, where the inhabitants named them gods, Barnabas to be Jupiter, and Paule, for that he was well spoken, to be Mercurie. For when the apostles heard of their idolatrie, renting their clothes, they rushed into the throng, crying and speaking, that they were mortall men, &c. In which place saint Luke putteth an expresse difference as it were of set purpose, betwene both the words, Clamantes & dicentes. Master Cope addeth further, Delatum est parricidam, and yet the Greeke hath πάντας φονεύς, Omnino interfector, or as the vulgar text is, Virique homicida est homo hic. So that they toke him to be but a manquello; yet Master Cope maketh him a parricide, which is worse. For although euerie parricide be a manquello; yet E converso, euerie manquello is not a parricide.

Saint Paule heard not the inhabitants of Malta.

Act. 14. vers. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Master Cope proceedeth further, Trai di, serpentes, qui eum rollerent, immisissent: The gods being angrie sent serpents to dispatch Paule. And yet forsooth, all these serpents were but one viper, as is plainelie exprest in the text, vntill Master Cope would teach saint Luke to tell his tale after the finest fashion, least the apostle should haue bene thought to haue sinned. As a parson his parson that preacheth to his parishoners of the gospell, wherein mention is made of them that Christ fed in the desert, or wilderness. Quoth the parson what a Christ was that, that with five barlie loanes, and five fishes fed five hundred persons. The clerk hearing his master to grate ouerlong on that point, for he did often iterate that sentence, stole vp to the pulpit, and plucking the parson by his gowne, whispered in his eare that Christ fed five thousand. Hold the contented thou foolish fellow (quoth the parson) if I should tell mine hearers of so great a number, I should but discredit the gospeller, and they would not beleue me. So it fareth with Master Cope. Belike he mistrusted, that if he had said, that one viper could haue slain Paule; the reader would haue suspected the vntrust of the matter: because it carrieth great likelihood with it, that one man could withstand one viper: and therefore to saue saint Luke his credit, he increaseth the number by putting the plurall for the singular. Whereas therefore it standeth with Master Cope his pleasure, to flourish in his rhetorickall figure named, Veritatis superlatio, in terming muttering, shouting, a manquello; a parricide, one viper, serpents: he must be borne withall, if in the heat of his figure he step a little aboye in the remnant of his discourse. For thus he saith.

Master Cope his rhetorick.

And thereupon it is reported percase by some men, that there is nothing venomous or poisoned in Ireland, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue bene spoken by most men for their brutish and sauage manners. Here (good reader) thou must vnderstand that Master Cope putteth the text downe and the glose. The text is, There is nothing in Ireland venomous but the inhabitants. The glose is, This is said to haue been spoken for their brutish and sauage conditions. Now well harpt by saint Lanthfield. Here is a glose, I undertake you, suitable to the text. But

Ende 7. vers. 10.

1. Ioh. 1. 10.
2. Reg. 17.
3. Reg. 17.
4. Reg. 17.
5. Reg. 17.
6. Reg. 17.
7. Reg. 17.
8. Reg. 17.
9. Reg. 17.
10. Reg. 17.
11. Reg. 17.
12. Reg. 17.
13. Reg. 17.
14. Reg. 17.
15. Reg. 17.
16. Reg. 17.
17. Reg. 17.
18. Reg. 17.
19. Reg. 17.
20. Reg. 17.

Aug. tract. 30.
in Iohann.
Thy 39. 44.
2. 3. ad. 3. m.

Gen. 3. vers. 13.

let vs see, how cunninglie *pp.* Cope bequitheth himselfe. First he obserueth not *Decorum persone*, secondlie he followeth not *Decorum dialogi*, thirdlie he sheweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the first point, who knoweth not, that these fapes and gibes are onelie fit for ruffians, vices, swallducklers & tospots. And trulie they befit a diuine as well, as for an alle to twang quipessa on a harpe or gitterne, or for an ape to friske trenchmore in a paire of buskins and a doublet. The heathen misliked in an orator squintitie, what should be thought then of a diuine, whome saint Paule would haue to be sober, modest, graue, and wise? Unlesse *pp.* Cope leaning to the letter of saint Paule his words would beare vs in hand, that saint Paule would haue modestie to rest onelie in bishops. We are commanded in the old and new testament, to loue our neighbors as our selues. Which doth imple, that we ought not to slander our neighbors.

Cic.lib.2. de orat.

1. Tim 3. berf. 2. & 3.

Psal. 5. ber. 7. Sapient. 1. Vide August in eundem Psal.

Apoc. 5. berf. 22.

The German his friendship.

And shall a diuine then speake vncharitable, not onelie of one, but of an whole realme, and not onelie speake but also write, yea and that in the language that is vniuersallie spoken, throughout the greater part of the world, vpon no sure ground, but onelie vpon heare saie, weicng not what the prophet writeth, *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciis*. Thou shalt destroy all them that speake vntruths: And were it that ante such slim slams were soothed by anie person of credit; yet (as me seemeth) it would stand more with the grauitie of a diuine, that such childish quips, and scoornfull taunts should sooner by his meanes charitable be withted, than thorough his procurement carpinglie published. I will stand no longer on this point, but onelie craue *pp.* Cope to resort to the fift of *Apoc.* and there peruse Christ his verdict touching slanderous tongues. To come to the second part, in which he obserueth not *Decorum dialogi*, thou shalt vnderstand (good reader) that Critabulus, or Critabulus, whome *pp.* Cope maketh his bagpipe to belch out his rancour, is a Germane borne, as *pp.* Cope saith, who seemeth to be Critabulus his godfather. Now let anie one, that is acquainted with the manners of Germans, iudge, if it be decent, that one of them should scoffe and scoone the conditions and fashions of other countries. I will not speake by heare saie, as *pp.* Cope doth, but by riefight. I could neuer espie nor probable haue I heard it reported, no not of the mere sauage Irish, such quaffing, such swelling, such boiling, such golling, such brutish drunkenesse, such surfetting, such vomiting, as I haue seene some Germans do. In god soth it is knowne, and for my part I haue seene it being beyond the seas, that in their carowling and cup friendship, they threaten such kindnesse on their companions, that least their felowes should mistrust them with double dealing, they will not sticke to shew them the bottome of their stomachs, & to the end they should take the better view thereof, they will place it now and then in their neighbors bosome.

Thus when they haue cast their gorgess, they clap on their thymd hats, and run like bedlem barretoys into the streets with their naked flatthets, and there they keepe such a stinking sturce with backing of stones, with helwing of blocks, with thwitting of stocks, with striking of stalles, with thumping at dories, that it would make a horse breake his halter, to see so drunken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is so naturallie ingrafted in the greater part of them, that a famous diuine did not sticke of late to saie openly in his lecture, that drunkenesse in that countrie man, was either *peccatum originale* or *accidens inseparabile*. I write not this (I take God to record) to the reproch or slander of that countrie (being loth to commit the selfe same fault that I reprehend in anie

other) but onelie my meaning is to settle before the reader his eyes the absurditie of *pp.* Cope, in framing poze Critabulus to flout Ireland, considering that if he call his eye homeward, he shall find as flithie puddle in his owne countrie, as in other realms. And therefore this quip saie as vnseemelie in his mouth, as for an whore to reprehend bithcherie, or for an vsurer to condemne simonie. For as there is nothing lesse to be tolerated, than for anie one to haue an other to account for his life, that can yeld no account of his owne: so there is nothing that ought to mazzell by anie one from rebuking other nations, than to see the misdeemeanor of his owne native countrie. I would wish *pp.* Critabulus or *pp.* Cope, if it shall please him to make vp the matter, with indifferencie to weie the estate of Ireland, and so without partialitie to frame his iudgement.

Ireland, and especiallie the ruder part is not so red with such learned men as Germanie is. If they had found preachers, and sincere liuers, that by the embalming of their carian soules with the sweet and sacred flowers of holie writ, would instruct them in the feare of God, in oblieng their prince, in obseruing the lawes, in vnderpopping in ech man hisocation the weale publike; I doubt not, but within two or thre ages *pp.* Critabulus his heires should heare so good a report run of the reformation of Ireland, as it would be reckoned as ciuill as the best part of Germanie. Let the soile be as fertile and betle as anie would wish, yet if the husbandman will not manure it, sometime plow and care it, sometime harrow it, sometime till it, sometime marle it, sometime delue it, sometime dig it, and sow it with god and sound cozne, it will bring forth weeds, bindcorne, cockle, barnell, bzambles, bziers, and sundie wild shoots. So it fareth with the rude inhabitants of Ireland, they lacke vniuersities, they want instructors, they are destitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are denoid of all such necessities as appertene to the training up of youth: and notwithstanding all these wants, if anie would be so forwardlie set, as to requite them, to vse such ciuillitie, as other regions, that are sufficientlie furnished with the like helps, he might be accounted as vnreasonable, as he that would force a creeple that lacketh both his legs to run, or one to pipe or whistle a galliard that wanteth his vpper lip.

But such is the corrupt nature of vs worldings, and me thinketh such vaine humors are not bitterlie dried vp in our sage and mortified diuines. We are most commonlie giuen rather to talant that which is amisse, than to praise that which is good; and rather we follow the spider in soking the poison, than in imitating the bee by sucking the honte. Now that it appeareth, that it was not sitting for the author being a diuine, to write so vncharitable, nor for *pp.* Critabulus being a Germane to carpe other countries so snappishlie: let vs see what wholesome diuinitie hath bene here vttered, and how well the finelnes of *pp.* Critabulus his argument shall be found to hang together, when the anatomic therof by peccemate shall be examined. I call to mind (quoth *pp.* Critabulus) that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath bene granted to Ireland through the prayers of *S. Patrike*. *pp.* Critabulus read & heard that by the prayers of *S. Patrike*, Ireland hath no venomous worme: Ergo some hold opinion, that the poison resteth onlie in the people. Truly this argument hangeth together by verie strange gimbols. And I dare say, *pp.* Cope neuer learned this kind of reasoning in the famous college of *Agadalen* in *Drford*, whatsoeuer *pp.* Critabulus did in Germanie. But let vs put the logike apart, & scan the singular point of diuinitie. I would gladlie lerne in what part of scriptur

Ireland is made so red.

or in what ancient father *Sp. Critabulus* read or heard (for most of his learning hath bene, as it seemeth, purchased by beare-saie) that ante holie pzetlat, that came of mere charitie to conuert a countrie from night to light, from rudenesse to knowledge, from infidelitie to christianitie, from vice to vertue, from the diuell to God (which doth imple an especiall zeale in saluing their soules) would purge the soile of all venemous woymes, & leaue the soules that haue moze need to be waxed, wholie infected with the contagion of vice and sinne. Wherby inueth that the place is better than the inhabitants, and so consequentlie the saluing of the *Phachabees* must be falsified: *Non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum Deus elegit*: God did not chuse the people for the place, but he elected the place in respect of the people. Our sauour *Iesus Christ* dispossessing the patient of the legion of diuels, permitted them to enter into an heard of hogs. *Critabulus* would haue *Christis* saints do the contrarie, to dispossesse the hogs, and to leaue the men possessed with diuels. For so he reporteth saint *Patrike* to haue done, by riding the land of all poisoned woymes, & leauing the rancour to lurke in the people. Trulie if the matter stood so farre out of ioint, I doubt not, but the *Ilanders* might haue come as lawfullie to him, as the *Gergelons* came ingratfullie to *Christ*, requiring him to depart their countrie. For such a scoffing pzetlat, his come had bene better than his companie, sith his abode would tend rather to the peruertering, than the conuerting of their *Iland*.

Whitherto thou hast heard (gentle reader) how gallantlie *Critabulus* hath plaied his part: now shall I desire thee to vew how sagelie *Ireneus* claspeth by all the whole controuerfie. He saith it is the nature of the soile, not to bred ante venemous woyme, and that was incident thereto before saint *Patrike* was bozne. How pzooue you that sir: Pleasest you to skew your eie towards the margent, and there shall you find the five and thirtieth chapter of *Solinus* solemnlie quoted. Touching this matter, there is nothing in *Solinus* but this: *Illic anguis nullus, auis rara*. In *Ireland* is no snake, and seldome a bird, & yet birds are as commonlie there as in ante other countrie. But I would gladlie vnderstand how this authoritie of *Solinus* furthereth *Sp. Ireneus* his opinion. *Ireland* bred no snake before saint *Patrike* was bozne: Ergo it ingendyed no toad, no adder, no frog, noz ante other bitulent woyme. As if a man would reason thus: Before saint *Patrike* his time there was no horsemill in *Ireland*: Ergo before his time there was no milhorse. Certes he that would wind vp his conclusion so fondlie, might be thought to haue as much wit as a rosted horse. This authoritie of *Solinus* is so far from vpholding *Ireneus* his assertion, as that it plainelie seemeth quite to ouerthrow it, & as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cause whie saint *Patrike* was moued to erpell all the venemous woymes out of *Ireland*, might probable haue bene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this: that he perceiuing the land to bred no snakes, therof was occasioned, for the furthering of chistian faith, to erpell other kind of woymes that lurked there before his comming, as toades, adders, blind woymes, frogs, &c. Here perchase *M. Cope* may blench me, in replieng that *Anguis* may be construed generallie for all kind of vermine, and so I might be taken tardie in building my discourse vpon a misconstruction.

In god soth to omit what strange and absurd signification *Anguis* should beare, by notifying a poisoned spider and such like, and in mine opinion further from the purpose, than the father that dissuading his sonne from plaicing on *sundae*, fortified his reason

with the old said saw, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*. It is not good, quoth he, to plaie on *sundae* or holie daies. Is it (thinke you) sellonie or treason, to bring the credit of *Solinus* in question, for mistaking *Anguis* as well as *Auis*? For as he was grosse deceived in the one, in writing that birds were rare in *Ireland*; so might he haue strated as likelie in the other, by disburdening *Ireland* of all venemous woymes, bicause the *Iland* wanted in his time but one or two kinds, as a snake and a toad. Where a man buildeth vpon euerie twatling and pztling rumoz, and his eie is not his iudge, he may be sure, that such stinging tales will catch manie feathers before they come at him that is as far distant from their nests, as *Solinus* was from *Ireland* when he wrote his pamphlet. The pzoofe whereof as it is daillie tried, so not manie yeares past hath bene verie, pzetitie beresied. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that met his entrie in the fields, where they both vpon a trisling quarell fought so friendlie, as they had more need to haue bene graped together with cables, than parted by indifferent sticklers. Howbeit, bicause the gentleman was neuer before flesht, and yet nothing at all that daie, for each of their blowes did commonlie light on the meadow where they fought; a friend of his reported well of him to another, saying, that he was like in time to pzooue a proper man of his hands, for the well handling of his weapon in his late combat. Wherevpon sime after, the other doubling the gentleman his praise, gaue notice to another, that such a gentleman (naming him) fought ballantlie such a daie in such a place. Immediatlie vpon this in a shire or two off, it was noised that the partie praised, fought with two at once in such a place, naming the meadow. At length it was byrsted, that he fought foure severall daies; and I am well assured that was the first frate that euer he made, and I thinke it will be the last, vnlesse he be forced manure his heart to the contrarie.

Not long after it happened, that a gentleman and I travelled abroad the countrie of set purpose to disport our selues, and so to returne afresh to our books, where entering in communication with a blunt countrie lob (yet such an one as toke his halfe penie to be good sinner) that knew the foresaid champion. My companion and I made wise, as though we were not acquainted with him, or euer heard of the combat: How in god faith gentleman (quoth he) you would do verie well to enter in acquaintance with him; for ouer this, that he is a gentleman abundantlie endued with singular good qualities, he is become of late so ballant a cutter, as he maketh blading his dailie breakfast. By saint *Parie*, quoth my companion, that is verie cold rolle, and if his breakfasts be no better than a peece of cold pzon, I little twelgh how seldome I take a repast in his companie at ante such ordinarie. Paie, my meaning is (quoth the other) that he bleseth to fight fresh and fasting euerie morning, in so much that of late, I dare bide by it, he fought eight daies in one weeke. At which words I for my part could not restraine from laughing, seeing how demurelie the fellow kept his countenance, and how that he spake *Bona fide*. Wherevpon I shaped him an answer and said, that I neuer heard of ante that fought eight daies in one weeke, but onelie in old time, when five quarters made vp the yeare.

The fellow perceiuing that he ouerthot himselfe, replied: Sir, you take me verie short, as long and as verie a lotwie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eight severall times in one weeke. Eight times (quoth my companion) then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you told vs right now, that he made his frate his morning break-

sum or cat-
cheth feathers.

A friendlie
commendation.

Objection.

Infer.

breakfast, and whereas there are but seven daies in the weeke, & he fought (as you report) eight times, and you know that eight maketh one about seven, and seven maketh six and one under eight; either you must confesse that he fought out his breakfast, dinner, better or supper; or else you must grant that there be eight daies in one weeke, or at the least two breakfasts in one daie: and that I am sure you will confesse to be as great an absurditie as the other. Paie (quoth the clowne) and you intrap me with such sophistrie, you shall dine, sup and breake your last alone for me, and therewithall departed. Wherby may be gathered, that if he had bin soothed by, & his tong let to run at libertie vncontrolld, like a bowle that runneth in a smooth allie without anie rub, he would haue brought himselfe to that baie, as he would not flicke to saie that his friend had fought eight daies in one houre. Wherefore as this puding his pizke grew at length by report to an huge post, so the want of one venemous woorme in Ireland, being bnted in fourteen realmes, might haue bene so thwarted and mangled in the carriage before it came to Solinus his cares, as he might haue bene informed, that the countrie was deuoid of all venemous woormes; whereas indeed there lacked but one kind.

Like as God of his iustice punisheth a countrie that is hardhearted, with outward woormes: so of his mercie they are removed from a realme that is pliant to follow his lawes and precepts. As when Pharaos would not listen to God his threats denouncing him by the preachers of God, Moses and Aaron, Egypt was punished with frogs and diuerse kind of flies, as is exprest at full in holie writ: and againe vpon Pharaos his feined promises (the secrets of whose hollow heart God perfectlie knew) at the instance of Moses, these plagues were appeald, and the vermine quite extinguished: so I praye you, is it so absurd a position to hold, that saint Patrike finding the Irish priest to embrace the gospell, as he did in verie deed, might stand so highlie in God his fauor, as though his earnest petition made to God, the poisoned woormes should be abandoned? This is not so rare a thing vpon the implanting of christian faith in anie region, but rather a propertie incident thereto, according to Chyris his promise: *Signa autem eius, qui crediderint, haec sequentur: In nomine meo demonia eicient: linguis loquentur nouis: serpentes tollent: & si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocbit: super egros manus imponent, & bene habebunt.* And these tokens shall follow them that beleue: In my name shall they cast out diuels, they shall speake with new tonges, they shall drive awaie serpents, and if they drinke anie deable thing it shall not hurt them: they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall be cured. Wherefore, sith it is so euidentlie warranted by scripture, that in the name of Iesus, serpents may be driven awaie, if Ireland be found through anie such means to be deuoid of poisoned woormes, we are to ascribe the glorie hereof to God, according to the saleng of the prophet: *A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris.* That hath bene done by God, and it seemeth wonderfull in our eyes.

Thus farre (gentle reader) inroaching vpon thy patience, I haue imploied my trauell in defending my native countrie, against such as labour to distaine it with their slanderous scoffes. Touching the principall question, whether S. Patrike did expell poisoned woormes out of Ireland, or whether it be the nature of the soile, as I said in the entrie of this discourse; so I saie againe, that I weigh not two chips which waie the wind bloweth, because I see no inconuenience that may insue either of the affirmatiue or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modestlie as Cambrensis, the autho: of

Polychronicon or others, that stood to the drinall, by we done; he should haue gene scotfree with his complices, and haue made in mountebanklike the most he could of his wares. But for that he would needs be further in a millstone than others, and not onelie tenderlie dispose the triuall opinion, but so: mefallie stander an whole realme, wherein he shall find his superiors in honour, his betters in parentage, his pares in learning, his mates in wisdom, his equals in courtisie; his matches in honesty: I must craue him to beate it patientlie, if by crying him quittance, I serued him with a dish of his owne cokerie. And if for this my strict dealing with him (whereunto I was the soncr led, for that as it is courtisie to mollifie wild speaches with mild answers, so I reckon it for good policie now and then to cleaue knurd knobs with crabbed wedges) he will seme to take pepper in the nose, for anie recompense he is like to haue at mine hands, he may tolpe his nose on his flaeue. And if it shall stand with his pleasure, to replis either in English or in Latine (the occasion of which is rather of him growne than by me giuen) he shall find me willing, if God spare me health, to reioine with him in so good a quarrell, either in the one language or the other: and when both tales are heard, I bespote him, for my part, that shall be driven to the wall.

Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible persons, that barnacles thousands at once are noted along the shores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, as ships, oares, masts, anchors, and such like, which in proceste taking liuelie heat of the sunne, become waterfoules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or lie abroad into the aire. The same do neuer couple in the act of generation, but are from time to time multiplied, as before is exprest.

Aeneas Syluius testifieth himselfe to haue pursued the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Islands Orkades. Giraldus Cambrensis gathereth hereof a pretie conclusion against the Yelues in this wise following: *Respice infelix Iudae, respice, vel sero, prima hominis generationem ex limo sine mare & femina: Secundaque ex mare sine femina, ob legis venerationem, diffiteri non aude. Tertiam solum ex mare scilicet & femina, quia vidualis est, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam vero, in qua sola salus est ex femina scilicet sine mare obstinata malicia in propriam perniciem derelicta. Erubescet miser, erubescet, & saltem ad naturam recurre, quae ad argumenta fidei, ad instructionem nostram noua quotidie animalia sine omni mare vel femina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & hac vltima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam a Domino natura tantum semel, ideo semper obstupenda processit. Istam vero non minus admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia sepe fit) imitatrix natura administrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, ut nihil, praeter inusitatum & raro contingens vel pretiosum ducat vel admirandum, solis ortum & occasum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, sine omni admiratione praeterimus. Eclipsin vero solis, quia rarius accidit, totus orbis obstupescit. A eadem etiam facere videtur, status solis, & occulta quadam inspiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio.*

Parke thou wretched Ielo, faith Cambrensis, marke yet at length the first creation (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the second, of a man without a woman (that is to saie Cue) for that thou hast the old lay in reuerence, thou darest not denie. As for the third, both of man and woman, because it is dailie bled as stiffneckt as thou art, thou dost acknowledge and confesse. But the fourth procreation, in which consisteth our onelie iustificatiō (he meaneth the incarnation of Chyris)

Exod. 8.
vers. 17, & 24.
Vide Apoc. 9.
vers. 3, at
2 Reg. 8.
vers. 37.

Gregor. hom.
29. in euang.
Mat. 16. v. 17.

Psalm. 117.
vers. 22.

The barnacle.

Sabel p. 19.
Enc. 1. lib. 1.
Camb. lib. 1.
pag. 11. l. 1.
rub. 15.
Thomp. p. 34
31. at 4. 100.

of a woman without man, with sturdie and obstinat
 rancor to thine bitter destruction thou dost detest.
 Blush therefore thou unhappie Jew, be ashamed of
 this thy fallie, and at the least wise haue recourse to
 nature, and settle his woorks before thine eyes, that
 for the increase of faith, and to the lessening of vs,
 dailie breedeth & ingendzeth new liuing creatures,
 without the coupling of male or female. Adam
 was created of earth, the barnacles are ingendzeth
 of wood, because Adam was once created by him, who
 is Lord of nature, therefore it is continuallie admi-
 red. But for that daime nature the counterfeite
 of the celestiall workman, effones breedeth barna-
 cles, therefore their wood is accomplished more mar-
 uellous than to be manueled, more wonderfull than
 wondered. For such is the framing of man his na-
 ture, as he demeth nothing pretious or wonderfull,
 but such things as seldeome happen. What may be
 thought more beautifull than the course of the sunne?
 And yet because we see it dailie rise and set, we let it
 ouerslip vs as an vsuall custome, without anie sta-
 ring or gazing. Yet we are amazed and astonied at
 the eclipse, because it happeneth verie seldeome. The
 bees that are ingendzeth of the honie combe, onlie by
 a pisse or secret breathing without anie coupling,
 seme to vphold this procreation of barnacles. Wh-
 therto Cambrensis, with whom concerning the in-
 gendzeth of bees Iohannes de sancto Geminiano
 accordeth.

How
 they are in-
 gendzeth.

Iohan. de S.
 Gen. in lib. de
 exempl. & fi-
 nal. rerum li.
 4. 36.
 together the
 barnacle be
 fish or flesh,
 Camb. lib. 1.
 1002. dist. 1.
 rub. 15.
 Polychr. lib. 1.
 67.

Adam & Cue
 onlie created
 by God.
 Angell. Super
 Genes. ad lib.
 1002. 1003.

Genes. 11.
 dist. 1.

Adam & Cue
 created
 by God.
 Genes. 1. 1. 1.
 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

The inhabitants of Ireland are accustomed to
 moue question, whether barnacles be fish or flesh, &
 as yet they are not fullie resolved; but most vsuallie
 the religious of strictest abstinence doe eat them on
 fish daies. Giraldus Cambrensis, and after him Po-
 lychronicon suppose, that the Irish cleargie in this
 point strae. For they hold of certaintie that barna-
 cles are flesh. And if a man saie they had eaten a
 collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten flesh. And yet
 Adam was not ingendzeth of male or female, but
 onlie created of claie, as the barnacles of wood &
 rotten timber. But the Irish cleargie did not so farre
 strae in their opinion, as Cambrensis & Polychro-
 nicon, in their dispoise. For the framing of Adam
 and Cue was supernaturall onlie done by God,
 & not by the helpe of angels or anie other creature.
 For like as it surpassest natures course to raise the
 dead, to lighten or insight the blind, so it stood not
 with the vsuall & common linage of nature, but onlie
 with the supereminent power of God, to frame a
 man of claie, and a woman of a mans rib. But the
 ingendzeth of barnacles is naturall, & not so won-
 derfull as Cambrensis maketh it. And therefore the
 examples are not like.

Now it should seme that in Cambrensis his time,
 the Irish cleargie builded their reason vpon this plot.
 That soeuer is flesh, is naturallie begotten or in-
 gendzeth of flesh; barnacles are not naturallie in-
 gendzeth of flesh, but onlie of timber and wood; bar-
 nacles therefore are not flesh, vnlesse you would haue
 them to be wooden flesh. And if the reason be so knit
 it may not be disioined by Cambrensis his example.
 As if a man should argue thus. She that is begotten
 of anie man, must be of forces daughter to that man;
 Melcha was begotten of Aran; Ergo Melcha was A-
 rans daughter. This argument is of all parts so for-
 tified, as it seemeth of all sides to be impregnable.
 Yet a busie bzaime sophister cauilling on the terme
 (begotten) might saie, that Cue was begotten of A-
 dam, and yet she is not Adams daughter. True it is
 that Adam was not Cues father, no more than Cue
 was Adams mother, neither by that ingendzeth
 was there anie degree of consanguinitie sprong be-
 twene them. But because the word (begotten) is ta-
 ken in the argument for the naturall ingendzeth of

man and woman, the instance giuen of Cue doth
 not dispoise the Matter. And yet for the better vn-
 derstanding of the question, it is to be noted that the
 philosophers distinguish *Animalia sensitiua*, that is, sen-
 sible liuing things, in two sorts, perfect and imper-
 fect. The perfect are they that are ingendzeth of seed,
 the imperfect without seed. Those that are naturallie
 ingendzeth with seed, can neuer be naturallie ingen-
 deth without seed: albeit Auicenna verie erroneously
 holdeth the contrarie: as for example.

Thom. p. 1. q.
 91. art. 2. ad 2. in
 Liuing
 things are of
 two sorts.
 Thom. p. 1. q.
 71. 1. 1. 1. 1. in
 Auicenna.

Because man is naturallie ingendzeth of man and
 woman, no man may naturallie be ingendzeth with-
 out the copulation of man and woman: yet super-
 naturallie it may be. As Adam was made without
 man and woman: Cue framed without woman: our
 sauour Christ begotten without man. And there-
 fore the diuell could not haue attained him of origi-
 nall sinne. Contrariwise, the imperfect may be in-
 gendzeth without seed by mire, mud, dung, carters,
 rotten timber, or anie other thing; and chieflie by the
 secret influence and insillation of the celestiall pla-
 nets, as the sunne and such other. As if you put the
 haire of an horse talle in mire, puddle, or in a dung
 hill for a certaine space, it will turne to a little thin
 spalling woyme, which I haue often sene & exper-
 imented. And they are termed imperfect, not in re-
 spect of their owne nature, in which they are perfect,
 but in comparison of other sorts of liuing things.
 Among this crue must barnacles be settled. But here
 some will saie; Let them be perfect or imperfect, what
 then? I would faine knowe, whether Cambrensis be
 in an error, or the Irish cleargie. For hitherto I see
 nothing, but Cambrensis his reason dispoised. And
 it is often sene that a sound opinion may be weak-
 ned by a feeble reason, as we see manie faire gar-
 ments mard in the making. It is true; and if anie
 be desirous to know my mind herein, I suppose, ac-
 cording to my simple iudgement, vnder the corre-
 ction of both parties, that the barnacle is neither fish
 nor flesh, but rather a meane betwene both. As put
 the case it were enacted by parlement, that it were
 high treason to eat flesh on fridaie, and fish on sun-
 daie. Trulie I thinke that he that eateth barnacles
 both these daies, should not be within the compasse
 of the estatute: yet I would not wish my friend to
 hazard it, least the barnacle should be found in law
 fish or flesh, yea and perhaps fish and flesh. As when
 the lion king of beasts made proclamation, that all
 horned beasts should auoid his court, one beast ha-
 uing but a bunch of flesh in his forehead departed
 with the rest, least it had bene found in law that his
 bunch were an horne.

Vide Arist. lib.
 1. Meteor. ca. 3.
 6. 7.

The barnacle
 neither fish
 nor flesh.

But some will peraduenture maruell, that there
 should be anie liuing thing, that were not fish nor
 flesh. But they haue no such cause at all. Pitts,
 fleshwoymes, bees, butterflies, caterpillers, snailles,
 grasshoppers, beetles, earwikes, resemise, frogs,
 toads, adders, snakes, & such other, are liuing things,
 and yet they are neither fish nor flesh, nor yet red ber-
 ring: as they that are trained in scholasticall points
 may easilie iudge. And so I thinke, that if anie were
 so sharpe set (the estatute aboue rehearsed, presuppos-
 sed) as to eat fried flies, buttered bees, stued snailles,
 either on fridaie or sundaie, he could not be therefore
 indicted of hault treason; albeit I would not be his
 ghest, vnlesse I toke his table to be furnished with
 more wholesome and licozous viands. The like que-
 stion may be moued of the sell, and if it were well
 canuassed, it would be found at the leastwise a mot
 case. But thus farre of barnacles.

The sell wher
 it be fish
 or flesh.
 Thom. p. 1. a. 71
 a. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Ireland is storied of cotwes, of excellent horses, of
 haikes, of fish and of foule. They are not without
 wolues & greihounds to hunt them, bigger of bone
 and lim than a colt. Their colwes as also the rest of
 the

Sheepe.

their castell, and commonlie at al else fouer the countrie ingendeth (except man) is much lesse in quantitie than those of England, or of other realms. Sheepe few, and those bearing coarse fleeces, whereof they spin notable rug. Their sheepe haue short and curt tailed. They shere their sheepe twice yereleie, and if they be left unshorne, they are therewith rather pained than otherwise. The countrie is verie fruitfull both of cozne and grasse. The grasse (for default of god husbandrie) suffered vncut, groweth so ranke in the north parts, that oftentimes it rotteth their cattell. Egles are well knowen to breed in Ireland, but neither so big, nor so manie as bookes tell. The horkes are of pale caste, in running wonderfull swift, in gallop both false and full indifferent. The nag or the hackeneie is verie good for traueling, albeit others report the contrarie. And if he be broken accordinglie, you shall haue a little tit that will tranell a whole daie without arie bait. Their horkes of seruice are called chiefe horkes, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. They reine passinglie, and champe vpon their hodels brauelie, commonlie they amble not but gallop and run. And these horkes are but for skirmitshes, not for traueling, for their stomachs are such, as they disdain to be hackned. Whereof the report grew, that the Irish hobbie will not hold out in traueling. You shall haue of the third sort a bassard or mongrell hobbie, nere as tall as the horkes of seruice, strong in traueling, easie in ambling, and verie swift in running. Of the horkes of seruice they make great store, as wherin at times of need they repose a great pece of safetie. This good Volaterrane writeth to haue come from Austrea, the countrie of Hispanie, betwene Galicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Asturcones, a name now properlie applied to the Hispanish genet.

Egle.

The Irish hobbie.

The nag.

The chiefe horkes.

The mongrell hobbie.

Volat. lib. 3. Geog. Asturcones.

The names of the ciuities, boroughs and haven townes in Ireland.

The third chapter.

Dublinum.

Dublin the beautie and eye of Ireland, hath bene named by Ptolome, in ancient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublinia, others Dublinia, manie write it Dublinum, auhors of better skill name it Dublinium. The Irish call it, Baile ex Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdels. For the common opinion is, that the plot vpon which the ciuitie is builded, hath bene a marish ground; and for that by the art or inuention of the first founder, the water could not be voided, he was forced to falken the quakemire with hurdels, and vpon them to build the citie. I heard of some that came of building of houses to this foundation: and other hold opinion that if a cart or waine run with a round and maine pale through a street called the high street, the houses on each side shall be perced to shake. This citie was builded, or rather the buildings thereof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lord 155. For about this time there arrived in Ireland three noble Castellers that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Puorus. Auellanus being the eldest brother builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterford, and Puorus Limerike. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of speach Eblana. This citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferiour to anie citie in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chieftie, in

Dublin builded.

Auellanus the founder of Dublin.

Auellana. Eblana.

obedience and loialtie, in the abundance of wealth, in largenesse of hospitalite, in maners and civilitie it is superiour to all other cities and townes in that realme. And therefore it is commonlie called the Irish or yong London. The seat of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and wholesome. If you would traueise hils, they are not far off. If champlon ground, it lieth of all parts. If you be delited with fresh water, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnum, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. The onlie fault of this citie is, that it is lesse frequented of merchant estrangers, because of the bare haven. Their charter is large. King Henrie the fourth gave this citie the sword, in the yeare of our Lord 1409, and was ruled by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes by a charter granted by Edward the first, in the yeare of our Lord 1547. In which yeare John Kians and Robert Kians, two worshipfull gentlemen, were colleagues in that office, & thereof they are named the last bailiffes & first shiriffes that haue bene in Dublin. It appereth by the ancient seale of this citie, called *signum prepositurae*, that this citie hath bene in old time gouerned by a prouost.

The hospitalite of the maior and the shiriffes for the yeare being, is so large and bountifull, that southlie (London forepiced) verie few such officers vnder the crowne of England keepe so great a port, none I am sure greater. The maior, ouer the number of officers that take their bailie repast at his table, keepeth for his yeare in maner open house. And albeit in tearme time his house is frequented as well of the nobilitie as of other potentais of great calling: yet his ordinarie is so good, that a verie few set feasts are provided for them. They that spend least in their maiortie (as those of credit, yea and such as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinarie account of five hundred pounds for their biand and diet that yeare: which is no small summe to be bestowed in housekeeping, namelie where vittels are so good cheape, and the presents of friends diuers and sundrie.

There hath bene of late yeares a worshipfull gentleman, named Patrike Scarfesfield, that bare the office of the maiortie in Dublin, who kept so great port in this yeare, as his hospitalite to his fame and renowne resteth as yet in fresh memorie. One of his expectall and entire friends entering in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well nere expired, moued question, to what he thought his expenses all that yeare amounted? Truiss James (so his friend was named) quoth maister Scarfesfield, I take betwene me and God, when I entered into mine office, the last saint Hierome his daie (which is the morrow of Michaelmasse, on which daie the maior taketh his oth before the chiefe baron, at the exchequer within the castell of Dublin) I had three barnes well stored and thwacht with cozne, and I assured my selfe, that anie one of these three had bene sufficient to haue stored mine house with bread, ale, and beere for this yeare. And now God and god companie be thanked, I stand in doubt, whether I shall rub out my maiortie with my third barne, which is well nigh with my yeare ended. And yet nothing limiteth me so much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellows that you see here (he ment the sergeants and officers) are readie to sit from me, and make their next yeares abode with the next maior.

And certes I am so much wedded to god fellowship, as if I could mainteine mine house to my contentation, with destaining of five hundred pounds yereleie, I would make humble sute to the citizens,

Dublin the Irish London.

The sword given to Dublin.

Dublin gouerned by a prouost.

The hospitalite of the maior and shiriffes.

Patrike Scarfesfield his hospitalite.

The morrow of Michaelmasse.

Dublin within the castle.

to be their officer these thre yeaeres to come.ouer
this, he did at the same time protest with oth, that he
spent that yeaere in housekeeping twentie tuns of
claret wine, ouer and aboue white wine, sacke, mal-
meise, muscadell, &c. And in vertie deed it was not to
be marvelled: for during his maioraltie, his house
was so open, as commonly from fiue of the clocke in
the morning, to ten at night, his butterie and cellars
were with one crew or other frequented. To the
haunting of which ghests were the soner allured, for
that you should neuer marke him or his bedfellovs
(such was their buronnelle) once frovone or twyn-
kle their foreheads, or bend their browes, or glotome
their countenances, or make a fowre face at anie
ghest, were he neuer so meane. But their intertein-
ment was so notable, as they would sauce their
bountifull & deintie faire with heartie and amiable
chere. His porter or anie other officer durst not for
both his eares giue the simplest man that resorted to
his house Tom drum his interteimment, which is, to
hale a man in by the head, and thrust him out by both
the shoulders. For he was fullie resolved, that his
worship and reputation could not be more disained,
than by the currlis interteimment of anie ghest. To
be brieft (according to the golden verses of the an-
cient and famous English poet Geffrie Chaucer:

Tom drum
his intertein-
ment.

Chaucer his
the prolog
of his Can-
surburie tales

An housholder, and that a great, was hee,
Saint Iulian he was in his countrie.
His bread, his ale, was alwaie after one,
A better viended man was no where none,
Without bakte meat was neuer his houle,
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteouse.
It shewed in his house of meat and drinke,
Of all deinties that men could thinke.
After the sundrie seasons of the yere,
So changed he his meat and his suppere,
Full manie a fat partrich had he in mew,
And manie a breime, and manie a luce in stew.

Some of his friends, that were smugging penie-
fathers, would take him by verie roughlie for his
laushing & his outrageous expences, as they tearme
it. Tilly my matters (would he saie) take not the
matter so hot; who so cometh to my table, and
hath no need of my meat, I know he cometh for
the god will be beareth me; and therefore I am be-
holding to thanke him for his companie: if he resort
for need, how mate I bestow my goods better, than in
releuing the poze? If you had perceiued me to far
behind hand, as that I had bene like to haue brought
haddocke to paddocke, I would patientlie permit
you, both largelie to controll me, and friendlie to re-
proue me. But so long as I cut so large thongs of
mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to
my buckle, and during the time I keepe my selfe so
farre adde, as that I haue as much water as my
ship draweth: I praye pardon me to be liberall in
spending, sith God of his goodnesse is gracious in
lending.

And in deed so it fell out. For at the end of his
maioraltie he bought no man a doctin. What he dis-
pended was his owne: and euer after during his
life, he kept so worthe a standing house, as that he
seemed to surrender the princes sword to other ma-
iors, and reserved the poze & hospitallie to himselfe.
Not long before him was Nicholas Stamburth
their maior, who was so great and good an houshol-
der, that during his maioraltie, the lord chancelor of
the realme was his daile and ordinarie ghest. There
hath bene of late worshipfull pozes kept by maister
Frian, who was twise maior, maister Sedgraue,
Thomas Fitz Simons, Robert Cusacke, Walter
Cusacke, Nicholas Fitz Simons, James Bedlow,
Christopher Fagan, and diuerse others. And not one-
lie their officers so farre excell in hospitallie, but al-

Nicholas
Stamburth.

The hospitallie
house of Dub-
lin.

so the greater part of the ciuitie is generallie addi-
ted to such ordinarie and standing houses, as it would
make a man muse which waie they are able to beare
it out, but onelie by the goodnesse of God, which is the
upholder and furtherer of hospitallie. What should
I here speake of their charitable almes, daile and
hourelie extended to the needie? The poze prisoners
both of the shewgate and the castell, with thre or
four hospitalls, are chieftie, if not onelie, relieued by
the citizens.

Furthermore, there are so manie other extraor-
dinarie beggers that daile swarme there, so chari-
table succored, as that they make the whole ciuitie in
effect their hospitall. The great expences of the citi-
zens maie probablie be gathered by the worthe and
fairlike markets, weeklie on wednesdaies and fridaies
kept in Dublin. Their shamblis is so well stored with
meat, and their market with corne, as not onelie in
Ireland, but also in other countries you shall not see
anise one shamblis, or anise one market better furni-
shed with the one or the other, than Dublin is. The
citizens haue from time to time in sundrie conflicts
so galled the Irish, that euen to this date, the Irish
feare a ragged and fagged blake standard that the
citizens haue, almost through tract of time worne to
the hard stumps. This standard they carrie with
them in hostings, being neuer displaied but when
they are readie to enter into battell, and come to the
shock. The sight of which danteth the Irish about
measure.

The shamblis
and markets
at Dublin.

The blake
standard.

And for the better training of their youth in mar-
tial exploits, the citizens vse to muster foure times
by the yeaere: on Blake mondaie, which is the mo-
row of Easter daie, on Maie daie, saint John Bap-
tist his eue, and saint Peter his eue. Whereof two
are ascribed to the maior & shiriffes: the other two, to
wit, the musters on Maie daie and saint Peter his
eue, are assigned to the maior and shiriffes of the
Bull ring. The maior of the Bull ring is an officer
lected by the citizens, to be as it were capteine or gar-
dian of the batchelers and the unwedded youth of the
ciuitie. And for the yeaere he hath authoritie to chastise
and punish such as frequent brothelhouses, and the
like vnchast places. He is tearmed the maior of the
Bull ring, of an iron ring that sticketh in the corne
market, to which the bulles that are yeaerlie bated
be vsuallie tied: which ring is had by him and his
companie in so great price, as if anie citizen batchel-
ler hap to marrie, the maior of the Bull ring and his
crew conduct the bridegrome vpon his returning from
church, to the market place, and there with a solemne
hisse for his *plimum vale*, he doth homage vnto the
Bull ring.

The musters
of Dublin.

The maior of
the Bull ring

The Blake mondaie muster spring of this oc-
casion. Soone after Ireland was conquered by the
Bisitons, & the greater part of Leinster pacified, di-
uerse towneismen of Bisslow flitted from thence to
Dublin, and in short space the ciuitie was by their so
well inhabited, as it grew to be verie populous.
Wherevpon the citizens hauing ouer great affiance
in the multitude of the people, and so consequentlie
being somewhat retchlesse in having the mountaine
enemie that lurked vnder their noses, were wont to
come and roile in clusters, sometime thre or foure
miles from the towne. The Irish enemie spieing that
the citizens were accustomed to fetch such od vagar-
ies, especiallie on the holie daies, & hauing an insu-
ling withall by some false clatterfart or other, that a
companie of them would haue ranged abroad, on
mondaie in the Easter weeke towards the wood of
Cullen, which is distant two miles from Dublin,
they late in the verie well appointed, and laid in sun-
drye places for their comming. The citizens rather
minding the pleasure they should presentlie enjoy,
than

The blake
mondaie.

Dublin inha-
bited by the
Bisitons.
This was a-
bout the yeaere
of our Lord
1209.

The description of Ireland.

than forecasting the hurt that might insue, flockt armed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them that laie howing in ambush, they were to the number of five hundred miserable slain. Whereupon the remnant of the citizens deeming that unluckie time to be a crosse or a dismal date, gaue it the appellation of Blacke mondaie.

The citie sone after being peopled by a fresh supplye of Britfolians, to dare the Irish enemie, agreed to banket pearlie in that place, which to this date is obserued. For the maiors and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a coslie dinner within a mote or a roundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mountaine enemie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a pastie crust from thence. Dublin hath at this date within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are parish churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chapels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sancta trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Aullanus his time, yet sone after by the Danes. The building of which was both repared & enlarged by Critins prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and sone after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephans and Strangbow the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intombed. The chapell that standeth in the choirs, commonlie called the new chapell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Kilbare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intombed.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, inuend with notable linings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chapell at the north doore which is called the parish church. This church was founded by the famous and worshipful prelate John Commyn, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. This foundation was greatlye aduanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christs church for antiquitie, where in doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to giue place, vnlesse they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build vpon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michael, Saint Werberosse, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Cheshire virgin. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chapels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chapell, the other S. Martins chapell. His feast is kept the thirde of February. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Andrew, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The parish of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the worthies of the citie are demurant within that parish.

Saint Tulloche now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the moze part buried. The parish was meared from the Crane castell, to the fifth shambles, called the Cockhill, with Weston his innes, & the lane thereto adioining, which scope is now vntied to Saint John his parish. S. Katharine, S. Michan or Michan, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the five and twentieth of Iulie, on which date in ancient time was there a worshipful faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as

well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dogcheape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was peare by yeare sufficientlie flozed by strangers: and the citie merchants not uttering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and thereupon forced to run on the score, were verie much impoverished. Wherefore partlie through the cannaising of the towne merchants, and partlie by the winking of the rest of the citizens, being won vpon manie gate glosed promises, by plaieng bopépe to beare themselves ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppress, and all forren faile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memorie of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint James his gate. Saint Michael of Poules, *alias* Paules, Saint Brigide, Saint Benin, Saint Peter Demonte, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan: this was erected for an hospitall for poze, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this date, although not in such chast and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the erection thereof. The maior with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates nere the White friers, Saint Owen his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poule gate, *alias* Paules gate, Newgate, a goale or prison, Wine tauerne gate, Saint Audeon his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cocke street. The reason why this gate, and the Wine tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruce a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots arrived in the north of Ireland. From thence he marched on forwarde with his armie, vntill he came as far as Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being sore amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approach of so puissant an enemie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his street, least he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue any succour in the suburbs. The maior (named Robert Pottingham) and commonaltie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbey of the frier preachers, called Saint Sauour his monastrie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that waie did cast a wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, mistrusting that the wals that went along both the ketes, should not haue bene of sufficient force to outhold the enemie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remoued towards the Paas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbey they razed; saieng, that although latwes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Curmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Cockolds post. Some suppose, that one Curmundus builded this gate; and thereof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Irish assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Desmond, then by god hap solourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the valiant exploit and famous conquest of so worshipful a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Desmond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Petowstreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

The controuersie betwixt Christs church and Saint Patrikes church.

Fitz Simons.

S. James his faire.

The names of the gates of the citie and suburbs of Dublin.

The description of Ireland.

than forecasting the hurt that might insue, flockt unarmed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them that laie hounding in ambush, they were to the number of five hundred miserable slaine. Whereupon the remnant of the citizens determining that unluckie time to be a crosse or a dismal date, gaue it the appellation of Blacke mondaie.

The citie soon after being peopled by a fresh supplie of Bisskoltians, to dace the Irish enimie, agreed to banket pearlie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the malor and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the malor bestoweth a coslie dinner within a mote or a roundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mountaine enimie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a pastie crust from thence. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are parioch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chapels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sancte trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auellanus his time, yet soon after by the Danes. The building of which was both repared & enlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and soon after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephans and Strangbow the erle of Denbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intombed. The chapel that standeth in the choire, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Kilbare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intombed.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable linings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north doore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worthy prelate John Commin, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. This foundation was greatlie advanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christs church for antiquitie, wherein doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to glue place, unless they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build upon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michaell, Saint Terberosse, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Welshire virgine. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. His feast is kept the third of february. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Andrew, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the worthies of the citie are demurraunt within that paroch.

Saint Cullocke now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the moze part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane castell, to the fish thambles, called the Cockhill, with Drefson his innes, & the lane thereto adioining, which scope is now vntied to Saint John his paroch. S. Catharine, S. Michan or Mighan, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the five and twentieth of Iulie, on which daie in ancient time was there a worthie faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, unto which resorted diuers merchants, as

well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dogdeape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie storied by strangers; and the citie merchants not uttering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and thereupon forced to run on the score, were verie much impoverished. Wherefore partlie thorough the canuassing of the towne merchants, and partlie by the twinkling of the rest of the citizens, being wonn upon manie gate glosed promises, by plaieng bopape to beare themselves ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppress, and all forren saile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memorizall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pittched at Saint James his gate. Saint Michaell of Poules, alias Paulus, Saint Wigtie, Saint Beuin, Saint Peter Demonte, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this daie, although not in such chast and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the erection thereof. The malor with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates nere the White friers, Saint Benn his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poule gate, alias Paulus gate, Fetogate, a goale or pri-son, Wine tauerne gate, Saint Andrew his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Carke-
street. The reason why this gate, and the Wine tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruce a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots arrived in the north of Ireland. From thence he marched on towards with his armie, untill he came as far as Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being fore amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approach of so puissant an enimie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his street, lest he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue any succour in the suburbs. The malor (named Robert Pottingham) and communalitie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbey of the frier preachers, called Saint Sauour his monastrie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that wale did cast a wall for the better fortifying of the citie, mistrusting that the wals that went along both the keies, should not haue bene of sufficient force to outhold the enimie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remoued towards the plaas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbey they razed; saieing, that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Gormund his gate, hard by the Curull, or Cockolds post. Some suppose, that one Gormundus builded this gate; and thereof to take the name. Others indge, that the Irish assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Desmond, then by good hap sojourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the balliant exploit and famous conquest of so worthie a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memoire, the gate bare the name of Desmond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Fetowstreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

The controversie betwixt Christs church and Saint Patrikes church.

Fitz Simons.

S. James his faire.

The names of the gates of the citie and suburbs of Dublin.

The names
of the streets,
bridges, lanes
and other no-
tious places
in Dublin.
John Decker.

St. Mann.

1050

1095
St. Mann-
towne, whyp
called.

The lanes.

The Damnes street, the Castle street, stretching to the pillorie, Saint Werberosses street, Saint John his street, *alias* fishamble street, Skinners row reaching from the pillorie to the tolehall, or to the high crosse. The High street bearing to the high pipe. This pipe was builded in the yeare 1308, by a wo; this citizen named John Decker, being then maior of Dublin. He builded not long before that time the bridge hard by Saint Woldans, that reacheth over the Liffie. The Newgate street, from the Newgate to Saint Audoen his church. Saint Nicholas his street, the Milne tauerne street, the Cooke street, the Bridge street. This street with the greater part of the heie was burnt in the yeare 1304. The Woldkete, the Merchant heie, Dimon-
towne, so called of certeine Castlerings or Por-
mans, properlie the Danes that were called St. Manni. They planted themselves hard by the wa-
ter side nere Dublin, and discomfited at Clontarfe in a skirmish diuerse of the Irish. The names of the Irish captains slaine were Brian Borrough, Biagh mackie Ben, Ladie Okellie, Dolin Shertegan, Gille Barrameda. These were Irish potentates, and before their discomfiture they ruled the royl. They were interred at Bilmantowne over against the great crosse. There arrived a fresh supplie of Castlerings at Dublin in the yeare 1095, and settled themselves on the other side of the ciuitie, which of them to this date is called St. mantowne, that is, the towne of the St. Mannes, whereof there ariseth great likelihood to haue bene a separat towne from the citie, being parted from Dublin by the Liffie, as Southwiche is seuered from London by Thames. Saint Thomas his street; this street was burnt by mishap in the yeare 1343. The New buildings, the New street, Saint Francis his street, the Botome, Saint Patrike his street, the backside of Saint Sepulchres, Saint Heuen his street, the Poule, or Paulmill street, Saint Wiglos street, the Sheepe street, *alias* the Ship street. For diuerse are of opinion, that the sea had passage that waie, and thereof to be called the Ship street.

This as it seemeth not wholie impossible, considering that the sea floweth and ebberth hard by it: so it carrieth a moze colour of truth with it, because there haue bene found there certeine iron rings fastned to the towne wall, to hold and grapple botes withall. Saint Werberosses lane, by to Saint Nicholas his street, now inclosed, Saint Michaele his lane, beginning at Saint Michaele his pipe, Christchurch lane, Saint John his lane, Ram lane, *alias* the Scholehouse lane, Saint Audoen his lane, Beters lane. This lane is strepe & slipperie, in which otherwhyles, they that make moze hast, than good speed, clinke their bums to the stones. And therefore the ruder sort, whether it be through corruption of speech, or for that they giue it a nickname, commonlie terme it, not so homelie, as trullie, Kisse arsse lane. Rochell lane, *alias* Bachelane, on the southside of the flesh Chables, the Cooke street lane, Frapper lane, Ciglottes hill, Marie lane, Saint Talloche his lane, Scarlet lane, *alias* Floods lane, Saint Pulchers lane, Saint Kenin his lane, the White friers lane, Saint Stephen his lane, Hogs lane, the Sea lane, Saint George his lane, where in old time were builded diuerse old and ancient monuments. And as an insearcher of antiquities may (by the view there to be taken) coniecture, the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should seeme to haue stretched that waie. But the inhabitants being dailie and bourelie molested and pried by their polling mountaine neighbors, were forced to suffer their buildings fall in decaye, and embayed themselves with in the citie wals.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets innes, which in old time was the Escacar or Erchecker. Which should imple that the princes court would not haue bene kept there, vntlesse the place had bene taken to be cocksure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnilie, and as it seemed, retch-
leslie; the Irish espient the oportunitie, rushed into the court in plumps, where surpising the vnweap-
ned multitude, they committed horrible slaughters by sparing none that came vnder their dint; and with-
all, as far as their heartboough leasure could serue them, they ransacked the prince his thesaure, vpon which mishap the erchecker was from thence remo-
ued. There hath bene also in that lane a chappell de-
dicated to saint George, likelie to haue bene found-
ded by some worthy knight of the garter. The mai-
or with his brethren was accustomed with great tri-
umphs and pageants pærelle on saint George his feast to repaire to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath bene of late razed, and the stones therof by consent of the assemblie turned to a com-
mon ouen, conuertyng the ancient monument of a
doutie, aduenturous, and holie knight, to the cole,
rake sweeping of a puddoase baker. The great bridge going to St. mantowne, saint Nicholas his bridge, the Poule gate bridge, repared by Nicholas Stant-
hurst about the yeare one thousand five hundred for-
tie & foure, the Castell bridge, S. James his bridge.
The castell of Dublin was builded by Henrie
Roundres (sometime archbishop of Dublin, and lord
iustice of Ireland) about the yeare of our Lord one
thousand two hundred and twentie. This castell
hath beside the gate house foure goodlie and substan-
tiall towers, of which one of them is named Ber-
mingham his tower, whether it were that one of the
Berminghams did enlarge the building thereof, or
elle that he was long in durelle in that tower. This
castell hath bene of late much beautified with sun-
dry and gorgeous buildings in the time of sir Hen-
rie Sidneie, sometimes lord deputie of Ireland.
In the commendation of which buildings an expect-
all welwiller of his lordships penned these verses:

*Gesta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,
Laudis & in chartis signata fixa manent.
Verum sidnei laudes hac saxa loquuntur,
Nec iacet in solis gloria tanta libri.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
Lignaque si pereant, non ergo saxa peribunt,
Saxaque si pereant tempore, tempus erit.
Si pereat tempus, minime consumitur aenum,
Quod cum principio sed sine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dum viuere possunt,
Dum quoque cum lignis saxa manere valent,
Dum remanet tempus, dum denique permanet aenum,
Laud tua, sidnei, digna perire nequit.*

There standeth nere the castell ouer against a
bold roome called Preston his innes, a tower named
Floods tower. It toke the name of la Beale Flood, Floods to-
wer. daughter to Angult king of Ireland. It seemeth to
haue bene a castle of pleasure for the kings to recre-
at themselves therein. Which was not unlike, con-
sidering that a meaner tower might serue such single
soule kings as were at those daies in Ireland. There
is a village hard by Dublin, called of the said la
Beale, chappell Flood.

Saint Pulchers, the archbishop of Dublin his
house, as well pleasantlie sited, as goodlie built.
Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of
this house was of set purpose fired by an archbishop,
to the end the gouernors (which for the moze part laie
there) should not haue so good liking to the house: not
far disagreeing from the policie that I heard a noble
man

The old Es-
carcar.

S. George
his chappell.

The bridges.

1544.

The castell.

1220.

Bermingham
his tower.

1566.

Chappell
Flood.

Saint
Pulchers.

The description of Ireland.

man tell he bled, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other cholle horses, did bebaile him vpon his returne to the stable, least anie of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so beuoutifullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, of discretion he would seeme to giue his friend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

The names
of the fields
adjoining to
Dublin.
Scaldbrother
parcher.

Saint Stephens graine, Hogging graine, the greine, Diamond graine. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scaldbrothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious theefe named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hie all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath oftentimes outrun the swiftest and lustiest young men in all Diamond graine, maugre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the gallows, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being throwed within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie pilling, till time he was by certeine gaping gromes that late in wait for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauing vpon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and solitie he was wont to run. There standeth in Diamond graine an hillocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

Scaldbrother
executed.

Little John.
1189.

Robert Hood.

In the yere one thousand one hundred fourscore and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were chiefe, of all theues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betrayed at a nurrie in Scotland called Wicklies, the remnant of the crew was scattered, and euerie man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherevpon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartlie to trie how far he could shoot at random: who yielding to their behest, stood on the bridge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leaning behind him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be wondered, than possible by anie man liuing to be counterfeited. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or villiage called Moranie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue bene fourtene foot long, which was a pretie length for a little John. Whereby appereth that he was called little John ironicallie, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graine.

The king his
lenn.

Here to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annexed to the crowne, which are named

to this daie, the Kings land; to wit, Newcastell, Gallaggard, Eschire, and Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin payeth a greater cheefe rent to the prince than anie of the other three, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemeanors, took them by vertue sharpe in the court, and with rough and minatozie speeches began to menace them. The lobbyish and desperat cloberiousnesse, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the forehead, and left him there spalling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was enhanced, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other three manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is aforesaid) in the yere one hundred fiftie and five. Ptolome nameth it Panapia, but whie he appropriated that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properly builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The haue is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of foreign traffike in short space attaine to a abundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtil, yea nathelesse the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or dulld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in good sooth the townsmen, and namelic students are pregnant in conceiving, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie hardie and warie in all their publicke affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke yer they leape. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maior neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poore. They are cheerefull in the intertainment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benches, no luskish saitoys: for young and old are wholie addicted to thuring, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aqua vite*, so they spin the chillest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The mastiffs had no sooner espied him, but baying he had bene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie myled, and partlie chained, he doubted not, but that he should haue bene well tugged in this Irish rug; wherevpon he solemnlie vowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such word. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue bene distained with the smallest spot, or dosked with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sunbyie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the cities armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intalle* *Waterford* *manet*: a posse as well to be hartlie followed, as greatlie admired of all true and loiall townes.

Limericke called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Duonius, as is before mentioned, about the yere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notable leuered Spounser and Connaght: the Irish name this citie Lounneagh, and thereof in English it is named Limericke. The towne is planted in an island, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was flozed with grasse. During which time it hapened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his peers, incamped

The public
waterford

Limerick

Sennan the
riuer of Limerick

Limerick
superior to

The description of Ireland.

man felt he used, who having a surpassing good horse, and such a one as over ran in a set race other chiefe horses, did bobtaile him upon his returne to the stable, least anie of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so beuittfullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, & of discretion he would seeme to giue his friend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

The names
of the fields
adjoining to
Dublin.
Scaldbrother
here.

Saint Stephens gréne, Haggling gréne, the Steine, & Mantowne gréne. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scaldbrothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles under the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious theefe named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hide all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The barlet was so swift on foot, as he hath oftentimes outrun the swiftest and lustiest young men in all Mantowne, maugre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the galloes, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being throwed within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie prouling, till time he was by certeine gaping grooms that late in wait for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauing upon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and solitie he was wont to run. There standeth in Mantowne gréne an hyllocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

Scaldbrother
executed.

Little John.
1189.

Robert Hood.

Little John
deceased.

The king his
land.

In the yere one thousand one hundred foure score and nine, there ranged thre robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were chiefe, of all theues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betrayed at a nurrie in Scotland called Wicklies, the remnant of the crew was scattered, and euerie man forced to thift for himselfe. Whereupon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartlie to trie how far he could shot at random: who yelding to their behest, stood on the bidge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leauing behind him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be wondered, than possible by anie man lining to be counterfeited. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or village called Poranie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue bene fourtene fot long, which was a pretie length for a little John. Whereby appereth that he was called little John ironcallie, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graime.

Nere to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annexed to the crowne, which are named

to this daie, the Kings land; to wit, Newcastle, Gallaggard, Eschire, and Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin paieith a greater cheefe rent to the prince than anie of the other thre, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemcanor, toke them vp verie sharple in the court, and with rough and minatozie speeches began to menace them. The lobbish and desperat clabberiousnesse, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the costard, and left him there spalling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was inhanfed, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other thre manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitracus (as is aforesaid) in the yere one hundred fiftie and five. Prolome nameth it Panapla, but whie he appropriated that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The haue is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of fozen traffike in short space attaine to abundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtil, yea nathelesse the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in god soth the townsmen, and namelic students are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie hardie and warie in all their publicke affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke yer they leape. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maior neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poore. They are cheerfull in the intertainment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle brachy whiffles, nor luskish fadoes: for young and old are wholie addicted to studying, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aqua Vicia*, so they spin the choffest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The maistris had no sooner espied him, but determining he had bene a beate, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie muzzled, and partlie chained, he doubted not, but that he should haue bene well tugged in this Irish rug; whereupon he solemnlie vowed neuer to see beate baiting in anie such weed. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue bene disfained with the smallest spot, or dulsed with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the cities armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intelligamur*: a posie as well to be hartlie followed, as greatly admired of all true and loiall townes.

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Huorus, as is before mentioned, about the yere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notable seuered *Spunster* and *Connaght*: the Irish name this citie *Loumeagh*, and thereof in English it is named *Limerike*. The towne is planted in an Island, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was flozed with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his pers, incamped

Crumlin

Waterford

Panapla

The post

manet

as

Waterford

Limerike

Shennan

the

river of

Limerike

subject to

the

incamped in that Ile, having so great a troope of horsemen, as the horses ate up the grasse in foure and twentie houres. Whereupon for the notozious number of horses, the place is called Loun ne augh; that is, the horse bare, or a place made bare or eaten up by horses. The verie maine sea is three score miles distant from the towne, and yet the river is so navigable, as a ship of two hundred tuns may saile to the keie of the citie. The river is termed in Irish *Saune amne*, that is, the old river; for *Saune* is old, & *amne* is a river, deducted of the Latine word *Amnis*. The building of *Limerike* is sumptuous and substantiall.

Cork. *Cork*, in Latine *Coracium*, or *Corracium*, the fourth citie of Ireland happilie planted on the sea. Their haven is an haven roiall. On the land side they are incamped with euill neighbors, the Irish outlaws, that they are faine to watch their gates hourly, to keepe them shut at seruice times, at meales from sun to sun, nor suffer anie stranger to enter the citie with his weapon, but the same to leaue at a lodge appointed. They walke out at seasons for recreation with powder of men furnished. They trust not the countrie adjoining, but match in wedlocke among themselves onelie, so that the whole citie is welnigh linked one to the other in affinitie. *Drogheda*, accounted the best towne in Ireland, and trille not far behind some of their citie. The one moitie of this towne is in *Speth*, the other planted on the further side of the water lieth in *Wilder*. There runneth a blind prophesie on this towne, that *Kosse* was, *Drogheda* shall be the best of the three.

Kosse. *Kosse*, an haven towne in *Spounser* not far from *Waterford*, which seemeth to haue bene in ancient time a towne of great port. Whereof sundrie & probable coniectures are giuen, as well by the old ditch that are now a mile distant from the wals of *Kosse*, betwene which wals and ditches the reliks of the ancient wals, gates, and towers, placed betwene both are yet to be seene. The towne is builded in a barren soile, and planted among a crew of naughtie and polling neighbours. And in old time when it flourisheth, albeit the towne were sufficientlie peopled, yet as long as it was not compassed with wals, they were foyned with watch & ward, to keepe it from the grædie snatching of the Irish enemies. With whom as they were generallie molested, so the priuat consoling of one pezzant on a sudden, incensed them to inuiron their towne with strong and substantiall wals. Here repaired one of the Irish to this towne on horsebacke, & espieing a peece of clothy on a merchants stall, tooke hold thereof, and bet the clothy to the lowest pice he could. As the merchant and he stood dodging one with the other in cheaping the ware, the horseman considering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growne to a pice, made wise as though he would haue draine to his purse, to haue defraied the mercie. The clothy in the meane while being tucked up and placed before him, he gaue the spur to his horse and ran awaie with the clothy, being not imbarred from his possitting pafe, by reason the towne was not perclosed either with ditch or wall. The townesmen being pinched at the heart, that one rascal in such scornfull wise should giue them the stampaine, not so much wiseng the slenderesse of the losse, as the shamefullnesse of the foile, they put their heads together, consulting how to preuent either the sudden rushing, or the posthall rising of anie such aduenturous rakehell hereafter.

In which consultation a famous *Wido*, a chaff widow, a politike dame, a bountifull gentlewoman, called *Kosse*, who representing in sinceritie of life the aueruesse of that hearbe whose name she bare, would

solded the deuise, how anie such future mischance should be preuented: and withall opened his coffers liberallie, to haue it furthered: two good properties in a counsellor. His deuise was, that the towne should incontinentlie be inclosed with wals, & there withall promised to discharge the charges, so that they would not sticke to find out labourers. The deuise of this worthie matrone being wise, and the offer liberall, the townesmen agreed to followe the one, and to put their helping hands to the atchuing of the other. The worke was begun, which thorough the multitude of hands seemed light. For the whole towne was assembled, tag and rag, cut and long taile: none exempted, but such as were bedied and impotent. Some were tasked to delue, others appointed with mattocks to dig, diuerse allotted to the vnheaping of rubbish, manie bestowed to the carriage of stones, sundrie occupied in tempering of mortar, the better sort busied in ouersieing the workmen, ech one according to his vocation imployed, as though the ciuitie of *Carthage* were afresh in building, as it is featlie testified by the golden poet *Virgil*, and neatlie Englished by master doctor *Phaer*.

The Moores with courage want to worke, some vnder burdens grones:

Some at the wals and towrs with hands were tumbling vp the stones.

Some measurd out a place to build their mansion house within:

Some lawes and officers to make in parlment did begin.

An other had an haven cast, and deepe they trench the ground,

Some other for the games and plaies a statelie place had found.

And pillars great they cut for kings, to garnish forth their wals.

And like as bees among the flours, when fresh the summer fairs,

In shine of sunne applie their worke, when growne is vp their yong:

Or when their hives they gin to stop, and honie sweet is sproong,

That all their caues and cellars close with dulcet liquor fills,

Some doo outlade, some other bring the stuffe with readie wils.

Sometime they ioine, and all at once doo from their mangers fet

The slothfull drones, that would consume, and nought would doo to get.

The worke it heats, the honie smells of flours and thime ywet.

But to retorne from *Wido* of *Carthage*, to *Kosse* of *Kosse*, and his worke. The labourers were so manie, the worke, by reason of round and exchequer payment, so well applied, the quarrie of faire marble so nere at hand (for they affinne, that out of the trenches and ditches hard by their rampiers, the stones were had: and all that plot is so stonie, that the foundation is an hard rocke) that these wals with diuerse braue tarrets were suddenlie mounted, and in manner sooner finished, than to the Irish enemies notified: which I wisse was no small cozze to them. These wals in circuit are equal to *London* wals. It hath three gorgeous gates, *Bishop* his gate, on the east side: *Algate*, on the east southeast side: and *South* gate, on the south part. This towne was no more famous for these wals, than for a notable wooden bridge that stretched from the towne unto the other side of the water, which must haue bene by reasonable surte twelue score, if not more. Diuerse of the poales, logs, and stakes, with which the bridge was vnderpyopt, sticke to this date in the water. A man would

would here suppose, that so flourishing a towne, so firme lie builded, so substantiallie walled, so well peopled, so plentifulle with thicke artificers stoied, would not have fallen to anie sudden decaye.

Rosse decayed.

But as the secret and deepe iudgements of God are veiled within the coverture of his diuine maiestie, so it standeth not with the dulnesse of man his wit, to beat his braines in the curious insearching of hidden mysteries. Wherefore I, as an historian vndertaking in this treatise, rather plainelie to declare what was done, than rashlie to inquire why it should be done: purpose, by Gods assistance, to accomplish, as nere as I can, my dutie in the one, leaning the other to the frivolous deciding of bawle heads. This Rosse, who was the foundresse of these former rehearsed wals, had issue thre sonnes (howbeit some hold opinion, that they were but hir nephues) who being bolstered out thorough the wealth of their mother, and supported by their traffike, made diuerse prosperous voyages into forren countries. But as one of the thre chappmen was imployed in his traffike abroad, so the prettie poppet his wife began to be a fresh occupying giglot at home, and by report fell so farre acquainted with a religious cloister of the towne, as that he gat within the lining of hir smocke. Both the parties wallowing ouerlong in the sinking puddle of adulterie, suspicion began to craipe in some townsmens braines: and to be briefe, it came so farre, thorough the iust iudgement of God, to light, whether it were that she was with child in hir husband his absence, or that hir louer used hir fondlie in open presence, as the presumption was not onelie vehement, but also the fact too apparent: hir vnfortunat husband had no longer notice giuen him upon his returne of these sorrowfull newes, than his fingers began to nibble, his teeth to grin, his eyes to trickle, his eares to dingle, his head to dazell, insomuch as his heart being scared with gelousie, and his wits instilled thorough pzenie, he became as mad as a March hare.

The pangs of gelousie.

But how heauilie sooner hir husband toke it, dame Rosse and all hir friends (which were in effect all the townsmen, for that she was their common benefactresse) were galled at their hearts, as well to heare of the enormous adulterie, as to see the bedden pangs of brainicke gelousie. Whereupon diuerse of the townsmen grunting and grudging at the matter, said that the fact was horrible, and that it were a deed of charitie vtterlie to grub aboute such wild shjubs from the towne: and if this were in anie dishonorable wise raked vp in the ashes, they should no longer trauesse the seas, than some other would inkindle the like fire afresh, and so consequentlie dishonest their wiues, and make their husbands to become changelings, as being turned from sober mod to be hornetwood, because rusting wiues make often rammissy husbands, as our pouverb dooth inferre. Others loathing their fellowes in these mutinies turned the pnat inturie vnto a publike quarrell, and a number of the townsmen conspiring together stocked in the dead of the night, well appointed, to the abbey, wherein the frier was cloistered (the monument of which abbey is yet to be seene at Rosse on the south side) where vnderparing the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doore, they stabbed the adulterer with the rest of the couent thorough with their weapons. Where they left them goaring in their blood, roaring in their cabins, and gasping vp their sitting ghouls in their couches.

The vprize was great, and they to whome the slaughter before hand was not imparted, were wonderfullie thereat affonied. But in especiall the remnant of the cleargie bare verie hollow hearts to the

townsmen: and how frendlie their outward countenances were, yet they would not with inward thought forget nor forgieue so horrible a murder, but were fullie resolved, whensoever oportunitie serued them, to sit in their skirts, by making them soule as sorrowfull a byzie. These thre brethren not long after this bloudie exploit, sped them into some outlandish countie to continue their trade. The religious men being done to vnderstand, as it seemed, by some of their neighbors, which foresailed them homeward, that these thre brethren were readie to be imbarcked, sunkt pyllie out of the towne, and reposed to the mouth of the haue, nere a castell, named Hulke tower, which is a notable marke for pilots, in directing them which waie to sterne their ships, and to eschew the danger of the craggie rocks there on euerie side of the shorpe peking. Some iudge that the said Rosse was foundresse of this tower, and of purpose did build it for the safetie of hir children, but at length it turned to their bane. For these reuengers nightlie did not misse to laie a lanterne on the top of the rocks, that were on the other side of the water, which practise was not long by them continued, when these thre passengers bering saile with a lustie gale of wind, made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had bene the Hulke tower. But they toke their marke so farre amisse, as they were not ware, till time their ship was dashed and payst against the rocks, and all the passengers ouershipred in the sea.

This heante hap was not so sorrowfull vnto the townsmen, as it was gladome to the religious, thinking that they had in part cried them acquittance, the more that they, which were drowned, were the archbrochers of their brethrens blood. Howbeit they would not crie hoa here, but sent in post some of their conent to Rome, where they inhanled the slaughter of the fraternitie so beynouille, and concealed their owne pranks so couertlie, as the pope excommenged the towne, the towne accursed the friers: so that there was such cursing and banning of all hands, and such dissentions bucle bucle raised betwene themselves, as the estate of that flourishing towne was turned at the verie topside the otherwaie, and from abundance of prosperitie quite exchanged to extreame penurie.

The wals stand to this daie, a few streets and houses in the towne, no small parcell thereof is turned to orchards and gardens. The greater part of the towne is keepe and streaming vpward. Their church is called Christs church, in the north side whereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke his tome: whereby coniecture may rise, that the Danes were founders of that church. This Rosse is called Rosse Nova, or Rosse Pont, by reason of their bridge. That which they call old Rosse, beareth call thre miles from this Rosse, into the countie of Weirford, an ancient manour of the earle of Kilkennie. There is the third Rosse on the other side of the water, called Rosse Ibarcan, so named, for that it standeth in the countie of Kilkennie, which is diuided into thre parts, into Ibarcan, Iba, & I-dough. Weirford a haue towne not far from Rosse, I find no great matters thereof recorized, but onelie that it is to be had in great price of all the English posteritie, planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the first fostresse and harbor of the English conquerors.

Kilkennie, the best vplandish towne, or as they terme it the properest byle toton in Ireland, it is parted into the high towne, and the Irish towne. The Irish towne clatmeth a corporation apart from the high towne, whereby great factions grow daile betwene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irish towne

Hulke tower

The proper estate of Kilk

From Kilk old Rosse

Rosse Ibarcan

Kilkennie

tolone is the ancienter, and was called the old Kil-
kennie, being under the bishop his becke, as they are
ought to be at this present. The high towne was
buldoe by the English after the conquest, and had a
parcell of the Irish towne thereto united, by the bi-
shop his grant, made unto the founders upon their
earnest request. In the yeare 1400, Robert Talbot
a worthy gentleman, inclosed with wals the better
part of this towne, by which it was greatly fortified.
This gentleman deceased in the yeare 1415. In
this towne in the choye of the frier preachers, Will-
iam Sparshall earle marshall and earle of Penbroke
was buried, who departed this life in the yeare 1231.
Richard brother to William, to whom the inheri-
tance descended, within three yeares after deceased
at Kilkennie, being wounded to death in a field gi-
ven in the heath of Kildare, in the yeare 1234, the
twelve of April, and was intombed with his wy-
ther, according to the old epitaph here mentioned:

*Hic comes est positus Richardus vulnere fissus,
Cuius sub fossa Kilkennia continet ossa.*

The churches
of Kilkennie.

The gram-
mar school,
Pierce
Butler,
Margaret
Fitzgerald.

Peter White.

Kilkennie
howe so cal-
led.
The life of
Thomas.

This towne had three churches, saint Kennes
church, our ladies church, and S. Patricks church, and
S. Patricks church, with the abbey of S. John. S.
Kennes church is their chiefe and cathedrall church, a
worthy foundation as well for gorgeous buildings,
as for notable livings. In the west end of the church
yard of late haue bene founded a grammar school
by the right honorable Pierce or Peter Butler erle
of Desmond and Mosie, and by his wife the coun-
tesse of Desmond, the ladie Margaret fitz Gerald,
sister to Gerald fitz Gerald the earle of Kildare that
last was. Out of which school haue sprouted such pro-
per impes, though the painfull diligence, and the
labour some industrie of a famous lettered man M.
Peter White (sometime fellow of Oxiall college in
Oxford, and scholemaster in Kilkennie) as general-
lie the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especial-
lie the southerne parts of that Island are greatly
thereby furthered. This gentlemen's method in tra-
ining up youth was rare and singular, framing the
education according to the scholars beine. If he
found him free, he would bryde him like a wife & so-
crates from his booke; if he perceived him to be dull,
he would spur him forward; if he understood that he
were the worse for beating, he would win him with
rewards; finally, by interlasing studie with recrea-
tion, sorrow with mirth, paine with pleasure, towe-
ne with swetnesse, roughnesse with mildnesse, he
had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good
soth I may boldly bide by it, that in the realme of
Ireland was no grammar school so good, in Eng-
land I am well assured none better. And because it
was my happy hap (God and my parents be than-
ked) to haue bene one of his cruse, I take it to stand
with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie
in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifest my good
will in remembryng his paines. And certes, I ac-
knowledge my selfe so much bound and beholding to
him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest
stone cemented in the wals of that famous school.
This towne is named Kilkennie, of an holie and
learned abbat called Canicus, borne in the countie
of Kilkennie, or (as it is in some booke recorded) in
Connaght. This prelat being in his suckling yeres
fostered, though the prouidence of God, with the
milke of a cow, and baptized and bishoped by one Lu-
racus, thereto by Gods especiall appointment depu-
ted, grew in tract of time to such deuotion and lear-
ning, as he was reputed of all men to be as well a
mirror of the one, as a paragon of the other: where-
of he gaue sufficient coniecture in his minority. For
being turned to the keeping of the shepe, and his fellow
shepheards, wholie pelding themselves like lusty

bagabunds to stouth and sluggishnesse, yet would he
still find himselfe occupied in framing with osiers
and twigs, little wooden churches, and in fashioning
the furnitures thereto appertaining. Being kept
further in yeares, he made his repaire into Eng-
land, where cloistering himselfe in an abbey, wherof
one named Doctus was abbat, he was wholie wed-
ded to his booke, and to deuotion: wherein he conti-
nued so painefull and diligent, as being on a certeine
time penning a serious matter, and hauing not ful-
lie drawne the fourth vocall, the abbey bell tinge
to assemble the couent to some spirituall exercise. To
which he so hastened, as he left the letter in semicir-
clewise unfinished, untill he returned backe to his
booke. Sone after being promoted to ecclesiasticall
orders, he travelled by the consent of his fellow
monks to Rome, and in Italie he gaue such mani-
fest pfose of his pietie, as to this daie in some parts
thereof he is highly renowned.

20 Thomas towne, a proper towne builded in the
countie of Kilkennie, by one Thomas Fitzantonie
an Englishman. The Irish thereof name it Ballie
mac Andan: that is, the towne of Fitzantonie.
This gentleman had issue two daughters, the one
of them was espoused to Denne, the other married
to Archdeacon, or Spachoda, whose heires haue at
this daie the towne betwene them in coparcenarie.
But because the reader may see in what part of the
countie the cities and chiefe townes stand, I take
it not far amisse to place them in order as insueth.

30 Drogheda, Carregfargus, Downe, Armagh, Ar-
glash, Clogher, Puncighan, Downegaule, Carrig
mac Kesse, Petoie, Carlingford, Ardrie, Don-
dalkie, Louth, Dublin, Bulrozie, Liske, Swords,
Cathagard, Lons, Belcastle, Rathcoule, Dugh-
ter arde, Paas, Clane, Paimoth, Killocke, Ra-
thangan, Kildare, Luinane, Castletowne, Philips
towne, Spariborough, Kilkullen, Castle Marten,
Thistledermot, Killea, Athie, Catherlaugh, Leighe-
len, Gauranne, Thomas towne, Enestocke, Ca-
shelle, Callanne, Kilkennie, Knocktofer, Kesse,
Clonmelle, Wessford, Fernes, Fidderd, Enestoe-
tie, Rathmon, Wicklow, Arkloa, Waterford, Lis-
more, Dongaruan, Poghill, Cozke, Limerike,
Kilmallocke, Aloane, Caluote, Anrie, Louaghtagh,
Clare, Coame, Sligagh, Kessicomman, Aralowne,
Trinne, Donaghallene, Rathlouth, Pananne,
Abbie, Scrine, Caragh, Kemes, Donboine,
Greenocke, Dulae, Spolingare, Fowle, Lough-
seude, Kilkennistowne, Spilagagh, Delinane.

In the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of
king Henrie the eight, it was enacted in a parlement
holden at Dublin before sir Anthoine Sentleger
knight, lord deputie of Ireland, that Maith should be
divided and made two shires, one of them to be cal-
led the countie of Maith, the other to be called the
countie of Wexmesth, and that there should be two
shiriffes and officers conuenient within the same
shires, as is more exprest in the act.

60 Loughfoile, the Banne, Molberstith, Crareg-
fergus, Strangford, Ardglas, Loughneuen, Car-
lingford, Killeale, Dundalkie, Kilklogher, Dunane,
Drogheda, Houlepatricke, Panie, Baltraie, Wzi-
more, Balbighgen, Roggers towne, Skerrish,
Rath, Galahide, Banledowle, Houth, Dublin, Dal-
ke, Wickinckloa, Arkloa, Wessford, Wagganbur,
the Passage, Waterford, Dongaruan, Kesse noua,
Ponghille, Cozke mabegge, Cozke, Kinsale, Kierie,
Kesse Ibbere, Dozie, Balfinimore, Downenere,
Downeshead, Downcloune, Attannanne, Crag-
hanna, Downenewine, Balinekilliedge, Dan-
gine Achoune, Eratie, Semine, Callanne, Kille-
wine, Limerike, Inniskartie, Belalenne, Arrie-
newine, Glanemaugh, Balliweisham, Birtwarre,
C. 2.

Thomas
towne.
Thomas
Fitzantonie.

The names
of the chiefe
townes in
Wilder.
The names
of the chiefe
townes in
Leinster.

Chiefe townes
in Downe.
Chiefe townes
in Connaght.
Chiefe townes
in Maith.
Chiefe townes
in Wexmesth.

1542

The names
of the chiefe
hauen townes
in Ireland.

The description of Ireland.

Dowris, Mozan, Roskam, Galwate, Killinillie, Innesbosinne, Duzan, Moate, Kilcolken, Burke, Belleclare, Rathesilbene, Bierweisowze, Buraueis hare, Ardne makow, Rosbare, Kilgolinne, Malalele, Kabzanne, Strone, Burweis now, Zaltira, Balbalie, Ardnoche, Abzowze, Sligaghe, Innes Botowenne.

Camb. lib. 1.
top. dist. 2. rub.
3. & 4.

Cambrensis observed in his time, that when the sea doth eb at Dublin, it ebberth also at Biffow, and floweth at Spilford and Weifford. At Wickloa the sea ebberth when in all other parts it commonlie floweth. Furthermore this he noted, that the river which runneth by Wickloa upon a low eb is salt, but in Arckloa the next haven towne, the river is fresh when the sea is at full. He writeth also, that not far from Arckloa standeth a rocke, and when the sea ebberth in one side thereof, it floweth in the other side as fast. Cambrensis insearcheth diuerse philosophicall reasons in finding out the cause, by obseruing the course of the mone, who is the emperesse of moisture. But those subtilties I leaue for the scholestrēts,

Of the strange and woonderfull places in Ireland.

The fourth chapter.

S. Patrike his purgatorie.

THinke it good to begin with S. Patrike his purgatorie, partlie because it is most notoriouse knowne, & partlie the more, that some writers, as the author of Polychronicon and others that were miscaried by him, seeme to make great doubt where they need not. For they ascribe the finding out of the place not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie, but an other Patrike an abbat, whom likewise they affirme to haue bene employed in conuerting the Iland from heathenrie to christianitie.

Camb. lib. 1.
top. dist. 2. rub.
6.

But the author that brooched this opinion, is not found to carie anie such credit with him, as that a man may certeinlie affirme it, or probablie conjecture it; vnlesse we relie to the old withered woyme eaten legend, loaded with as manie towed lies, as letab lines. The better and the more certeine opinion is, that the other Patrike found it out, in such wise as Cambrensis reporteth. There is a pole or lake, saith he, in the parts of Ulster, that inuironneth an Iland, in the one part whereof there standeth a church much lightened with the brightsome recourse of angels: the other part is ouglie and gaslie, as it were a bedlem allotted to the visible assemblies of horrible and grislie bugs. This part of the Iland containeth nine caues. And if anie dare be so hardie, as to take one night his lodging in anie of these ins, which hath bene experimented by some rash & harebraine aduenturers, straight these spirits claw him by the backe, and tug him so ruggedlie, and tolle him so crabbedlie, that now and then they make him more franke of his hum than of his tong; a painment correspondent to his intertainment. This place is called S. Patrike his purgatorie of the inhabitants. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuersion of the people of Ulster, by setting before their eyes in great heat of spirit, the creation of the world, the fall of our progenitors, the redemption of man by the blessed and precious blood of our sauour Iesus Christ, the certeinie of death, the immortallie of the soule, the generall resurrection, our latter dome, the soles of heauen, the paines of hell, how that at length euerie man, small and great, young and old, rich and poore, king and heafer, potentate and pezzant must

either through God his gracious mercie be exalted to the one, to flourish in perpetuall felicitie; or through his insearchable iustice tumble downe to the other, to be tormented in eternall miserie. These and the like graue and weightie sentences, wherwith he was abundantlie storied, so far sunke into their hearts, as they seemed verie sterible in condescending to his best: so that some pzoofe of his estrange preaching could haue bene berefted. Wherevpon, without further delate, they spake to the prelat in this wise.

Sir, as we like of your preaching, so we dislike not of our libertie. You tell vs of manie gogawes and estrange dreames. You would haue vs to abandon infidelitie, to cage vp our libertie, to hyde our pleasure: for which you promise vs for our toile and labour a place to vs as vnknown, so as yet vncreteine. You sermon to vs of a dungeon appointed for offendours and miscredents. In deed if we could find that to be true, we would the sooner be weaned from the sweet nappie of our libertie, and frame our selues pliant to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs. S. Patrike considering, that these sealie soules were (as all ducarnanes for the more part are) more to be terrified from infidelitie through the paines of hell, than allured to christianitie by the toies of heauen, most hartlie besought God, so it stood with his gracious pleasure, for the honour and glozie of his diuine name, to giue out some euidēt or glimling token of the matter they importunatie required. Finalle by the especiall direction of God, he found in the northedge of Ulster a desolate corner hemmed in round, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a church, called Reglis or Reglis glasse. At the east end of the churchyard a doze leadeth into a closet of stone like a long ouen, which they call S. Patrike his purgatorie, for that the people resort thither euen at this daie for penance, and haue reported at their returne estrange visions of paine and blisse appearing vnto them.

The author of Polychronicon writeth that in the reigne of king Stephan, a knight named Owen pigrimaged to this purgatorie, being so appalled at the strange visions that there he saw, as that upon his returne from thence he was wholly mortified, and sequestering himselfe from the world, he spent the remnant of his life in an abbey of Lucensis. Also Dyonisius a charterhouse monke recordeth a vision scene in that place by one Agneias, or Agneius, whereof who so is inquisitive, may resort to his treatise written *De quatuor nouissimis*. Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, which he surmiseth vpon the gesse of other, that Claudius writeth of this purgatorie. Which if it be true, the place must haue bene extant before saint Patrike, but not so famoullie known. The poet his verses are these following:

*Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia litem,
Oceanus praeclatus aquis, quo fertur Pylles
Sanguine libato populum mouisse silentium,
Flebilis auditur questus, simulacra coloni
Pallida, desunctaque vident migrare figuras.*

There is a place toward the ocean sea
from brim of Gallish shore,
Wherein Vlysses pilgrim strange
with offred blood ygore,
The people there did moue, a skrit-
ching thrill from dungeon lug
The dwellers all appall with gas-
lie galpe of grislie bug.
There onelie shapes are scene to stare
with visage wan and sad,
From nouke to nouke, from place to place,
in eluish skips to gad.

They that repaire to this place for deuotion his sake

Claudius in Rutilius

The ceremony
was used in
entering S.
Patrick his
purgatorie.

fake vse to continue therein foure & twentie houres,
which doing otherwhile with ghostlie meditations,
and otherwhile a deau for the conscience of their de-
serts, they saie they see a plaine resemblance of their
owne faults and vertues, with the horroz and com-
fort thereto belonging, the one so terrible, the o-
ther so iolous, that they verelie deime themselves for
the time to haue sight of hell and heauen. The reue-
lations of men that went thither (S. Patrike yet li-
uing) are kept witten with in the abbete there adoi-
ning. When anie person is disposed to enter (so) the
doze is euer spard) he repairerth first for deuile to the
archbishop, who casteth all pericles, and dissuadeth
the pilgrime from the attempt, because it is knowne
that diuerse entering into that caue, neuer were
seene to turne backe againe. But if the partie be ful-
lie resolute, he recommendeth him to the prioz, who
in like manner sauourable exhorteth him to chuse
some other kind of penance, and not to hazard such a
danger. If notwithstanding he find the partie fullie
bent, he conducteth him to the church, inioineth him
to begin with prayer and fast of sixtē daies, so long
together as in discretion can be indured. This time
expired, if yet he perseuere in his former purpose, the
whole conuent accompanieth him with solemn pro-
cession & benediction to the mouth of the caue, where
they let him in, and so bar vp the doze untill the next
morning. And then with like ceremonies they a-
wait his returne and reduce him to the church. If he
be seene no more, they fast and praye sixtē daies
after. Touching the credit of these matters, I see no
cause, but a christian being perswaded that there is
both hell and heauen, may without banitie upon suf-
ficient information be resolute, that it might please
God, at sometime, for considerations to his wisdom
knowne, to reueale by miracle the vision of ioies
and paines eternall. But that altogether in such sort,
and by such manner, and so ordinarilie, and to such per-
sons, as the common fame doth utter; I neither be-
leue nor wish to be regarded. I haue conferrd with
diuerse that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed
the order of the premises to be true, but that they
saw no sight, save onelie fearefull dreame when they
chanced to nod, and those they said were exceeding
horrible. Further they added, that the fast is rated
more or lesse, according to the qualitie of the pen-
itent.

Cambrensis
veroq; distinct.
Anno.

Insula viuentium
vulgo.

Cambrensis affirmeth, that in the north of Spoun-
ster there be two Ilands, the greater and the lesse. In
the greater there neuer entereth woman or anie li-
uing female, but forthwith it dieth. This hath bene of-
ten proued by bitches and cats, which were brought
thither to trie this conclusion, and presentlie they
died. In this Iland the cocke or male birds are
seene to chirpe, and perch vp and dooone the twigs,
but the hen or female by instinct of nature abandoo-
neth it, as a place vtterlie poisoned. This Iland were
a place alone for one that were viced with a shrewd
wife. The lesse Iland is called *Insula viuentium*, be-
cause none died there, ne maie die by course of na-
ture, as Giraldus Cambrensis saith. Howbeit the
dweller when they are fore frucht with sickness, or
so farre withered with age as there is no hope of life,
they request to be conueyed by boate to the greater
Iland, where they are no sooner inhored, than they
yeild vp their ghost. For my part, I haue bene ve-
rie inquisitive of this Iland, but I could neuer find
this strange propertie shadowed by anie man of cre-
dit in the whole countrie. Neither trauellie would I
with anie to be so light, as to lend his credit to anie
such feined gloses, as are neither verified by exper-
ience, nor warranted by anie colourable reason.
Wherefore I see not why it should be termed *Insula vi-*
uentium unless it be that none dieth there, as long

as he liueth.

Cambrensis telleth further, that there is a church
yard in Ulster, which no female kind maie enter. If
the cocke be there, the hen dareth not follow. There
is also in the west part of Connaght an Iland, pla-
ced in the sea, called *Aren*, to which saint Brendan
had often recourse. The dead bodies need not in that
Iland to be grauelled. For the aire is so pure, that
the contagion of anie carrion maie not infect it.
There, as Cambrensis saith, maie the sonne see his
father, his grandfather, his great grandfather, &c.
This Iland is inimie to mice. For none is brought
thither, but either it leapeth into the sea, or else being
staied it dieth presentlie. There was in Kildare an
ancient monument named the Firehouse, wherein
Cambrensis saith, was there continuall fire kept day
and night, and yet the ashes neuer increased. I tra-
uelled of set purpose to the towne of Kildare to see
this place, where I did see such a monument like a
bault, which to this daie they call the Firehouse.

Cambren.in
eodem loco.

Aren.

The fire-
house of Kil-
dare.

Touching the heath of Kildare Cambrensis wri-
teth that it maie not be tild: and of a certieintie with-
in this few yeares it was tried, and found, that the
coyne which was sowed did not proue. In this plaine
(saith Cambrensis) stood the stones that now stand in
Salisbury plaine, which were conueied from thence
by the sleight of Merlin the Welsh prophet, at the
request of Aurelius Ambrosius king of the Britons.
There is also in the countie of Kildare a goodlie field
called *Spollegghmast*, betwene the *Barrough* and
Kilka. Diuers blind propheties run of this place, that
there shall be a bloudie field fought there, betwene
the English inhabitants of Ireland and the Irish,
and so bloudie forthwith it shall be, that a mill in a vale
hard by it shall run foure and twentie houres with
the streame of bloud that shall polme downe from
the hill. The Irish doubtlesse repose a great assistance
in this balducktum dreame. In the top of this height
stand motes or rundels verie formallie fashioned,
where the strength of the English armie (as they say)
shall be incamped.

The heath of
Kildare.

The stones of
Salisbury
plaine.

Spolleggh
mast.

The Earle of Suffer being lord lieutenant of
Ireland, was accustomed to wish, that if anie such
prophesie were to be fulfilled, it should happen in his
gouernement, to the end he might be generall of the
field. Not farre from *Spollegghmast*, within a mile
of *Castledermot*, or *Thysledermot*, is there a place
marked with two hillocks, which is named the *Ge-*
raldine his thow or cast. The length of which in ve-
rie deed is wonderfull. The occasion proceeded of
this. One of the *Geraldins*, who was ancestor to those
that now are lords of *Lackath*, predeed an enimie of
his. The earle of Kildare hauing intelligence therof,
suppressing affection of kintred, and moued by zeale
of iustice, pursued him with a great troupe of horse-
men, as the other was bringing of the prede home-
ward. The *Geraldine* hauing notice giuen him, that
the earle was in hot pursute, and therefore being
warned by the messenger to bie him with all speed
possible: the gentleman being nettled, that his
kinsman would seeme to rescue the prede of his dead
lie so; and as he was in such fretting with friend
in his greafe, he brake out in these cholerike words: And
doth my consine Kildare pursue me in deed? Now in
god faith, whereas he seemeth to be a suppresser of his
kintred, and an byholder of my mortall enimie, I
would wish him no more harme, than that this dart
were as far in his bodie, as it shall sticke forthwith
in the ground: and therewithall giuing the spurres
to his horse, he hurled his dart so farre, as he abashed
with the length thereof aswell his companie as his
posteritie.

The earle of
Suffer.

The Gerald-
dine his thow.

1470.

The Gerald-
dine's wish.

The Geraldine was not verie farre from thence,
when the earle with his hand made hot foot after, and
dogging

The earle of
Rathoreg
answer.

The hill of
Caragh.

Castlenooke.
The strange
wells.

Camb.in lib.
topog. dist. 1.
rub. 8. & 10.

dogging still the tracke of the pycours, he came to the place where the dart was hurled, where one pick-
thanke or other let the earle to understand of the Ge-
raldine his wild speeches there deliuered. And to in-
hanse the heinousnesse of the offense, he shewed how
farre he hurled his dart, when he wished it to be pit-
ched in his lordship his bodie. The earle assented at the
length thereof, said: Now in good sooth, my cousine in
behaving himselfe so couragiously, is worthy to
haue the pcede shot free. And for my part I purpose
not so much to stomach his cholerlike will, as to im-
brace his valiant prowesse. And therewithall com-
manded the retreat to be blowne and reculed backe.
There is in Methan hill called the hill of Caragh,
wherein is a plaine twelue score long, which was na-
med the Kempe his hall: there the countrie had their
meetings and folkemotes, as a place that was ac-
counted the high palace of the monarch. The Irish
historians hammer manie fables in this forge of Fin-
mac Colle and his champions, as the French histo-
rie doth of king Arthur and the knights of the round
table. But doubtlesse the place seemeth to beate the
shew of an ancient and famous monument.

There is in Castlenooke a village not far from
Dublin, a window not glazed nor latticed, but open,
and let the weather be stormie, the wind bluster bo-
steronlie on euerie side of the house, yet place a can-
dle there, and it will burne as quietlie as if no puffe
of wind blew. This maie be tried at this date, who so
shall be willing to put it in practise. Touching the
strange wells that be in Ireland, I purpose to speake
little more than that which I find in Cambrensis, whose
words I will English, as they are Latined in his
booke. There is (saith he) a well in Spounser, with the
water of which if anie be washed, he becometh forth-
with hoare. I haue sene a man that had one halfe
of his beard being died with that water hoare; the other
halfe unwashed was browne, remaining still in his
naturall colour. Contrariwise, there is a fontaine
in the further edge of Ulster, and if one be bathed
therewith, he shall not become hoare: in which well
such as loath greie beares are accustomed to diue.
There is in Connaght a well that springeth on the
top of an hill farre and distant from anie sea, ebbing
and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the sea
doth; and yet the place is uplandish, and the water
fresh. There is another spring in the same countrie;
the water of which is verie wholesome to men and bee-
merr, but poison to beasts: and if a man put but the
grauell of this well into his mouth, it quencheth pre-
sentlie his thirst.

There is in Ulster a standing pole thirtie thou-
sand paces long, and fiftene thousand paces brode;
out of which springeth the noble northerne riuer, cal-
led the Banne. The fishers complaine more often for
bursting of their nets with the ouer great lake of
fish, than for anie want. In our time vpon the con-
quest a fish swam from this pole to the shore, in shape
resembling a salman, but in quantitie so huge,
that it could not be drawne or caried whole together,
but the fishmongers were forced to hacke it in gob-
bets, and so to carrie it in peccemeale throughout the
countrie, making thereof a generall dole. And if the
report be true, the beginning of this pole was
strange. There were in old time where the pole now
standeth, vicious and beaustie inhabitants. At what
time was there an old said saw in euerie man his
mouth, that as soone as a well there springing (which
for the superstitious reuerence they bare it, was con-
tinuallie covered and signed) were left open and un-
signed, so soone would so much water gush out of that
well, as would forthwith ouerwhelme the whole ter-
ritorie. It happened at length, that an old trot came
thither to fetch water, and bearing his child whine, the

ran with might and maine to dandle his babie, for-
getting the obseruance of the superstitious order to
fore bled. But as she was returning backe to haue
couered the spring, the land was so farre ouerflowne,
as that it past his helpe: and shortly after the, but
suckling, & all those that were within the whole ter-
ritorie were drowned. And this seemeth to carie more
likelihood with it, because the fishers in a cleare sun-
nie daie see the steeles and other piles plainlie and
distinallie in the water. And here would be noted,
that the riuer of the Banne flowed from this head
spring before this flood, but farre in lesse quantitie
than it doth in our time. Whitherto Giraldus Cam-
brensis.

Boetius telleth a rare propertie of a pole in Ire-
land, & for that he maketh himselfe an euidentie of
the matter, he shall tell his owne tale. *Ac quoniam*
Hibernia incidit mentio, prater infinita in ea rerum miracu-
la, haud importunum fore existimem, si unum, quod ab porten-
tuosam nouitatem fidem omnium excedere uideatur, nota-
men verum experti sumus, adiunxerimus. Lacu in castris
circa quem amplissimo circumaque spatio nec herba nec ar-
bor ulla nascitur, &c. in quem silignum infigas anni circi-
ter unius curriculo, id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem
conuerteretur; quod deinceps aqua operietur, in ferrum: reli-
quum aqua exflans ligni formam naturamque seruat. Ita
coniuncta, lapid, ferrum & lignum eodem in stipite inaudita
nouitate conspiciantur. But for that mention is made
of Ireland, ouer and aboue the infinite number of
wonders in that land, it will not be whole beside the
purpose, to insert one maruellous thing, which al-
though it may seeme to some to haue no colour of
truth: yet because it hath borne by vs experimented,
and found out to be true, we maie the better aduouch
it. There is a standing pole in that Island, nere
which of all sides groweth neither herbe, shrub, nor
bush. If you sticke a rod or peece of timber in this
pole, that which sticketh in the earth within the space
of one yeare turneth to a stone; as much as is dypt
in the water, is conuerted to iron; all that is aboue
the water remaineth still in the pistinat and former
woodden shape. So that you may see that which is
strange, in one stocke or sticke, stone, iron and wood
liuit and knit together. Thus much Hector Boetius.

In the countrie of Killkenne and in the borders
thereto confineth, they bled a solemn trial by a wa-
ter they call Melashie. The propertie of this water
is, as they say, that if a perjured person drinke there-
of, the water will gush out at his bellicke, as though
the drinker his nauill were boord with an auger. The
riuer that runneth by Dublin named the Liffie hath
this propertie for certeinie, and I haue obserued it at
sundry times. As long as it reigne, yea if it flood
potwizing the daies, you shall find diuerse shallow
brookes; and the riuer will be nothing thereby in-
creased: but within foure and twentie houres after
the showres are ceast, you shall perceiue such a sub-
den springing flow, as if the former raine were great;
a verie few places or none at all will be found pala-
ble. Cambrensis writeth, that in the south part of
Spounser, betwene the maine sea coasting on the
paine and saint Brendan his hills, there is an Is-
land of the bre side incompassed with a riuer about
dantlie fiftie with fiftie, & on the other part inclosed
with a little brooke. In which place saint Brendan
was verie much resident. This plot is taken to be
such a sanctuarie for beasts, as if anie hare, fox, stag,
or other wild beaust be chased nere that Island by
dogs, it maketh straight vpon the brooke, and as
soone as it passeth the streame, it is so cocksure, as
the hunter may perceiue the beaust resting on the
one banke, & the dogs quelling on the other him,
being as it were by some invisible railles imbarred
from dipping their feet in the shallow ford, to pursue
the

Hector Boetius
in Scotus
de lapide
Sed. 19.

Spelsh.

The Liffie.

Cambrensis

The description of Ireland.

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Of the lords spirituall of Ireland, their names and dignities.

The fifth chapter.

the beast chased. On the other side of this Iland there runneth a river forced about meature with fresh water fish, and in especiallie with salmon. Which abundance, as Cambrensis writeth, proceeded of God, to mainteine the great hospitalitie that was kept there. And because the dwellers thereabout shall not like pinching collicles make anie sale of the fish, let it be powdered as artificiallie as may be, yet it will not keepe (as though it were manna) about the first night or date that it be taken. So that you must eate it within that short compassse, otherwise it putrifieth and standeth to no feed.

The Salmon
leapt.

This river overfloweth a great rocke, vsuallie called the Salmon leape: for as it is commonlie the propertie of all fish to swim against the tide, as for birds to fitter against the wind; so it is naturallie given to the salmon to struggle against the streame, and when it approacheth nere this high rocke, it bendeth his taile to his head, and sometime taketh it in his mouth; and therewithall beareth it selfe ouer the water, and suddenly it fetcheth such a round whiske, that at a trice it skipeth to the top of the rocke. The like salmon leape is nere Leship, but not so high as this. There be also, as witneseth Cambrensis, in the further part of Ulster, certeine hills nere to saint Sean his church, where cranes yearely breed. And when they haue laied their eggs, if anie purpose to ranfacke their nests, let him but attempt to touch the eggs, they will shew like yong scalling pullets without feather or downe, as though they were new hatched, and presentlie brought out of their shels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the nest, forthwith they shew (whether it be by anie metamorphosis, or some sugling legier be maine by dazeling the eyes) as though they were transformed into eggs. And further, saith Cambrensis, let two at one instance be at the nest, and let the one of them onelie glue the gage, and the other attempt to take awaie the eggs, they will seme to the looker on as eggs, and to the taker as yong red little cranets, being as bare as a bird his arte.

Armagh.

The tolane of Armagh is said to be enemie to rats, and if anie be brought thither, presentlie it dieth. Which the inhabitants impute to the praies of saint Patrike. What to omit the strange places, that either by false reports are surmised, or by profe and experience daillie berefted: there are in this Iland such notable quarries of greie marble and touch, such store of pearle and other rich stones, such abundance of cole, such plentie of lead, iron, latin and tin, so manie rich mines furnished with all kind of metals, as nature seemed to haue framed this countrie for the vorehonie or iewelhouse of hir chiefest thesaure. Howbeit the hath not shewed hir selfe so bountifull a mother in powring forth such riches, as the proueth hir selfe an enuious stepdame; in that the instilleth in the inhabitants a vronie litherneesse to withhold them from the insearching of hir hoorded and hidden treasures. Wherein the fareth like one, that to purchase the name of a sumptuous frankeliner or a good bismar, would bid diuerse ghests to a coslie and deintie dinner, and withall for sauing of his meat with some secret enchantment would benum them of their lims, or with some hidden lothsomnesse would dull their stomachs, as his ghests by reason of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking their repast to refresh themselves, in so much as in my phantasie it is hard to decide whether estate is the better: either for a diligent laborer to be planted in a barren or stonie soile, or for a luskith lofterer to be settled in a fertill ground; because the one will, and may not; the other may and will not through his painefull trauell reape the fruit and commoditie that the earth yeldeth.

Ireland the
treasurehouse of
nature.

The spirituall iurisdiction is ordered into foure prouinces, whereof the primacie was euer given (in reuerence of saint Patrike that conuerted the countrie) to the archbishoppe of Armagh, who is called *Primas totius Hibernie*, and the archbishop of Dublin, *Primas Hibernie*. This custome was since confirmed by Eugenius the third, 1148, or 1152: who sent withall three other pallies of archbishops to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashill, & the last at Twene. To these are suffragans in right nine and twentie, and they all to the *Primas* of Armagh, vnder whose prouince are the bishops of

Wexh and Deren, Ardach, Kilmore, Clogher, Doune, Coner, Clonknoos, Kabb, Droimore. Under Dublin, whereunto Innocentius the third vnitied Glendelagh, the bishop of Cshine, Beldare, Fernes, Dlozie and Leighlin. Under Cashill, the bishop of Waterford, to whome Kilmore is vnitied, Cozke and Clone, Kofse, Ardigh, Limerike, Emolic, Kallaloe, and Arsfert. Under Twene, Kilmaco, Dline, Anaghdowne, Clonfert, Porro. In this recount some difference hapneth by reason of personall and reall vniou of the sees, and for other alterations. I haue obserued in perusing of old bookes the names of certeine bishops and archbishops of Dublin: and albeit I could not find a iust register or catalog of them, yet I toke it to be better to place such as I could find, than to omit the whole. Cormachus was one of the first bishops that I haue read of, but I am well assured, that there were diuerse others before his time. He flourished about the yeare 893, of this bishop Hector Boetius maketh mention. Dunanus was bishop of Dublin long after Cormachus: for Dunanus died in the yeare 1074. He was buried in Christs church in Dublin, in the vpper part of the chancell on the right hand.

Patricius was consecrated bishop of Dublin in Paule his church at London by the archbishop of Canturburie Lanfrancus or Lanfrancus. The reason of his consecration was, for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland receiued not their pall. A pall is an indowment appropriated to archbishops, made of white like the breadth of a stole, but it is of another fashion. And where you shall espie the armes of anie archbishop blazed, there you may perceiue the pall set out in white, with a great mante blacke crosses vpon it. An archbishop within thre moneths after his consecration or confirmation ought to demand his pall, otherwise he may be removed; neither ought he to name himselfe archbishop before the receit, neither may he before summon or call a council, make chisme, dedicate churches, glue orders, or consecrate bishops. He may not weare his pall with out the church, neither in other prouinces; albeit in another prouince he may be in his pontificalibus, so that pontificalia differeth from the pall. Furthermore, an archbishop may not lend his pall vnto another, but it ought to be interred with him. But to returne to Patricius, his time was but short, for some after as he was crossing the seas to Dublin ward, he was downed with his felow passengers the same pere that he was consecrated, the ninth of October.

Donatus, of some called Bungus, succeded Patricius, and likewise consecrated by Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturburie, at the instance of Derbilnacus king of Ireland, the bishops of Ireland, the clergie and the citizens of Dublin: he deceased

Lib. 10. Scot.
Hist. fol. 112.
sect. 40.

1074

What
it is.

c. quoniam,
c. di.

c. quod sicut
de elect. pen-
nul.
De priuil. &
exce. priuil.
cap.
Archie. & in
glof.
c. ex tunc,
& c. ad hoc.
de auct. &
vlu. pal.

1075.

The description of Ireland.

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1095.

in the yere one thousand nine hundred and five. Samucll succeeded Donatus, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred two and twentie. Gregorius did not succeed immediately after Samucll, for there be thirtie yeres betwene them both. This Gregorius was the first metropolitan of Dublin, and was consecrated archbishop in the yere one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred thre score and two.

1152.

1162.

S. Laurentius Othothille. This prelat was first abbat of S. Vincens in Glindelagh, and after he was solemnly consecrated and installed in Christ church at Dublin by Gelacius the pimat of Armagh, and not by Canturburie, as the bishops of Dublin were before the pall given them. He died in Normandie, and was buried in our lady church of Angie in the yere one thousand one hundred and four score, the fourteenth of November.

1180.

Johan Cummin an Englishman succeeded Laurence. This famous prelat being cloistered by in the abbete of Cusum in Worcesterthire was highly renowned of all men, as well for his deepe learning, as for the integritie of his life. The clergie of Dublin being given to understand of so worthy a clerke, became humble petitioners to the king his maiestie Henrie the second, that through his means such an unvaluable iewel should be installed in Laurence his dignitie. The king bowing to their earnest sute agreed he should be consecrated their archbishop; which was an happy houre for that countrie. For besides the great trauell he indured in edifying his flocke in Christian religion, he was founder of S. Patrike his church in Dublin, as is before specified. He deceased in the yere one thousand two hundred and twelue, and was intombed in the quere of Christs church.

Scorchy
villein,

Math. Paris.
in vita Ioan.
pag 316.

1285.

Henrie Londres succeeded Cummin. This man was nicknamed Scorchybill, or Scorchyvillein thorough this occasion. Being settled in his see, he gaue commandment to all his tenants to make their appearance before him at a date appointed: and for that he was raw as yet in his reuenues, he toke it to stand best with their ease and quietnes, and his commodity, that ech of them should shew their euidences, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they held of him. His tenants mistrusting no flittish dealing, but construing all to be meant for the best, deliuered their euidences to their landlord, who did scantlie well peruse them when he srong them all in the fire. The poore tenants espiong this subtil pranke to be verie unfitting for a bishop, could not bide their tongs, but bzake out on a sudden: Thou an archbishop? Saie, thou art a scorchyvillein. But it could not be gessed to what end this fact of his tended; for notwithstanding this, the tenants intoided their lands, vnlesse he did it because they should be tenants at will, and so to stand to his deuotion. This prelat doubtlesse was politike, and well lettered, and for his wisdom and learning he was elected lord iustice of Ireland. He was the founder of the castell of Dublin, as is before mentioned. He deceased in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie & five, and lieth buried in Christs church. Whereby appereeth that Mathaeus Parisienis did ouerthat himselfe, in writing one Iu or Hugo to be archbishop of Dublin in the yere one thousand two hundred and thirtene, whereas Londres at that time was in the see, as from his consecration to his death may be gathered, being the space of thirtene yeres.

Johan Stamford succeeded Londres, but not immediately, and was consecrated in the yere one thousand two hundred four score and five. This man, upon the death of Stephan Fulborne archbishop of Lunc, was made lord iustice of Ireland in

the yere one thousand two hundred four score and seauen. And some after being in England he was sent from Edward the first as ambassador to the French king, and upon his returne he deceased in England, & some after was buried in saint Patrike his church at Dublin.

Willielmo Hothom is placed by some antiquaries to be archbishop of Dublin much about this time, but whether the man haue bene installed in this see at all or no, I am not able to asseme, nor to denie: but certeine it is that the date is mistaken, for upon Johan Stamford his death, Richard Flerings was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, betwene whom and the lord Edmund Butler there arose a great controuersie in law, touching the manner of Hothwood with the appurtenances. Which man; the lord Butler recovered by an arbitrement or composition taken betwene them in the king his bench at Dublin. This prelat departed this life in the yere one thousand thre hundred and six.

Richard de Hauerings was successor unto Flerings, who after that he had continued welnere the space of five yeres in the see, was sore appalled by reason of an estrange and wonderfull dreame. For on a certeine night he imagined that he had seene an oglie monster standing on his breast, who to his thinking was more weightie than the whole world, in so much as being as he thought in maner squised or prest to death with the heft of this huge monster, he would haue departed with the whole substance of the world, if he were thereof possessed, to be disburdened of so heauie a load. Upon which with he suddenly awoke. And as he beat his bzaines in deuining what this dreame should import, he bethought himselfe of the flocke committed to his charge, how that he gathered their flackes yerele, by receiving the reuenues and perquisites of the bishopricke, and yet suffered his flocke to starue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former slacknesse sore wounded in conscience, he trauesled with all speed to Rome, where he resigned by his bishopricke, a burthen too heauie for his weak shoulders, and being upon his resignation competentlie benefited, he bestowed the remnant of his life wholie in deuotion.

Johan Lech nephew to Hauerings, upon the resignation was consecrated archbishop. This prelat was at contention with the pimat of Armagh, for their iurisdiccions: inso much as he did imbarre the pimat from hauing his crosse borne before him within the pproince of Leinster, which was contrary to the canon law, that admitteth the crosse to beare the crosse before his archbishop in an other pproince. This man deceased in the yere one thousand thre hundred and thirtene.

Alexander Bigenor was next Lech consecrated archbishop with the whole consent aswell of the chapter of Christs church as of S. Patrike. Whobereit by on the death of Lech there arose a schisme & division betwene Walter Thorneburte lord chancelour of Ireland and Bigenor then treasurer of the same countrie. The cancellos to further his election determined to haue posted to Rome, but in the wale he was drowned with the number of 156 passengers. Bigenor staing in Ireland, with lesse aduenture and better speed, with the consent of both the chapters was elected archbishop. And in the yere 1317 there came bulls from Rome to confirme the former election. At which time the archbishop and the earle of Ulster were in England. This prelat some after returned lord iustice of Ireland, and some after he had landed at Poghill, he went to Dublin, where as well for his spirituall iurisdiction, as his temporall ppro motion he was receiued with procession and great solemnitie.

1197.
Ioan. Cant.
de antiq.
Cant. ecc.
dum. 101.

Edmund
Butler.
1034.
Hollwood in
Fingall.

1306.

Hauerings
died.

1314.

Depui. d
excell. pti
Archiep

1315.

1318.

The description of Ireland.

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1340. solennitie. In this man his time was there an vniuersitie founded in Dublin, whereof maister William Koolard was chancelor, a well learned man and one that proceeded doctor of the canon law in this vniuersitie. Bigenor deceased in the yere 1349.

1345. John de saint Paule was consecrated archbishop upon Bigenor his death. He deceased in the yere one thousand three hundred sixtie and two. Thomas 1363. spinot succeeded John, and died in the yere one thousand three hundred seuentie & six. Robert 1375. Mikeford succeeded Thomas, and died in the yere one thousand three hundred and nintie. Robert 1390. Waldebie succeeded Mikeford, this prelat was first an Augustine frier, and a great preacher, and accounted a vertuous and sincere liuer. He deceased in the yere one thousand three hundred nintie and seauen. 1397. Richard Northalis was removed from an other see and chosen archbishop of Dublin, who likewise deceased the same yere he was elected. Thomas Craulie an Englishman succeeded him the same yere, and came into Ireland in the companie of the duke of Surreie. This archbishop was chosen lord iustice of Ireland in the yere one thousand four hundred and thirtene. In whose gouernement the English

1413. did skirnish with the Irish in the countie of Kildare nere Kilka, where the English vanquished the enemye, slue an hundred of the Irish. During which time the archbishop being lord iustice, went in procession with the whole clergie in Triffelbermot, or Castle-dermot, a towne adioining to Kilka, prating for the prosperous successe of the subjects that went to skirnish with the enemye. This prelat was of stature tall, well featured, and of a sanguine complexion, decking his outward comelinesse with inward qualities. For he was so liberrall to the rich, so charitable to the poore, so deepe a clerke, so profound a doctor, so found a preacher, so vertuous a liuer, and so great a builder, as he was not without god cause accounted the pennis of his time. In daillie talke as he was short, so he was sweet. Hard in promising, bountifull in performing. In the yere one thousand foure hundred and seuentene, he sailed into England, and ended his life at Faringdon, and was buried in New college at Wysof. In the yere one thousand foure hundred thirtie & nine, there hath bene one Richard archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland, before whome a parlement was holden at Dublin, in the eighteenth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the first. In the yere one thousand foure hundred and sixtie, Walter was archbishop of Dublin, & deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, lieutenant of Ireland.

1460. I found in an ancient register the names of certeine bishops of Kildare, that were in that see since the time of saint Brigit; the names of whome I thought here to insert. Lonte was bishop in saint Brigitids time, which was about the yere of our Lord foure hundred fortye and eight; the rest do here follow:

1. Inoz.	14. Robert.
2. Conlie.	15. Bonifacius.
3. Donatus.	16. Padogge.
4. David.	17. William.
5. Pagnus.	18. Galfride.
6. Richard.	19. Richard.
7. John.	20. James.
8. Simon.	21. Male.
9. Nicholas.	22. Baret.
10. Walter.	23. Edmund Lane, who
11. Richard.	flourished in the yere
12. Thomas.	1518.

1319. There hath bene a worthie prelat, canon in the cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurice Jake, who among the rest of his charitable dedes, builded the bridge of Kilkollen, and the next yere following he builded in like maner the bridge of Leighlin, to

the great and dailie commoditie of all such as are occasioned to trauell in those quarters.

The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countie of Ireland.

The sixt chapter.

10. Gerald Fitzgerald, earle of Kildare. This house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thence into Normandie, and so with the ancient earle Strangbow his kinsman, whose armes he geth, into Wales, nere of bloud to Rice ap Griffin, prince of Wales by Pessa the mother of Maurice Fitzgerald & Robert Fitzstephans, with the said earle Maurice Fitzgerald removed into Ireland, in the yere one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. The familie is verie properlie toucht in a sonnet of Surceries, made upon the earle of Kildares sister, now countesse of Lincolne. From Tuscan came my ladies worthie race, Faire Florence was sometime hir ancient feat: The western Ile whose pleasant shore doth face Wild Cambers chifles, did giue hir liuelie heat, Fostred she was with milke of Irish brest, Hir fire an earle, hir dame of princes bloud, From tender yeares in Britaine she dooth rest With kings child, where she tastes costlie food. Hunsdon did first present hir to mine cene, Bright is hir hew, and Geraldine she hight, Hampton me taught to with hir first for mine: And Windsor, alas, dooth chase me from hir sight; Hir beautie of kind, hir vertues from aboue, Happie is he, that can obtaine hir loue.

40. The corrupt orthographie that diuerse vse in writing this name, doth incorporate it to houses thereto linked in no kindred, and consequente blenisheth diuerse worthie exploits atchured as well in England and Ireland, as in forein countries and dominions. Some write Gerold, sundrie Gerald, diuerse verie corruptlie Gerrot, others Gerard. But the true orthographie is Girald, as maie appeare both by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Italian authours that make mention of the familie. As for Gerrot it differeth flat from Girald: yet there be some in Ireland, 50 that name and write themselves Gerrots, notwithstanding they be Giraldins, whereof diuerse gentlemen are in peth. But there is a leyt of the Gerrots in Ireland, and they seeme forsooth by threatening kindnesse and kindred of the true Giraldins, to fetch their petit degrees from their ancestors, but they are so nere of bloud one to the other, that two bulghels of beanes would scantlie count their degrees. An other reason why diuerse strange houses haue bene shuffled in among this familie, was, for that sundrie gentlemen at the christening of their chylzen, would haue them named Giralds, and yet their surnames were of other houses, and if after it happened that Girald had issue Thomas, John, Robert, or such like, then would they beare the surname of Girald, as Thomas Fitzgirald: and thus taking the name of their ancestors for their surname, within two or thre descents they shoue themselves among the kindred of the Giraldins. This is a generall fault in Ireland and Wales, and a great confusion and extinguishtment of houses.

This noble and ancient familie of the Giraldins, haue in sundrie ages flourishd in the most renowned countries of Europe. Warring Fitzgirald was one in great credit with king John. I find an other Giraldine

1169

Math. Paris in
vita loh. pag.
316. vel. 40.

The description of Ireland.

raldine *Archiepiscopus Burdegalensis*, who flourished in king Henrie the third his time. There was an other Giraldine patriarch of Jerusalem, in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, as witnesseth Mattheus Parisiensis. There was one Girald of Werneill an excellent poet in the Italian tongue: an other named Baptiste Girald, was a famous citizen of Ferrara, an expert physician, and an exquisite philosopher, being publique professor of philosophie in the said citie, during the space of ten yeares. I have seene a worke of one *Gregorius Giraldus Ferrariensis de dijs gentium*, dedicated to Hercules duke of Ferrara, a pithie booke and verie well penned. Also Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis hath bene one of this familie, nere of kin to sir Maurice Fitzgiralde. This gentleman was borne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrensis, of the word *Cambria*, that in old time was adapted to that part of *Britannia*. He was verie inward with Henrie the second, conqueror of Ireland, being at that time the kings secretarie. And for that speciall affiance king Henrie reposed in him, he was appointed to accompanie prince John the kings sonne into Ireland, as one of his chieffest and discrettest counsellors.

This gentleman was verie well learned, a tolerable divine, a commendable philosopher, not rude in physike, skillfull in cosmographie, a singular good antiquarie, an orator, in indenor comparable to the best, in his stile not in those daies taken for the worst, rather eschewing the name of a rude writer, than purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Among other his works, he wrote one booke of the description of Ireland, other two of the conquest thereof. John the abbat of saint Albons saith, that this clerke was somewhat spare in words, and liberrall in sentences. What he meaneth by this verdict I know not, unless he taketh the man to be overlaunty of his pen in frumping of his aduersaries with quipping taunts, which (as I gesse) showed rather from a flanting ostentation of a roisting kind of rhetoricke, than from any great malice he bare ante one. Howbeit, I maie not gaine saye, but as he was kind where he toke, so he was somewhat biting where he disliked. But what his iudgement is of the Giraldines maie plainlie appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled this praiseworthe sentence insuing.

Hoc est huius generis omen & hac conditio. Semper in armata militia chori, semper primi, semper rebus in Martij ausu nobili praestantissimi. Cessante vero necessitatis articulo, statim exosi, statim ultimi, statim ad ima liuore depresti. Peruntamen tanta generositatis solum liuor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Unde & usque in hodiernum gens haec nouis plantularum succrementis vires in insula non modicas habet. Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostium penetralia? Giraldida. Qui sunt, qui patriam conseruant? Giraldida. Qui sunt, quos hostes formidant? Giraldida. Qui sunt, quos liuor detrahit? Giraldida. Si principem tanta strenuitatis merita digne pensantem reperissent, quam tranquillam, quam pacificam olim Hibernia statum reddidissent? Sed horum sine causa semper est suspecta strenuitas. This hath bene continuallie, saith Cambrensis, a destitute of fatall proprietie annexed to this house. In warre and martiall broiles they are dandaled, they are colled, they are lalled, who but they? They rule the rois. But when these martiall garboiles are appeased, they are either through false informations wrongfullie behated, or else by enuious carpers sinisterlie suspected. Howbeit, enuie with all hir malicious drifts, could neuer wholie supplant the fertile groue of this couragious & noble progenie. And mangre the heads of all malicious promoters, this sept, pea euen at this daie beareth, with the few slips there ingrafted, no small stroke in Ireland. Who are they that scale the enemies fort? The Giraldines; Who are they

that defend their countrie? The Giraldines. Who are they that make the entrie quake in his skin? The Giraldines. And who are they whome enuie backbiteth? The Giraldines. If it had stood with the gods fortune of the Giraldines, that the king with equall balance would poise their valure, long yer this had all Ireland bene put in quiet and peaceable state. But their valiantnesse and power hath bene from time to time without sufficient cause suspected. Hitherto Cambrensis.

And soothlie, as often as I call to mind the saving of this historiographer, I may not but muse how soone he hitteth the naille on the head. And who is will conferre their continuall successe from the penning of this sentence (which was written about 400 yeares and upward) with this age of ours, shall soone perceiue, that these words were rather prophesies of future mishap, than complaints of former inturries. At this daie let them behaue themselves valiantlie in warre, and loiallie in peace; yet notwithstanding, such standers are raised, such rumors noised, such tales bynted, such fables twitted, such vntre reports twatled, such malicious inuentions forged, that such as are in authoritie cannot but of force suspect them, unless they were able, like gods, to pise in the bottom of each mans conscience. But who so wisheth any godnesse to that miserable countrie, and noble progenie, let him with all the beines of his heart beseech God, first that the higher powers be slowe in beleuing the despitefull reports of enuious backbiters. Secondlie, that the Giraldines beare themselves in all their affaires so dutifullie, that these curious interchers be not able to depaint their feigned gloses with any probable colours. So shall suspicion be abandoned, so shall malicious standers be squatted, so shall that noble house be trusted, and consequentlie the battered weale-publike of Ireland redressed. The familie is English, and it is well knowne that the Irish rather feare their force, than loue their persons. And reason god pardon. For the Irish bearing in mind, that the Giraldine being thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their lands, abated their courages, discomfited their men, vanquished their armies, daunted their power, suppressed their force, and made them become true and tributarie subiects to the crowne of England: they haue god cause to beare that sept but holow hearts, what they so euer they make in outward asperance. Thus much generallie of the Giraldines, now I purpose particularlie to treat of the house of Kildare.

Maurice Fitzgiralde, one of the earles progenitors, was lord iustice of Ireland in the yere 1247, at which time he builded the castell of Sligagh. This Maurice was lord of Breconille, and being entrelie seized of the whole countrie, he gaue the one moiety therof to Cosmoche mac Dermot, imac Korie. I read the Giraldine baron of Dphalie, in the yere 1270. I haue seene it registred, that there died a Giraldine the fourth earle of Kildare, in the yere 1287. But I take that kalender to beare a false date. Therefore the truth & certaintie is, that John Fitzgiralde, sonne to Thomas Fitzgiralde, was the first earle of Kildare, and was created earle vpon this occasion.

In the yere 1290, and in the eighteenth yere of Edward the first, William Melcic was made lord iustice of Ireland. This man being either negligent or rawe in the government of the countrie, emboldened the Irish enimie to indamage the kings subiects more effionnes than they were accustomed to doe. These enormities being for the space of foure yeres tolerated, the subiects mistaking of the slacknesse of their gouernour, gaue out such sinister speeches of the

The collid of
Sligagh
Breconille

Baron of
Dphalie

The first
earle of
Kildare

1290
Edward the
first

lord iustice, as he was glad to the hart rot. Some after, as the nobles in open assemble were ripping up by peccemele the severall harms their tenants suffered, the lord iustice willing to disburden himselfe of the crime, began with mistie kind of speeches to laie the whole fault on the lord John Fitzgiralde shoulders, saying in parable wise, that he was a great occasion of these disorders, in that he bare himselfe in priuat quarrels as fierce as a lion, but in these publicke injuries he was as meeke as a lambe. The baron of Dhalie spelling and putting these syllables together, spake in this wise.

Clesie accu-
seth the lord
Fitzgiralde.

The lord Fitz-
giralde answer.

My lord, I am hartlie sozie that among all this noble assemble, you make me your onelie marke whereat to shot your beir. And trulie were my deserts so heinous as I suppose you would wish them to be, you would not labour to cloud your talke with such darke riddles, as at this present you haue done; but with plaine & flat English, your lordship would not sticke to impeach of felonie or treason. For as mine ancestors with spending of their blood in their souveraignes quarrell aspired to this type of honour, in which at this date (God and my king be thanked) I stand: so your lordship taking the higher waite to the word, by charging me with treason, would gladlie trip so roundlie on my top, that by the shedding of my blood, and by catching my lands into your clouches, that butt so nere upon your manors of Bilsbare and Rathangan, as I dare saie they are an eie-foze unto you, you might make my maister your sonne a proper gentleman.

The lord iustice replieth.

A gentleman: quoth the lord iustice: Thou bald baron, I tell thee the Clesies were gentlemen before the Giraldines were barons of Dhalie, yea and before that Welsh bankrupt thine ancestour (he meant sir apaurice Fitzgiralde) fettered his nest in Leinster. And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teach thee thy lyztipups after an other fashion than to be thus malepertlie cocking and biling with me that am thy gouernour. Wherefore, albeit thy taunts are such as they might force the patientest philosopher that is, to be choikt with choler: yet I would haue thee ponder my speeches, as though I deliuered them in my most sober and quiet mood. I saie to the face of thee, and I will avow what I say unto thee, that thou art a supporter of theues, a bolshere of the kings enemies, an upholder of traitors, a murderer of subiects, a firebrand of dissention, a ranke theefe, an arrant traitor: and before I eate these wordes, I will make thee eate a peece of my blade.

The baron byddeling with might and maine his choler, bare himselfe as cold in countenance, as the lord iustice was hot in wordes, and replied in this wise. My lord I am verie glad, that at length you ontwapped your selfe out of that net, wherein all this while you masked. As for mine ancestour, whome you terme a bankrupt, how rich or how poore he was upon his repaire to Ireland, I purpose not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldlie saie, that he came hither as a bier, not as a begger. He bought the enemies land by spending his blood: but you lurking like a spider in his copweb to intrap flies, endeavored to beg subiects livings wrongfullie, by despoiling them of their innocent liues. And whereas you charge me with malepertnes, in that I presume to chop loglike with you being gouernour, by answering your scappish *Quid*, with a knappish *Quo*, I would wish you to understand, now, that you put me in mind of the distinction, that I as a subiect honour your roiall authoritie, but as a noble man I despise your dunghill gentilitie. Alaslie, whereas you charge me with the odious termes of traitor, murderer, and the like, and therewithall you wish me to resolve my

selfe, that you rest upon reason, not upon rage: if these wordes proceed from your lordship, as from a magistrate, I am a subiect, to be tried by order of law, and am sozie that the gouernour, who ought by vertue of his publicke authoritie to be my iudge, is by reason of priuat malice become mine accuser.

But if you utter these speeches as a priuat person, then I John Fitzgiralde, baron of Dhalie, do tell thee William Clesie, a single sole gentleman, that I am no traitor, no felon; and that thou art the onelie buttresse, by which the kings enemies are supported, the incane and instrument by which his maiesties subiects are daily spoiled. Therefore I as a loiall subiect saie traitor to thy teeth, and that thalt thou well vnderstand when we both shall be brought to the reherfall of these matters before our betters. Whobeyt, during the time you beare office, I am resolved to giue you the maffrie in wordes, and to suffer you like a bzalling cur to barke, but when I see my time I will be sure to bite.

These biting speeches passing to and fro, great factions on both sides were raised, with high and mightie wordes, and deepe othes; till time either part appeased his owne. The baron of Dhalie not sleeping nor slacking his matter, quadded with all hast into England, where he was no sooner inhored, than Clesie, after he had substituted William Haie in his roome, was imbarked, making as hot foot after the baron as he could. The king and his counsell vnderstanding the occasion of their sudden arrivalls, to the end the truth should be brought to light, appointed a set date for the deciding of their controuersie, and that each of them should speake for himselfe what he could. Whereupon Clesie being commanded to begin, spake to this effect.

The lord Fitzgiralde poiteth into England

Clesie followeth.

My dread souereigne, as I must acknowledge my selfe somewhat agraued, to be intangled in so intricate a matter, so I am as glad as hart can thinke that so weightie a controuersie is brought to the deciding of so bright an vmpire. And whereas it stood with your maiesties pleasure, with the aduise of this your honourable counsell, that I, as unworthie, should haue the government of your realme of Ireland; and during my time, your maiesties subiects, haue bene, I may not denie it, diuerlie annoied, for my discharge, as I said in Ireland: so I avow here in England, that he knoweth here before your highnesse (pointing to the baron of Dhalie) that is the rot and crop of all these enozmities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that stroke with the Irish, as if he once but strolone at them, they dare not be so hardie as once to peake out of their cabbins. And whereas his force doth greatlie amaze them, thinke you but his countenance doth wonderfullie incourage them: To the furtherance of which, it is apparantlie knowne, and it shall be proued, that he hath not onelie in hacker mucker, by sundrie messages imboldered your maiesties enemies, to spoile your subiects, but also by his personall ptesence, in secret meetings, he gaue them such courage, as neither the roialtie of your highnesse, nor the authoritie of your deputie, neither the force of your lawes, nor the strength of your puissant armie, was able to quench the flame of these burlie burles, that through his traitorous bziffs were inkindled. These and the like enozmities through his priuie packing with rebels being daily committed, to bring me your maiesties gouernour in the hatred of the people, his adherents both secretlie muttered, and openlie exclaimed against me and my government, as though the redesse of all these harmes had wholie lien in mine hands.

Whereupon being in conference with such as were the chieffeins of your realme of Ireland, albeit

"beit I take it to be expedient, to point with my finger to the verie sinke or headspring of all the treasons, that by secret conspiracies were pretended and practised against your maiestie and your subiects, yet notwithstanding hauing more regard to modestie, than to the defects of the baron of Dhalie, I did but glance at his packing in such secret sort, as none or a verie few of the companie could gesse, whome with my mistie speeches I did touch. And as commonlie the gald horse doth sonest kicke, so this gentleman being prickt, as it should seme with the sting of his guiltie conscience, brake out on a sudden, and forgetting his allegiance to your highnesse, and his dutie to me your deputie, he took me by so roughlie, as though I had bene rather his vnderling than his gouernour. The summe of which despitfull speeches I refer to the testimonie of the honorable audience where they were deliuered. As for his manifold treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse such things as he did not sticke to commit. And if it shall stand with your maiesties pleasure, to adiourne the trial for a few daies, I will charge him with such apparent crimes, as were his face made of brasse, he shall not be able to denie anie one article that shall be booked against him. When Mescie had ended, the baron of Dhalie prest himselfe somewhat forward, and in this wise spake.

The lord Gerald's oration.

"Most puissant prince and my dread soueraigne, were master Mescie his mouth so full a measure, as that he spake, should be holden for gospel, this had bene no fit place for so arrant a traitor, as he with his feigned glossing would gladly proue me to be. But sith it pleased your maiestie, with so indifferent balance to ponder both our tales, I am thoroughlie perswaded, that my loiall innocencie shall be able, to ouerpoise his forged treacherie. Your maiestie hath heard manie words to small purpose. And as his complaint hitherto hath bene generallie huddled by, so mine answer thereto may not particularlie be framed. Whereas therefore he termeth me a supplanter of thrones, a packer with rebels, a conspirator with traitors, if I should but with a bare word denie the premises, all his gale glose of glittering speeches would suddenlie fade away. Yea, but he craueth respite for the booking of his articles. Trulie to he hath need. For loitering and lingring is the onlie waie he may deuise to cloke his feigning and forging. Where in he sheweth himselfe as craftie, as the philosopher was accounted wise that promised a tyrant vpon menacing wordes, to schoule his asse in philosophie, so he had seuen yeares respite; because that in that space he was perswaded, that either the tyrant, the asse, or he would die. In likewise master Mescie, vpon respite granted him, would hang in hope, that either the life of your maiestie (which God forbid) should be shortened; or that I, in tract of time, would be disfaunured; or that he by one subtill pzanke or other should be of this heauie load disburdened.

"But if I haue bene as manie yeares a malefactor, as he aduoucheth, how happened it, that his tongue was tied before this late discention begun? Whie did he not from time to time aduertise the counsell of my treasons? Whereas now it may be probable confectured, that he was egd to this seruice rather for the hatred he beareth me, than for anie loue he oweth your rotall maiestie. Touching the words I spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I heard as yet, to eat them in England. And when I shall be cald to testifie such speeches as I deliuered there, I will not be found so raw in my matter, as to lose my errant in the carriage, as master Mescie hath done, or to craue further respite for the registering of his manifold treasons. As for my secret meetings with Irish rebels, where I perswaded master Mescie,

that you were able to proue them, I would be found willing to acknowledge them. For if my conscience were so deepelie stong, as you pretend, I would take it for better policie, by acknowledging my trespasses, to appeale to my king his mercie, than by denieng my faults, to stand to the rigor of his iustice.

"And as for meetings, I had neuer so manie in woods with rebels, as you master Mescie, haue had in your chamber with colwes. For it hath bene manifestlie apparented, that when the baron of Dhalie, and the best of the nobilitie of Ireland haue bene imbarb from entring your chamber, an Irish colw should haue at all times access vnto you. No, master Mescie: a colw, an horse, an haue, and a silver cup haue bene the occasion of your slacknesse. When the subiects were pressed, you would be content to twinke at their miserie, so that your mouth were stoppt with barbarie. And when you had gathered your crums sufficientlie together, you held it for a pretie policie (and yet it was but a bare thift) to charge the nobilitie with such packing, as you daitle did practise. But you must not thinke that we are babes, or that with anie such stale deuise, or grosse tugging tricks, you may so easilie duske or dazell our eyes. Can anie man that is but slenderlie twitted, so far be caried, as to beleue, that master Mescie, being the kings deputie in Ireland, hauing his maiesties treasure, hauing the nobilitie at his becke, the kings armie at his commandement; but that, if he were disposed to besurre himselfe, he were able to ferret out such barebreech brats as swarme in the English pale? If he said he could not, we must smile at his simplicitie; if he could and would not, how may he colour his dissolaltie?

"Yea, but I heare such stroke with the Irish, as that vpon anie priuat quarrell I am able to annoie them. What then? Because the baron of Dhalie can reuenge his priuat iniuries without the assistance of the deputie; therefore the deputie may not banquish weakie and naked rebels without the furtherance of the baron of Dhalie: whereas the contrarie ought to be inferd, that if a priuat person can tame the Irish, what may then the publike magnat doe, that hath the princes paie? But in deed it is hard to take hares with foxes. You must not thinke, master Mescie, that you were sent gouernour into Ireland to dandle your trulls, to pen your selfe by with in a towne or citie to giue rebels the gaze, to pill the subiects, to animat traitors, to fill your coffers, to make your selfe by marring true men, to gather the birds whilist other beat the bushes, and after to impeach the nobilitie of such treasons, as you onelie haue committed.

"But for so much as our mutuall complaints stand vpon the one his yea, and the other his naie, and that you would be taken for a champion, I am knowne to be no coward: let vs, in Gods name, leaue lling for barlets, berding for ruffians, facing for crakers, chatting for twatlers, scolding for callets, hoking for serueners, pleading for lawyers; and let vs trie with the dint of sword, as become martiall men to doe our mutuall quarrels. Wherefore to iustifie that I am a true subiect, and that thou Mescie art an archtraitor to God & to my king, here in the presence of his highnesse, and in the hearing of this honorable assemblee, I chalenge the combat. Wherreat all the auditozie shouted.

"Now in god faith, quoth Mescie, with a right god will. Wherevpon both the parties being dismiss till the kings pleasure were further knowne, it was agreed at length by the counsell, that the fittest trial should haue bene by battell. Wherefore the parties being as well thereof aduertised, as the daie by the king appointed, no small prouision was made for so eager

The combat challenged.

Which died in
to France.
Hildare be-
lieved on the
1300 Strald.

The first erle
of Hildare
created.
1315

The num-
bers of the
erles of
Hildare.

Lord Strald.

Erles of Dy-
mond.
1247
The But-
lers, as I am
informed) are
found by an-
cient records
to have borne
erles of the
Carrick.
1299

1309

1312

1313

1315

1316

1322

1359

1425

1327

Which erle

eager a combat, as that was presupposed to have been. But when the prefixed daie approached nere, Aelcie turning his great boast to small roff, began to erie creake, and secretly fled into France. King Edward thereof advertised, bestowed Aelcies lordships of Hildare and Rathangan on the baron of D'phalie, saing that albeit Aelcie conceived his person into France, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

The baron returned to Ireland with the gratulation of all his friends, and was created earle of Hildare, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second his reigne, the fourteenth of Hiale. He deceased at Larraghbine (a village nere to Dainoth) in the yeare 1316, and was buried at Hildare, so that he was earle but one yeare. The house of Hildare among diuerse gifts, wherewith God hath abundantlie indued it, is for one singular point greatlie to be admired, that notwithstanding the fouerall assaults of diuerse enemies in sundrie ages, yet this earle that now liueth is the tenth earle of Hildare, to whome from John the first earle, there hath alwaies continued a lineall descent from father to son: which truelie in mine opinion is a great blessing of God. And for as much as this earle now liuing as his ancestors before him, haue bene shrewdly shoued at by his euill willers, saing that he is able, but not willing to profit his countrie: the posie that is framed for him, signifieng his mind, runneth in this wise:

*Quid possum, iactant: quid vellem, scire recusant:
Vtique Reginae sunt, rego, nota mee.*

His eldest sonne is lord Strald, baron of Dphalie, for whom these two verses following are made:

*Te pulchrum natura fecit, fortuna potentem,
Tefaciat Christi norma, Giralde, bonum.*

Sir Thomas Butler earle of Desmond and Deserie. The Butlers were ancient English gentlemen, and worthy seruitors in all ages. Theobald Butler lord of Carricke and John Cogan were lord iustices of Ireland. This Butler died in the castle of Arkelow, in the yeare 1285. This lord Theobald Butler the younger, and son to the elder Theobald, was sent for by Edward the first, to serue against the Scots. This noble man deceased at Curue, and his bodie was conueighed to Weneie, a towne in the countie of Limerike. Sir Edmund Butler a wise and valiant noble man was dubbed knight at London by Edward the second.

This man being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, upon the repaire of John Cogan (who before was lord iustice) to England, besieged the Obyenies in Glindalozie: and were it not that they submitted themselves to the king and the lieutenants mercie, they had not bene onelie for a season vanquished, but also vtterlie by him extirped. This noble man was in his gouernement such an encourager and furtherer of seruitors, as that he dubd on saint Michael the archangels daie thirtie knights in the castle of Dublin. He was a scourge vnto the Scots that inuaded Ireland, when he was lieutenant. He discontinued Omoough a notorious rebell, neare a towne named Balie leschan. After diuerse victorious exploits by him atchiued, he sailed into England, and so to Hispanie in pilgrimage to saint James. Upon his returne to England, he deceased at London, and his bodie being conueied into Ireland was intombed at Walligauran.

James Butler earle of Desmond was lord iustice of Ireland, in the yeare 1359. The lord Butler and vicount Shurles was dubb knight by Henrie the first in England, in the yeare 1425, at which time sir James Butler, sir John Butler, sir Rafe Butler, were in like manner knighted. James Butler, who married the earle of Herefords daughter, was prefer-

red to the earldome of Desmond in the first yeare of Edward the third, which fell vpon the heirs generall, lastlie vpon sir Thomas Butler earle of Wiltshire, after whome it reuerled to Pierce Butler, whome a little before king Henrie the eight had created erle of Ossioze. I read Butler earle of Tipperarie in the yeare 1300. The Latine histozie calleth him *Dominum de pincerna*, the English he Butler. Whereby it appeareth, he had some such honour about the prince.

His verie name is Beckeret, who was aduanced by Henrie the seconds eldest sonne, lord Butler, in recompense of the death of Thomas of Canturberie their kinsman. His eldest sonne is the lord Butler and vicount Shurles. For the earle now liuing these two verses (in the remembrance of him) are made:

*Magnus animi, maiorq; pater, sed natus utroq;
Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.*

Gerald fitz Gerald earle of Desmond. Maurice Desmond, fitz Thomas a Geraldine, was created earle of Desmond the same yeare, some after that Butler became earle of Desmond. His eldest sonne is lord fitz Gerald of Desmond. The erle now liuing, thus speaketh:

*Eux tandem, iactatus fluctibus altis,
Et precor in portu sit mea turba ratis.*

Sir Richard Bourke earle of Glenrickard, Glenrickard, a branch of the English familie de Burgo. The Bourkes haue bene ancient noble men before their comming to Ireland: and in old time they haue bene earles of Ulster. His eldest sonne is lord Bourke baron of Enikelline. His verse is this:

*Quam mihi maiorum fama bona gesta dederunt,
Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.*

Connogher Obyen earle of Desmond: the name of earle given to Purragh Obyen for fearme of life, and after to Donogh Obyen, in the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, now confirmed to the heires males, his eldest sonne is baron of Ibracan. Upon the erle now liuing this fantasie was deuised:

*Non deest exterius sine causa, querere reges,
Cim licet in tuta visere pace domi.*

Mac Cartie Doze earle of Glenrare, created in the yeare 1565. Vicount Barrie. Vicount Koch. Pre. Son Vicount of Cozmanslowne: wherinto is late annexed the baronie of Latonedress. One of their ancestors sir Robert Preston, then chiefe baron of the ercheher, was dubbed knight in the field, by Lionell duke of Clarence. This gentleman matched in wedlocke with Margaret Birmingham la die of Carbie, who deceased in the yeare 1361. After whose death sir Robert Preston was seized of the said lordship in the right of his wife, and being molested by rebels, placed a garison in the castle, whereby the subiects were greatlie eased, and the rebels greatlie annoied.

There hath bene another sir Robert Preston of this house, great grandfather to the vicount now liuing. This gentleman was deputie to Richard, second son to Edward the fourth, in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of his father: and after likewise in the reigne of Henrie the seventh, he was deputie to Zesper duke of Bedford, erle of Penbrooke, & lieutenant of Ireland: and at the same time was he appointed by the king generall receiver of his reuenue in Ireland. How wiselie this noble man behauid himselfe in warre, sundrie of king Henrie the seventh his letters to him being deputie, addessed, doe manifestlie witnesse. There was a parlement holden before him at Drogheda, which was repealed in the tenth yeare of Henrie the seventh. Sir Christopher Preston was dubbed knight in the field by Edmund earle of March, lord deputie of Ireland. William Preston was lord iustice of Ireland in Henrie the eight his reigne. The house is ancient, planted in Lancashire,

D. r. and

1550

Glencare,
Barrie.
Koch.
Cozmanslowne.

1361

1367

1476

1492

1494

1527

Diction came
from Lan-
cashire.

and from thence departed into Ireland, being to this
date seized of a manour in Lancashire, named of the
house Diction. The vicount now living speaketh in
this wise, as it were present in person, and saith:

*Si quantum vellem, tantum me posse putarem,
Nota esset patrie mens mea firma mea.*

Baltinglasse.

1542

1175

Cusface *alias* Polwar, vicount of Baltinglasse,
lord of Kilcullen to him and his heires males, the
fourth and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Their
ancestors Robert de Polwar was sent into Ireland
with commission, and his offspring hath resided there
since the yeare 1175. Polwar *alias* Cusface is writ-
ten baron of Downe in the yeare 1317. The vi-
counts possie now living is this that followeth:

*Cum bonus ipse maneat, non laus magna putatur,
Prudenter cuius posse placere vivo?*

Mountgaret.

1550

Dece.

Athenrie.

Sir Richard Butler vicount Mountgaret to him
and his heires males in the first yeare of Edward the
first. Vicount Dece. Lord Bermingham baron of
Athenrie, now degenerate and become mere Irish,
against whom his ancestors served valiantly in the
yeare 1300. John Bermingham was lord of Athen-
rie Anno 1316. John Bermingham baron of Ar-
digh, called in Latine de alio Dei, in the yeare 1318.
Mac Maurice, *alias* Fitzgerald, baron of Kerie. L.
Courcie, not verie Irish; the ancient descent of the
Courcies planted in Ireland with the conquest. Fle-
ming baron of Slane. Simon Fleming was baron
of Slane, 1370. The L. now living thus speaketh:

*Slanus inuictus princeps mihi nomen adaptat,
In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.*

Killine.

Plunket baron of Killine, his familie came in
with the Danes, whereof they haue as yet speciall
monuments. Sir Christopher Plunket lord of Kil-
line, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, which title is to
be seene at this day in Killine, grauen on his tombe.
The baron that now liueth, thus frameth his poesie:

*Ornant viucentem maiorum gesta meorum,
Talia me nequeunt viua cadente mori.*

Delaine.

Fugent baron of Delaine, an ancient house. Sir
Gilbert de Fogent, or Fugent, came into Ireland,
with Sir Hugh de Lacie, one of the first and valiant
conquerors of the countrie. This Gilbert matched
with Rosa de Lacie, sister to Hugh de Lacie. He had
giuen him vpon the conquest the baronies of foure,
and of Delaine by the said Sir Hugh, of whose brother
Richard de Fogent, otherwile called Richardus de
Capella, the house of Delaine is descended. In a con-
uenance past from Sir Gilbert to his brother Richard,
these words are inserted: *Dedi & concessi fratri meo Ri-*
chardo de Capella totum conquestum meum in Hibernia, &
terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, qui vo-
catur Deluin, & totam terram meam in Anglia. The ba-
ron now living & louing his countrie thus speaketh:

*In patria natus, patrie prodesse laboro,
Viribus in castris, consilijsq; domi.*

Howth.

S. Laurence, baron of Howth, signifieng the
disposition of his mind, he speaketh in this wise:

*Si redamas, velatus si spernis, sperno. Quid ergo?
Non licet absq; tui viuere posse bonis?*

Dunfanie.

Plunket baron of Dunfanie. Vpon the baron
now living, this deuise was framed as you see:

*Gratia quod dederat, si non fortuna negabit,
Dux tam praeclaro seminate dignus eris.*

Trimle-
stowne.

Barnewall baron of Trimlestowne. They came
from little Brittain, where they are at this day a great
surname. Vpon their first arriual, they wan great
possessions at Weirhauen, where at length by conspi-
racie of the Irish they were all slaine, except one
young man, who then studied the common lawes in
England, who returning, dwelt at Dumnagh be-
sides Dublin, where his heires to this date are settled.
This house as well for antiquitie, as for the number
of worshipfull gentlemen that be of the surname,

Dumnagh.

beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ire-
land: howbeit of late it hath bene greatlie maine-
thorough the decrease of three worthie and famous
Barnewalls. The first was Robert Barnewall L. of
Trimlestowne that last was, a rare noble man, and
indued with sundrie good gifts, who hauing wholie
wedded himselfe to the reformation of his miserable
countrie, was resolved for the whetting of his wit,
which nathelesse was pregnant and quick, by a short
trade and method he toke in his studie, by a short
trade and method he toke in his studie, and vpon this
determination sailing into England, sickeneth there;
lie after at a worshipfull matrones house at Corn-
berie, named Margaret Eiler, where he was to the
great græfe of all his countrie pearled with death,
when the weale publike had most need of his life.
The second Barnewall that deceased was Sp. Bar-
newall of Donboia, whose credit and au-
thoritie had it bene correspondent to his valure and
abilitie, he would (I doubt not) haue bene accom-
ted and knowne for as good a gentleman (none dispa-
sed) as anie in the English pale of Ireland.

The third of the surname that departed this life,
was Sir Christopher Barnewall knight, the lanterne
and light as well of his house, as of that part of Ire-
land where he dwelt: who being sufficientlie furnisht
as well with the knowlege of the Latine tongue, as of
the common lawes of England, was zealouslie bent
to the reformation of his countrie. A depe and a
wise gentleman, spare of speech, and therewithall
pitie, wholie addicted to grauitie, being in anie plea-
sant conceipt rather giuen to simper than smile, ve-
rie bytght in dealing, measuring all his affaires
with the safetie of conscience, as true as Steele, close
and secret, fast to his friend, stout in a good quarell,
a great householder, sparing without pinching, spend-
ing without wastage, of nature mild, rather chiding
to pleasure where he might harme, than willing
to harme where he might pleasure. He sickened the
three and twentieth of Iulie of an hot burning ague,
and ended his life at his house of Turrie the first of
August, to the great losse as well of his friends as
of his countrie, vpon whose death a sonne in law et
his framed this epitaph consisting of sixteene verses.

*Leta tibi, sed mesta tuis mors accidit ista,
Regna dat alta tibi, domna dat ampla tuas.
Latus es in caelo villo sine fine triumphans,
Mestus at in terra diues inopique iacet.
Nam sapiente caret diues, qui parca gubernet,
Nec, qui det misero munera, pauper habet.
Te gener ipse caret, viduae, te rustica turba,
Atque urbana cohors, te (sacer alma) caret.
Non est digna viro talis respublica tanto,
Nam sanctos sedes non nisi sancta decet.
Mira loquor, sed vera loquor, non ficta reuoluo,
Si maiora loquar, nil nisi vera loquar.
Mortuus es? Nobis hoc crimina nostra dederunt.
Mortuus es? Virtus hoc tibi sacra dedit.
Vivus es in caelo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Christi,
Vivus ut in mundo sis, tibi fama dabit.*

For the lord of Trimlestowne now living, de-
ring a name of fame after death, this was deuised.

*Quod mihi vita dedit, fratri Mori saua negauit,
Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.*

Edward Butler baron of Donbuit, giuen to
Edmund Butler esquier, and his heires males, in
the three and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight.
For the baron now living, these verses are made.

*Dum sequitur natus summi vestigia patris,
Filius optato tramite cuncta geret.*

Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick baron of Upper Oss
serie, giuen to Barnabie Mac Cullopatrike and his
heires males, in the three and thirtieth yeare of
Henrie the eight. Donat Clonagh apachgular
trike

strike was a pèrèllesse warriour in the yeare 1219.
Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, now lord of vpper De-
serie, was knighted by the duke of Bedford: at the
siege of Leith in Scotland: in the beginning of Q.
Elizabeths reigne, for whom these verses are made:

*Principi in gremio summi nutritus ex alius,
Haurit ab illustri regia dona schola.*

Plunket, baron of Louth, to sir Christopher
Plunket and his heires males, in the 33 yeare of
K. Henrie the eight. This baronie was an erldome
pertaining to the Berminghams, in the yeare 1316,
a soner. For the baron now liuing, this was deuised:

*Nobilis, ingenuus, firmus quoque firmus amicis,
Nubila seu celum luxue serena regat.*

Onelle, baron of Dungauon, to whom the earle
dome of Eiron was intailed by gift of king Henrie
the eight. Potwar, baron of Cutraghmore. Mac
Sartan, lord Desart, his ancestors were lords in the
time of Lionel duke of Clarence, earle of Ulster,
in the yeare 1360: now verie wild Irish.

Baron of Inshirkeine, to him and his
heires males, in the five and thirtieth yeare of king
Henrie the eight. There are besides these noble
men, certaine gentlemen of worship, commonlie
called baronets, whom the ruler sort doth register a-
mong the nobilitie, by terming them corruptie ba-
rons; whereas in verie deed they are to be named
neither barons, nor baronets, but banretts. He is
propertie called a banret, whose father was no car-
pet knight, but dubbed in the field under the banner

of ensigne. And because it is not vsuall for ante to
be a knight by birth, the eldest sonne of such a knight
with his heires, is named a banrerret, or a banret.
Such are they that here insue. Sentleger, ban-
ret of flemarge, mere Irish. Den, banret of
Dormantowne, waring Irish. Fitzgiralde, ban-
ret of Burnehurch. Welleslie, banret of Por-
ragh, Hulseie, banret of Galtrim. Saint Pig-
hell, banret of Serine. And Pangle, banret of the
Pauan. English gentlemen of longest continu-
ance in Ireland are those, which at this day either in
great pouertie or perill doe keepe their properties of
their ancestors lands in Ulster, being then compa-
nions to Courcie, the conqueror and earle of that
part. These are the Saunages, Jordans, Fitz Sol-
mons, Chamberleins, Kussels, Bensons, Audicles,
Whites, Fitz Arslutes, now degenerat and called
in Irish Mac Spahon, the Weares sonne.

The names or surnames of the lear-
ned men and authors of Ireland, and
what bookes they wrote.

The seuenth chapter.



Aldericus, whome Marianus
Scotus termeth Barbofus,
because of his long beard, a
learned man, greatlie in old
time renowned in Ireland.
But for as much as in his
age the countrie was not sto-
red with such as imploied
their labors in gathering together the sayings and
doings of sage persons, the discontinuance of his
same is rather to be imputed to the ignorance of the
time, than to the want of his deserts. He flouri-
shed in the yeare 1053. Alen, a learned physician.
James Archer a student of diuinitie. Argobastus,
the second bishop of Argentine, successor to the ho-
lie prelat saint Amand, bozne in Ireland, a learned
and deuout clerke: who leaving his countrie and li-
uing in heremiticke wise, in certaine solitarie places
of France, instructed the people of that realme in the
feare of God, and the knowlege of the scriptures.

In his preaching he was noted to haue so singular a
grace, and so prosperous successe, that such as were
by ante worldeie misadventure afflicted, vpon the
hearing of his godlie sermons would suddentlie be
comforted. The French king Dagobertus, aduer-
tised of his learning and vertue, caused him to be sent
for, vnto him as his chiefe counsellor in all his
weightie affaires; and after advanced him to be bi-
shop of Argentine: he wrote a booke of homilies.
He deceased in the yeare 658: & was buried hard
by a gibbet nere the citie, pitcht on the top of an
hill called saint Michaels hill, which was done by
his owne appointment, in that he would follow the
example of his maister Christ, who did vouchsafe to
suffer without the citie of Ierusalem, where offen-
doers and malefactoris were executed. Barnwall,
Hadie a preacher. Biendan an abbat bozne in Con-
nagh, in his youth trained vnder Hercules a bi-
shop: and being further kept in yeares, he travelled
into England, where he became a profess monk,
vnder an abbat named Congellus, he flourished
in the yeare 560: and wrote these bookes insuing.
Confessio christiana lib. 1. Charta celestis hare-
ditatis lib. 1. Monachorum regula lib. 1.

Comund Bernerdan a frier, he proceeded doctor Bernerdan
of diuinitie in Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Brigide
the virgine, bozne in Leinster, she flourished in the
yeare 510: she wrote a booke of hie reuelations.
Whotone a ciuillian. Burnell. Butler a Water-
fordian, sometime scholer to maister Peter White;
he translated Maturinus Corderius his booke of
phrases into English, in the yeare 1562. James
Caddell, he wrote Diuersa epigrammata. Carberie
a profound ciuillian. Cellus archbishop of Armagh,
bozne in Ireland, and scholed in the vniuersitie of
Oxford, he flourished in the yeare 1128: he wrote
these bookes following. Testamentum ad ecclesias
lib. 1. Constitutiones quaedam lib. 1. Ad Mala-
dham epistolae complures. Clere, bozne in Kilken-
nis, and proceeded maister of art in Oxford. John Clere,
Cin bozne in Leinster, being profess a greie fri-
er, he bestowed his time in preaching, chiefe in the
towne of Kilkennie. This man was a good anti-
quarie, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, begin-
ning at the natiuitie of Christ, and stretching to the
yeare 1350: in which yeare he flourished. He wrote
these bookes following. Annallum chronicon lib. 1.
De regibus Anglorum lib. 1. De custodijs prouin-
ciarum lib. 1. De Franciscanorum cœnobijs & e-
orum distinctionibus lib. 1.

Henrie Cogie doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in
the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Colme, Cogie,
a learned and an holie monk, he flourished in the
yeare 670: he wrote a booke intituled Pro socijs
Quartadecimanis. Columbanus, bozne in Ulster,
and trained in learning and knowledge as well in
England as in France, for his learning and ver-
tue, was elected to be abbat. Having travelled di-
uerse countreies, at length he repaired to Italie,
and there in an abbey by him founded, called Mo-
nasterium Bobiense, he ended his life the twentieth of
November. He left to his posteritie these bookes:
In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Collationes
ad monachos librum 1. De moribus monachorum
metricè lib. 1. Monasterium methodos lib. 1.
Epistolae ad commilitones lib. 1. Aduersus re-
gem adulterum lib. 1. Conganus an Irish ab-
bat, of whom saint Barnard maketh great ac-
count, he flourished in the yeare 1150: and wrote
to saint Bernard Gesta Malachiae archiepiscopi
lib. 1. Ad Bernardum Clareuallensem epistolae plures.
Connour. Walter Conton: he wrote in the La-
tine tongue diuerse epigrams and epitaphs. Simon
Connell a diuine. Connelius Hybernus, other wise
named

Aldericus

Barnardus

Barnwall
Hadie
BiendanWhotone
Burnell
ButlerCaddell
Carberie
Cellus

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Conganus

Barnardus in
vita Malachiae
in praefat.
Connour
Conton
Connell
Connelius

D. 2.

McSor Boet in
praeful. Scot.
list.

Creagh.

Crumpe.

Curren,
Cusacke.

Dalie.

Darcie.

Delahide.

Desroz.

Dillon.
Douball.

Dozmer.

Duns Iohan-
nes maior lib.
4. cap. 10.

Cicin orat.
pro Arch.
poeta.

named Hissoriscus, by reason that he was taken in his time for an erquisit antiquarie, as may appeare by the Scottish historian Hector Boetius, by whom he acknowledgeth himselfe to be greatlie furthered. He flourished in the yeare 1230: and wrote Multarum rerum Chronicon. lib. 1. Richard Creagh boone in Limerike, a diuine, he wrote Epistolae complures, Responsiones ad casus conscientiae. De vitis sanctorum Hiberniae. Topographiam Hiberniae, with diuerse other bookes.

Henrie Crumpe boone in Ireland, and brought vp in the vniuersitie of Orford, where he grew by reason of his profound knowledge in diuinitie to no small credit. Having repaire to his native countrie, minding there to defraie the talent wherewith God had indued him, he was suddenlie apprehended by Simon bishop of Metch, and kept in dureffe, by reason that he was suspected to be of no sound religion. He flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred ninetie and two, and wrote these bookes: Determinationes scholastic. lib. 1. Contra religiosos mendicantes lib. 1. Responsiones ad obiecta lib. 1. Edmund Curren archdeacon of old Laghlin, there hath bene an Irish bishop of the name. Patrike Cusacke a gentleman boone, and a scholer of Orford, sometime scholemaster in Dublin, and one that with the learning that God did impart him, gaue great light to his countrie; he imploied his studies rather in the instructing of scholers, than in penning of bookes, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred three score and six, and wrote in Latine Diuersa epigrammata.

Dalie scholed in the vniuersitie of Paris, hauing a pretie insight in scholasticall diuinitie, he made Diuersas conciones. Sir Willielme Darcie knight, a wise gentleman, he wrote a booke intituled, The decate of Ireland. Dauid Delahide, an erquisite and a profound clerke, sometime fellow of Mertton college in Orford, verie well sene in the Latine and Greeke tongues, expert in the mathematics, a proper antiquarie, and an exact diuine, whereby I gather that his pen hath not bene lazie, but is daillie breeding of such learned bookes as shall be available to his posteritie. I haue sene a proper oration of his in the praise of master Westwood being Christmasse lord in Mertton college intituled, Deligendo & sciendo, also Schemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta. Deuror, there are two brethren of the name learned, the elder was sometimes scholemaster in Wexford.

Peter Dillon a diuine, and John Dillon likewise a student in diuinitie. Dondall, sometime pismat of Armagh, a graue, a learned, and a politike prelat, verie zealouslie affected to the reformation of his countrie, he made Diuersas conciones. Dozmer a latoper, boone in Koffe, scholer of Orford, he wrote in ballat roiall, The decate of Koffe. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman boone, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith he was boone in England. So that there shall as great contention rise of him, as in old time there rose of Homers countrie. For the Colophonians said that Homer was boone in their citie; the Chyans claimed him to be theirs, the Salaminiens aduouched that he was their countryman: but the Smirniens were so fittelie bent in prouing him to be boone in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, & therupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countryman soeuer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound clerke. The onelie fault wherewith he was disliked, was a litle spice of baine glorie, being giuen

to carpe and taunt his predecessors diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries than for aduancing the truth of the controuerfies. Whereupon great factions are growen in the scholes betwene the Thomists and Scotists; Thomas being the ring-leader of the one sect, and Scotus the bellwadder of the other. He was fellow of Mertton college in Orford, and from thence he was sent for to Paris to be a professor of diuinitie. Finally, he repaire unto Cullen, where in an abbey of greie sisters (of which profession he was one) he ended his life. The bookes he wrote are these: Commentarij Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. Quodlibeta scholastica lib. 1. In Analytica posteriora lib. 2. In metaphysicam quaestiones lib. 12. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. De perfectione statuum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de Sanctis lib. 1. Collationes Parisienses lib. 1. Lectura in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentarij in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli lib. plures. Quaestiones vniuersalium lib. 1. Quaestiones praedicamentorum lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In categorias Aristotelis lib. 1. Tetragrammata quaedam lib. 1. Commentariorum imperfectorum lib. 1.

Cusacke a doctor of diuinitie, a verie god scholemaster, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and six. Oliver Olier Cusacke a student of the ciuill and canon law, a god humanician, and a proper philosopher. Nicholas Cusacke a gentleman boone, surpassing birth by learning, and learning by vertue. Maurice Cusacke a student of diuinitie, one that notwithstanding he were boone to a faire living, yet did wholie sequester himselfe from the world.

Fagan a batchelor of art in Orford, and a scholemaster in Waterford. Daniell Ferraille, a diuine and a scholemaster. Fergusius son to Ferguhardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be boone in Denmarke, the more part suppose him to haue bene an Irishman. He flourished in the yeare of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and before the incarnation two hundred ninetie and two, in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was by misaduenture drowned nere a rocke in the north of Ireland that of him is called to this daie Carregfergus, upon whose mishap these verses were made:

Icarus Icareus ut nomina fecerat undas,

Fergusius petra sic dedit apta sua.

This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, Leges politicae lib. 1. Finnanus scholer to one Bennias and Hegenius, taken for a deepe diuine in his age; he flourished in the yeare six hundred sixtie and one; he wrote Pro veteri paschatis ritu lib. 1. Field a physitian. Thomas Field a master of art. John Fitzgiralde, commonlie named John Fitzedmund, a verie well lettered ciuillian, a wise gentleman, and a god householder.

Robert Fitzgiralde alias Robert Fitzmaurice Fitzgiralde boone in the countie of Kilbare. Dauid Fitzgiralde, usually called Dauid Duffe, boone in Berie, a ciuillian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of musike, skillfull in physike, a god & generall craftman much like to Hippas, surpassing all men in the multitude of crafts, who comming on a time to Pisa to the great triumph called Olympicum, wore nothing but such as was of his owne making; his shoes, his pattens, his cloke, his cote, the ring that he did weare, with a signet therein verie perfectlie wrought, were all made by him. He plaid excellentlie on all kind of instruments, and song thereto his owne verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logicke, rhetorike, and philosophie he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none.

Richard

The description of Ireland.

41

1360

Richard Fitzcrafe, primat of Armagh, scholer in the vniuersitie of Oxford to Baconthorpe a good philosopher, & no ignorant diuine: an enemy to friers, namelie such as went begging from doze to doze, thereby he purchased the hatred of all religious persons. He was by Edward the third his means made archdeacon of Lichfield, after created primat of Armagh, being cited before pope Clement the first, for reproving the begging friers. In the heat of the said contention he deceased in Italie, whose bones were caried into Ireland, and buried at Dondalke, where he was bozne. He wrote these booke insuing: De paupertate seruatoris lib. 7. Contra fratres mendicantes lib. 16. In extrauagantem Ioannis 23 lib. 1. Determinationes ad eundem lib. 1. Contra suum archidiaconum lib. 1. Propositiones ad papam lib. 1. Contra fratrum appellationem lib. 1. Sermones ad crucem Pauli lib. 1. Sermones coram pontifice lib. 1. De statu vniuersalis ecclesie lib. 1. Lectura sententiarum lib. 4. Quaestiones earundem lib. 1. Lectura theologica lib. 1. Sermones ad clericum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 1. Marie laudes Auenioni lib. 1. Illustrationes euangeliorum lib. 4. De passione dominici lib. 1. De peccato ignorantie lib. 1. De iure spiritali lib. 1. De vassicis Iudaeorum lib. 1. Propositionum suarum lib. 1. Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Dialogorum plurimum vnum.

1360

Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, lord justice and lord chancellor of Ireland at one time, a famous clerke, and exquisite learned both in philosophy and diuinitie: being in companie with king Henry the seventh, and hearing an oration that was made in his praise, the king demaunded him, what fault he found most in the oration? True (quoth he) if it like your highnesse, no fault, sauing onelie that the orator flattered your maiestie ouermuch. Now in god faith, our father of Dublin (quoth the king) we minded to find the same fault our selues. Thomas Fitzsimons, a vertie proper diuine: he wrote in English a treatise of the church. Leonard Fitzsimons, a deepe and pithie clerke, well scene in the Greeke and Latine tong, sometime fellow of Trinitie college in Oxford, perfect in the mathematical, and a painefull student in diuinitie: he hath a brother that was trained vp in learning in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim. Michael Fitzsimons, scholemaster in Dublin, a proper student, and a diligent man in his profession, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Essexiae Dublinum, Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihursti, Diuersa epigrammata.

1360

Philip Flattisburie, a worthy gentleman, and a diligent antiquarie, he wrote in the Latine tong, at the request of the right honourable Girald Fitzgiralde erle of Kilbare, Diuersas chronicas: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and seauenteene, & deceased at his towne named Johnstowne nere the Haas. Thomas Fleming: there is a Fleming now liuing, of whome I heare great report to be an absolute diuine, and a professor thereof. Foillanus a learned monk, he travelled into France, where thorough the liberalitie of an holie virgin, named Gertrude, he founded an abbey called Monasterium Fossense, where at length he suffered martyrdom. Fursus peregrinus, so called, because he was bozne in Ireland, and did bestow his yeares as an estranger in France, where he founded an abbey named Coenobium Latiniacense: he wrote certeine pamphlets, that by tract of time are perished, he flourished in the yeare six hundred and fiftie, and was buried in his owne monasterie.

1360

Robert Garrie, fellow of Miall college in Oxford, a student of both the lawes, a man well spoken

as well in the English as in the Latine. Robert Gogan, Gogan a preacher. William Harbit a doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie. Hickie, physicians, the father and his sonne. Hugo de Hibernia, so called, because his surname is not knowne, he was a greie frier, and a great trauelier, he flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fiftie, he wrote Itinerarium quoddam lib. 1. Oliver Husie, a professor of the arts in Douaie. Husie. Derbie Husie, a scholar, and a commendable philosopher: he wrote In Aristotelis physica. Robert Josse, Josse, borne in Iackemite, a good humanitian. Ka. Kella, oulphus Kellie a monk, brought up in the knowledge of the Latine tong in Kildare, in which he profited so well, that for his eloquence and wisdom he was sent to Clement the first, as the speaker or prolocutor of all his order, and also was appointed the generall aduocate or reputie under Petrus de Casa, master generall of the order. After he was aduanced to be archbishop of Cashill, in which honour he deceased, having at vacant houres written In iure canonico lib. 1. Epistolarum familiarium lib. 1. Thomas Kenodie, a scholar.

Kernie, he wrote in Irish Catechismum, Translationem biblicam. Cagher, a nobleman bozne, in his time called Mac Burrough, he descended of that Mac Burrough that was sometime king of Leinster, he was a surpassing diuine, and for his learning and vertue was created bishop of Leighlin and abbat of Crage: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and fiftie, and was an hundred yeares old when he deceased. James King, borne in Dublin, and scholer to P. Patrike Cusacke, under whome being commendable trained, he repaired to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he deceased before he could attaine to that ripenesse of learning, whereto one of so pregnant a wit was like in time to aspire, he wrote Carmina in laudem Henrici Sidaci, Diuersa epigrammata. Leic, a learned and an expert physician. Leurouse a learned diuine, sometime bishop of Kilbare, and deane of saint Patricks in Dublin. Aeneas Loghlen, or Ackleighlen, master of art, and a preacher. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare one thousand five hundred seuentie and six in August, he is a proper philosopher, no stranger in scholasticall diuinitie, a pretie Latinist: he wrote De specibus contra mendacem monachum, In Aristotelis physica, Thefes ex praecipuis iuris vtriusque partibus selectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali consecratas.

Peter Lombard bozne in Waterford, scholer to Lombard, master Peter White, having imployed two yeares and a halfe in the studie of philosophie at Louane, he was chosen when he proceeded master of art, Primus vniuersitatis, by the vniforme consent of the foure principals, which preferment did happen to none in such consenting wise, in many yeares before: he wrote Carmen heroicum in doctoratum Nicholai Quemerfordi. Dabie Macchzagh, a student in diuinitie. Macgrane, a scholemaster in Dublin, he wrote carols and sundrie ballads. Malachias bozne in Ulster, his life is exactly written by saint Bernard, in whose abbey he died in the yeare one thousand one hundred fortie and eight, he wrote Constitutionum communium lib. 1. Legum coelibatus lib. 1. Nouarum traditionum lib. 1. Ad D. Barnardum epistolae. Malachias, the minor, or greie frier, a student in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he attained to that knowledge in diuinitie, as he was the onelie man in his time that was appointed to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a sharpe reprimander of vice, a zealous imbracer of vertue, enemy to flatterie, friend to simplicitie: he flourished in the yeare

D. 30

one

The description of Ireland.

42

Mauricius.
Iohannes Ca-
merter in cap.
35. de 1.

one thousand three hundred and ten, he wrote De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1. Conciones plures, lib. 1. Mauricius Hybernus, of him Iohannes Camertes, thus writeth. *Annus ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea insula oriundus Mauricius, D. Francisci ordinis professus, in dialectica, utraque philosophia, metaphysica, ac sacra theologia plurimum eruditus. Vix insuper dici potest, quia humanitate, quodam mortui sanctimoniam praeditus fuerit. Is cum annis plurimis in Patavino gymnasio bonas artes docuisset, cum summa omnium gratia, ob eius singularem eruditionem, ac candidissimos mores, a Iulio secundo pontifice maximo in Tuanensem archiepiscopum creatus est. Quo cum relicta Italia bellis in ea saevientibus proficisceretur, non multum post, magna studiorum iactura, cum nondum quinquagesimum aetatis suae attigisset annum, mortem obiit. Erant plurima suae doctrinae in manibus nonnumenta, sed ea ob immaturam aemulorum edere non licuit. Quantum fuerit inter eum, dum viveret, & me necessitudinis vinculum, testantur sexcentae epistolae, quas plenas charitatis indicis, varijs temporibus ad me dedit. Ex quantaverere amicitiae viis post amici obitum, relegens saepe assidue recreari.*

Here did (saith Iohannes Camertes) of late yeares one Mauricius boine in Ireland excell, a greie frier profest, verie well scene in logike, deepe in grounde in philosophie, both morall & naturall, learned in the metaphysiks, in diuinitie percelle. Scantlie maie I tell with how great courtesie & vertue he was in dued. When he had professed at Padua the liberall arts maie yeares with no small renoume; he was created by Julius the second, not onlie for his profound knowledge, but also for the sinceritie of his life, archbishop of Tuen. When he was traueking thitherward, being departed fro Italie, by reason of the vppores that were there daily increasing, he ended his life to the great losse of learning, before he was full fiftie yeares old. He had hundrie woorks in hand, which he could not haue finished by reason of his vntimelie death. How deere and entier friends he and I were one to the other during his life, the letters he addressed me from time to time, to the number of six hundred, sheweth with loue and kindnesse, do manifestlie declare. And by perusing of them after his death (such is the force of friendship) I am greatlie comforted. Thus farre Camertes. This Mauricius wrote Commentarios super Scotum in praedicabilia, In magistrum sententiarum lib. 4. Mauricius archbishop of Cashill, he flourished in king Johns reigne. Giraldus Cambrensis, vpon his comming into Ireland, and de basing the countrie in the hearing of this prelat, saieing that albeit the inhabitants were wont to brag of the number of their saints, yet they had no martyrs: You saie verie well sir (quoth the archbishop) indeed as rude as this countrie is o; hath bene, yet the dwellers had the saints in some reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrie is come to your kings hands, we shall I trust shortly be stored with martyrs.

Mauricius
Cassiliensis.

John Blagh a diuine, he wrote a treatise, De possessione monasteriorum. Monete a ciuillan and a god Latinsk. Deilan, sometime fellow of Alfoles college in Oxfo; a learned physician. Patrike Pigran a diuine. Philip Porris a scholer of Oxfo; and after drane of S. Patriks in Dublin, he flourished in the yeare 1446, and wrote these woorks. Declamationes quasdam lib. 1. Lecturas scripturarum lib. 1. Sermones ad populum, lib. 1. Contra mendicantem validam lib. 1. Nugent, baron of Deluin, scholed in the vniuersitie of Cambridge. William Nugent a proper gentleman, and of a singular good wit, he wrote in the English tong diuerse sonets.

Mauricius
Cassiliensis.

Mauricius
Cassiliensis.

Nugent.

Obuge.

David Obuge, boine in the towne of Beldare; for his learned lectures, and subtile disputations openlie published in Oxfo; and Treuers in Germanie, he

was taken for the gem and lanterne of his countrie. In his time Giraldus Bononiensis, being maister generall of the Carmelites, was at iar with William Aidington, the prouinciall of all the English Carmelites. Whereupon tenne of the wisest and learnedest Carmelites that then were resident in England, being fullie elected to resist their generall, Obuge was chosen to be the forman of all the said crew. Giraldus Bononiensis understanding that he being an Irishman, was so hot in the controuersie, was egerly bent against Obuge, because he ascribed himselfe to haue had fauour at his hands, by reason Obuge was boine in that countrie where the Giraldines his kinsmen were planted, and therevpon he was banished Italie. This storme in proceesse of time being appeased, the outcast Carmelite was made the generall gardian of all his fraternitie in Ireland: which countrie by his continuall teaching and preaching was greatlie edified. Duer this he was so politike a counsellor, that the nobilitie and estates in causes of weight, would haue recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophie an Aristotile, in eloquence a Tullie, in diuinitie an Augustine, in the ciuill law a Iustinian, in the canon a Panormitane, he flourished in the yeare 1320, he deceased at Beldare, leauing these learned woorks insuing to posteritie. Sermones ad Clerum lib. 1. Epistolae 32 ad diuersos lib. 1. Propositiones disputatas lib. 1. Lectiones Treuerenses lib. 1. Regulae Iuris lib. 1. Contra Giraldum Bononiensem.

Owen Odethe, a preacher, and a maker in Irish. Thomas Oheirname, deane of Cork, a learned diuine, he wrote in Latine Ad Iacobum Stanhurstum epist. plures. Thomas Oheirigh, bishop of Koffe, an exquisite diuine, brought vp in Italie. Pander, a man zelouslie addicted to the reformation of his countrie, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latine, intituled Salus populi. Patricius, who notwithstanding he be no Irishman boine, yet I may not ouerslip him in the catalog of Irish authors, for as much as his whole woorks tended to the conversion and reformation of that countrie: he was furnished Succetas o; Agonius, an absolute diuine, adorning his deepe knowledge therein with sinceritie of life. Being sent into Ireland by the appointment of Celestinus the first, accompanied with Segetus a priest, he converted the land from idolatry and paganism to christianitie. He wrote these bookes following. De antiquitate Aualonica lib. 1. Itinerarium confessionis lib. 1. Odorporicon Hybernica lib. 1. Historia Hybernica ex Ruano lib. 1. De tribus habitaculis lib. 1. De futura electorum vita lib. 1. Abiectione quasdam 366 lib. 1. Ad Cerecium tyrannum epist. 1. Sermones lib. 1. Ad Aualonicos incolas epist. 1. Ad Hybernica ecclesias epist. plures. Ad Britannos epist. plures. He deceased, being one hundred, twentie, and two yeares old, in the yeare 458, or as some suppose 491, and lieth buried in an ancient citie, in the north of Ireland, named Downe, according to the old verse, which saith:

*Hic tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.*

Patricius Abbas a learned man, and much giuen to the edifying of his countriemen: he flourished in the yeare 850, and deceased at Glasconburie. Some ascribe the finding of saint Patrikes purgatorie to this abbat, not to Patrike that converted the countrie; but that error hath bene before sufficientlie reprobated. This abbat wrote Homilies lib. 1. Ad Hybernica epist. plures. Petrus Hybernicus, professor of philosophie in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lanterne of scholemen, both in philosophie and diuinitie, was his scholer; being therefore as highlie renowned as Socrates is for

Giraldus
Bononiensis.

Owen Odethe,
Thomas Oheirname,
Thomas Oheirigh,
Pander,
Patricius

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Patricius
abbas.

Petrius
hybernicus.

Winkler.

for being master to Plato; or Plato is, for having Aristotle to his scholar. This Pertus flourished in the yeare 1230, he wrote Quodlibeta theologica lib. 1. Plunket, baron of Dunlany, scholar in Katoagh, to pp. Staghens, after sent by sir Christopher Barne wall knight, his frendlie father in law, to the vniuersitie of Orford. Where, how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of his acquaintance presently perceiue, so hereafter when his woorkes shall take the aire, that now by reason of basfull modestie, or modest basfulness are wrongfullie imprisoned, and in manner stieled in shadowed couches, I doubt not, but by his fame and renowne in learning, shall be answerable to his desert and valure in writing.

Dumrell.

Dumrell, a batchelor of diuinitie, sometime chapleine in New college in Orford, after returning to his countrie, he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thence fitted to Louaine, where through continuall hearing of lectures and disputations, more than by his priuat studie, he purchased a laudable knowledge in diuinitie. Whereby he gaue manifest shew of the profit that riseth of exercise and conference. Upon this occasion, one of his acquaintances was accustomed to tell him that he had all his diuinitie by hearsaie. He deceased at Louaine in the yeare 1573. Nicholas Duemesford, doctor of diuinitie, proceeded the thirde and twentieth of October, he wrote in English a verie pithie and learned treatise, and therewithall erquisite pend, intituled; Answers to certeine questions propounded by the citizens of Waterford; Diuerse sermons. There liued latelie of the surname a graue prelat in Waterford, and propertie learned.

The force of exercise.

Duemesford.
1575

Kian.

Richard.

Wolfford.

Woth.

Deiaco
Dico.

Sedgrane.

Shaghens.

Shene.

Sheth.

Skidmore.

Smith.

Kian, there liued two brethren of the surname, both scholars of Orford, the one a good ciuilian, the other verie well scene in the mathematical. Richard archdeacon of saint Patriks, chancellor in the vniuersitie of Dublin, proceeded doctor of the canon law, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentieth. Robert Wolfford bozne in the countrie of Welfesford, a proper diuine, an exact philosopher, and a verie good antiquarie. There is another Wolfford that is a student of philosophie. Woth, batchelor of law, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Orford. There hath bene another Woth vicar of S. Johns in Kilkennie prettie learned. Iohannes de sacro bosco, bozne in Holtwood, and thereof surnamed De sacro bosco. He wrote an excellent introduction, De Sphæra. Sedgrane, two brethren of the name, both students in diuinitie. Shaghens fellow of Balliol college in Orford, after scholemaster in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man. Shene, scholar in Orford and Paris; he wrote, De Repub. Elias Sheth bozne in Kilkennie, sometime scholar of Orford, a gentleman of a passing good wit, a pleasant conceited companion, full of mirth without gall; he wrote in English diuerse sonets. Michaell Sheth bozne in Kilkennie, master of art. Skidmore bozne in Corke, and gardian of Boghill.

Richard Smith bozne in a towne named Kackmackneie, three miles distant from Welfesford, surnamed Smith; of his father, who was by occupation a smith, being fouretene yeares of age he stole into England, and repaired to Orford, where in tract of time he proceeded doctor of diuinitie, was elected doctor of the chaire, taken in those daies for a perelesse pearle of all the diuines in Orford, as well in schollasticall as in positive diuinitie. Upon the death of quene Marie he went to Louaine, where he read openly the apocalpye of saint John, with little admiration and lesse reprehension; he wrote in English against licentious fasting, or the libertie of fasting; The assertion of the sacrament of altar; A defense of

the sacrifice of the masse one booke; Of vnwritten verities one booke; Retractions one booke. In the Latin tongue he wrote De coelibatu sacerdotum lib. 1. De votis monasticis lib. 1. De iustificatione hominis librum vnum.

Nicholas Stanhurst, he wrote in Latine De tam medicorum lib. 1: he died in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure. James Stanhurst, late recorder of Dublin, ouer his exact knowledge in the common lawes, he was a good orator, and a proper diuine. He wrote in English, being speaker in the parlements; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c. in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie; An oration made in the beginning of the parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, in the second yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quene Elisabeth; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneye knight, &c. in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quene Elisabeth. He wrote in Latine, Pias orationes. Ad Coraciensem decanum epistolas plures: he deceased at Dublin the seven and twentieth of December, being one and fiftie yeares old. Upon whose death, I, as nature and dutie bound me, haue made this epitaph following:

*Vita brevis, mors sancta fuit (pater optime) visa,
Vita timenda malis, mors redamanda bonis.
Vrbs est orba sopho, legum rectore tribunal,
Causidicoque cliens, atque parente puer.
Plurima proferrens, sed me prohibere videtur,
Pingere vera dolor, fingere falsa pudor.
Non opus est falsis, sed quæ sunt vera loquenda,
Non mea penna notet, buccina fama sonet.
Hoc scripsisse satis, talem quandoque parentem
Est habuisse decus, sed caruisse dolor.
Filius hac dubitan, talem vix comperit usquam,
Vllus in orbe patrem, nullus in vrbe parem.
Mortuus ergo pater, poteris bene virum haberi,
Vnius enim mundo nomine, mente Deo.*

Walter Stanhurst, sonne to James Stanhurst, he translated into English Innocent de contemptu mundi. There flourished before anie of these a Stanhurst, that was a scholar of Orford, brother to Gennet Stanhurst, a famous and an ancient matorne of Dublin, he lieth buried in saint Michaels church. Sutton, one of that name, is a verie good maker in English. Mattheu Talbot scholemaster, a student in Cambridge. William Talbot. John Talbot sonne to William, a master of art, he wrote in Latine, Orationem in laudem comitis Essexie, Diuerfa epigrammata. Edmund Tanner a profound diuine, he wrote Lectiones in summam D. Thomæ. Taiter batchelor of art, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Orford, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuerfa.

Thomas Hybernus bozne in Palmerstowne neare the Baas, he proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Paris, a deepe clerke and one that read much, as may easilie be gathered by his learned woorkes: he flourished in the yeare 1290, and wrote with diuerse other woorkes, these bookes insuing: Flores biblia, Flores doctorum lib. 2. De christiana religione lib. 1. De illusionibus demonum lib. 1. De tentatione diaboli lib. 1. De remedijs vitijs lib. 1. Laurentius Toole archbishop of Dublin. Trauerse doctor of diuinitie, he flourished in the reigne of Henrie the eight. There hath bene after him a scholemaster in Dublin of that name. Tundalus Magus a knight, after he became a Charterhouse monke, much giuen to contemplation, wherein he is reported to haue scene diuerse visions of heauen and hell, and thereupon he wrote

Stanhurst.

1557.

1560.

1568.

1573.

Circa nnum
Dom. 1506.

Sutton.
Talbot.

Tanner.

Taiter.

Thomas Hybernus.

Toole.
Trauerse.

Tundalus.

The description of Ireland.

Virgilius Solinus.

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Tomo primo conciliorum.

Uitagh.
Vitanus.

Virgilius.

Uitagh.
Wadding.

Witagh.

Witagh.

Witagh.

Witagh.

Witagh.

Witagh.

Wrote Apparitionum suarum lib. 1. he flourished in the yeare 1149.

Virgilius Solinus a noble man borne being kept in pears, he traueled into Germanie, where being knowne for a vertuous and learned prelat, he was chosen by Dilon duke of Bauaria, to be their rector or gardian of an ancient abbey, named S. Peters abbey, placed in the citie of Salisburgh, after he was created Episcopus Iuanienfis, and founded in the said towne of Salisburgh a church. In his time one Bonifacius an Englishman, being generally visited in Bauaria, rebaptized certeine, whom he suspected not to haue bene orderly baptized. Virgilius detesting the fact, hauing consulted with Sidonius archbishop of Bauaria, withstood Bonifacius in his fond attempt. The controuersie being brought before pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius held an error, and that Virgilius and Sidonius published in that point sound doctrine, as who so will read Zacharias his epistle vnto Bonifacius shall plainlie see. Virgilius deceased 784, and lieth buried in his church at Salisburgh; he wrote Ad Zachariam Rom. pont. epist. 1.

Uitagh a physician, his father proceeded doctor of physike in Paris. Vitanus a learned monke fellow to Foillanus; with whom he traueled into France, and with continuall preaching edified the inhabitants of that realme; he flourished in the yeare 640. Gilbertus Virgilius a profest Carmelite, and a student in Oxford, he flourished in the yeare 1330, he wrote in two great tomes, Summam quarundam legum, De rebus theologicis lib. 1. Uitagh, or Wadding, a student in Cambridge, and a preacher. Wadding, a proper versifier, he wrote in Latine upon the burning of Pauls steple, Carmen heroicum, Diuersa epigrammata. Edward Witagh, he flourished in the yeare 1550, and wrote in English The dutie of such as fight for their countrie, The reformation of Ireland by the word of God. James Witagh, master of art, and student in diuinitie, he translated into English, Giraldus Cambrensis, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuersa.

Richard Witagh master of art and student in diuinitie. There is a learned man of the name beneficed in S. Patricks church in Dublin, student in Cambridge, and now a preacher. Peter Witagh a proper poet, and one that would haue bene an ornament to his countrie, if God had spared him life, he died of a surfeit at London, about the yeare 1571. Where dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname, who writeth a verie proper Latine verse. Wellfleet deane of Beldare, there liueth an other learned man of the name, who is archdeacon of saint Patricks. Peter White borne in Waterford, fellow of Oxall college in Oxford, the luckie scholemaster of Mount St. ; he bestowed his time rather in the making of scholars, than in the penning of books, and to the instruction of youth, he wrote Epitome in copiam Erasmi, Epitome figurarum rhetoricar. Annotationes in orat. pro Ardia poeta. Annotat. in orationem pro T. A. Milone. Epigrammata diuersa. John White bachelor of diuinitie borne in Clonmell, he wrote in Latine Diuersa pia epigrammata. Andrew White a god humanist, a petic philosopher. Wise, of this surname there flourished sundrie learned gentlemen. There liueth one Wise in Waterford, that maketh verie well in the English. Andrew Wise a toward youth, and a god versifier. William an abbat, and (as it is thought) a sofferier, he flourished in the yeare 1298, and wrote Prophetias rerum futurarum lib. 1. David Wolfe, a diuine.

Thus far (gentle reader) haue I indroured to heape vp together a catalog of such learned Irishmen, as by diligent insearch could haue bin found,

Howbeit, I am to request that not to measure the ample number of the learned of that countrie by this briefe abstract: considering, that diuerse haue bene, yea and are yet liuing, of profound knowledge that to me are unknowne, and therefore in this register not recozded.

The disposition and maners of the
meere Irish, commonlie called
the wild Irish.

The eight chapter.

Before I attempt the unfolding of the maners of the meere Irish, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne the reader, not to impute anie barbarous custome that shall be here laid downe, to the citizens, townefmen, and inhabitants of the English pale, in that they differ little or nothing from the ancient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Welsh men, being therefore as mortallie behated of the Irish, as those that are borne in England. For the Irish man standeth so much upon his gentilitie, that he termeth anie one of the English sept, and planted in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English churle: but if he be an Englishman borne, then he nameth him, Bobdeagh Saronnegh, that is, a Saron churle: so that both are churles, and he the onelie gentleman. And thereupon if the basest peasant of them name himselfe with his superiour, he will be sure to place himselfe first, as I and Onelle, I and you, I and he, I and my master, whereas the countesse of the English language is cleane contrarie.

The people are thus inclined, religious, frank, amorous, trell, sufferable of infinite paines, glorious, manie forcerers, excellent hostmen, lighted with wars, great almesgiuers, passing in hospitalitie. The lewd sort, both clearkes and laie men are sensuall and ouer loose in liuing. The same being vertuouse bred vp or reformed, are such mirrors of holinesse and austeritie, that other nations reteine but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kind of chastisement. They follow the dead corpse to the graue with howling and barbarous outcries, pitifull in apparence: whereof grew, as I suppose, the prouerbe; To weepe Irish.

Gravie of praise they be, & fearefull of dishonor, and to this end they esteeme their poets, who write Irish learnedlie, and pen their sonets heroicall, for the which they are bountifullie rewarded; if not, they send out libels in dispraise, whereof the lords and gentlemen stand in great awe. They loue tenderlie their foster children, and bequeath to them a childes portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship: so benefficall euerie waie, that commonlie fise hundred cowes and better, are giuen in reward to win a noble mans child to foster, they loue & trust their foster brethren more than their owne. The men are cleane of skin and henn, of stature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big & large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of bodie.

Their infants, they of meane sort, are neither swaddled nor lapped in linnen, but folded vp starke naked in a blanket till they can go. Whom they are of long crisped bushes of hare which they terme glibs, and the same they nourish with all their cunning, to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable peece

The inclination of the people.

To weepe Irish.

Ports of shame.

Foster child.

The names of the people.

Glibs.

one

their diet. of billanie. After crosses, which they tearme thaim-
rocks, rats and other herbs they feed upon, omeale
and butter they cram together, they drinke wheie,
milke, and beale-broth. flesh they deuoure without
bread, and that halfe raw: the rest boileth in their sto-
machs with *Aqua vite*, which they swill in after such
a surfet by quarts and pottels: they let their cowes
bloud, which growne to a gellie, they bake and ouer-
spread with butter, and so eate it in lumps. No meat
they fanke so much as porke, and the fatter the bet-
ter. One of John Dnels household demanded of his
fellow whether beele were better than porke? That
(quoth the other) is as intricat a question, as to aske
whether thou art better than Dnele.

people. Their noble men, and noble mens tenants, now and
then make a set feast, which they call coshering, wher-
to stocke all their retainers, whom they name follo-
wers, their rithmones, their barbs, their harpers
that feed them with musike: and when the harper
twangeth or singeth a song, all the companie must
be still, or else he chafeth like a cutpurse, by reason
his harmonie is not had in better price. In their
coshering they sit on straw, they are serued on
straw, and lie upon mattresses and pallets of straw.

Capit. Acc. The antiquitie of this kind of feasting is set forth by
and Dnele. Virgil, where Dido interteineth the Troian prince
and his companie. They obserue diuerse degrees, ac-
cording to which each man is regarded. The basest
sort among them are little pong wags, called Dal-
tins, these are lackies, and are seruiceable to the
groomes or horseboies, who are a degree aboue the
Daltins. Of the third degree is the Kerne, who is an
ordinarie souldior, vsing for weapen his sword and
target, and sometimes his pike, being commonlie
so good markemen as they will come within a score
of a great castell. Kerne signifieth (as noble men of
depe iudgement informed me) a shower of hell, be-
cause they are taken for no better than for rakehels,
or the diuels blacke gard, by reason of the sinking
surge they keepe, wheresoeuer they be.

Daltin. The fourth degree is a galloglasie, vsing a kind of
Groom. pollax for his weapen. These men are commonlie
twelward rather by profession than by nature, grim
of countenance, tall of stature, big of lim, burlie of
bodie, well and stronglie timbered, chieslie feeding on
beefe, porke & butter. The fifth degree is to be an hos-
teler, which is the chieffest next the lord and capteine.
These hostelers, when they haue no state of their
owne, gad & range from house to house like arrant
knights of the round table, and they neuer dismount
untill they ride into the hall, and as farre as the table.
There is among them a brotherhood of harrowes,
that proffer to plaie at cards all the yeare long, and
make it their onelie occupation. They plaie atwaie
mantle and all to the bare skin, and then truste them-
sels in straw or leaues, they wait for passengers
in the high waie, inuite them to game vpon the
greene, and aske no more but companions to make
them sport. For default of other stufte, they patone
their glibes, the nattes of their fingers and toes, their
diminuties, which they leaue or redeme at the courte-
sie of the winner.

Hosteler. One office in the house of noble men is a tale-
teller, who bringeth his lord alldepe with tales vaine
and frivolous, whereunto the number giue soth and
credit. Without either precepts or obseruations of
congruittie, they speake Latine like a bulgar lan-
guage, learned in their common scholes of leach-
craft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold
on tillene or twentie yeares, conning by rote the
aphorismes of Hippocrates, and the ciuill institutes,
with a few other parings of those faculties. In their

scholes they growell vpon couches of straw, their
bookes at their noses, themselves lie flat prostrate,
and so they chant out with a lowd voice their lessons
by peccemeale, repeating two or three words thirtie
or fortie times together. Other lawyers they haue lia-
ble to certeine families, which after the custome of
the countrie determine and iudge causes. These con-
sider of wrongs offered and rectued among their
neighbois: be it murder, felonie, or trespass, all is
remedied by composition (except the grudge of par-
ties seke reuenge) and the time they haue to spare
from spoiling and pelding, they lightlie beflow in
parling about such matters. The Bieighon (so they
call this kind of lawyers) sitteth on a banke, the lords
and gentlemen at variance round about him, and
then they proceed. To rob and spoile their enemies
they deeme it none offense, nor seke anie meanes to
reouer their losse, but euen to watch them the like
turne. But if neighbois & friends send their punit-
ors to purloine one another, such actions are iudged
by the Bieighons aforesaid. They honour and reue-
rence stiers and pilgrims, by suffering them to passe
quietlie, and by sparing their mansions, what soeuer
outrage they shew to the countrie besides them. The
like fauor do they extend to their poets & rithmones.

In old time they much abused the honorable state
of marriage, either in contracts vnlawfull, meeting
the degrees of prohibition, or in disolements at
pleasure, or in reteining concubines or harlots for
wines: yea euen at this date, where the clergie is
faint, they can be content to marrie for a yeare and
a date of probation; and at the yeares end, or anie
time after, to returne hir home with hir marriage
goods, or as much in valure, vpon light quarels, if the
gentlewomans friends be vnable to reuenge the in-
iurie. In like maner maie the forfake hir husband.
In some corner of the land they used a damnable su-
perstition, leauing the right armes of their infants
vndressened (as they tearme it) to the intent it might
giue a more vngations and deadlie blow. Others
write that gentlemens children were baptised in
milke, and the infants of poore folke in water, who
had the better or rather the onelie choise. Diuerse o-
ther vaine and execrable superstitions they obserue,
that for a complet recitall would require a seuerall
volume. Whereto they are the more stiffelie wedded,
because such single preachers as they haue, repone
not in their sermons the piousnesse and sondnesse
of these frivolous dreamers. But these are the like
enozimities haue taken so depe root in that people, as
commonlie a preacher is tornt by their naughtie
liues corrupted, than their naughtie liues by his
preaching amended.

Again, the verie English of birth, conuersant with
the sauage sort of that people become degenerat, and
as though they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup,
are quite altered. Such force hath education to make
or mar. God with the beams of his grace clarifie the
eyes of that rude people, that at length they maie see
their miserable estate: and also that such as are de-
puted to the gouernement thereof, bend their industrie
with conscionable policie to redce them from rude-
nes to knowledge, from rebellio to obedience, from
trecherie to honestie, from sauagenesse to ciuilitie,
from idlenesse to labour, from vickednesse to good-
nesse, whereby they maie the sooner espie their blind-
nesse, acknowledge their losene, amend their liues,
frame themselves pliable to the lawes and ordina-
ces of hir maiestie, whome God with his gracious
assistance preserve, aswell to the prosperous govern-
ment of hir realme of England, as to the happy re-
formation of hir realme of Ireland.



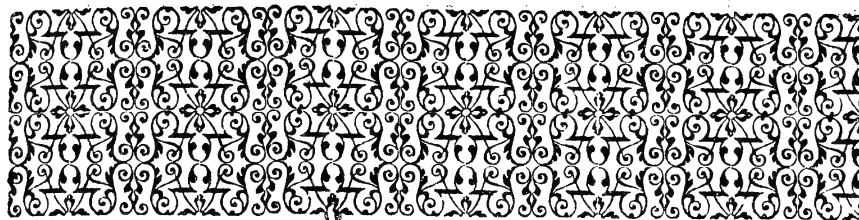
The first inhabitation of Ireland,
by whome it was instructed in the faith,
with the severall inuasions of the same, &c.

The authors preface or introduction to the
sequelle of the historie.



Although (vndoutedlie) the originall of all nations for the more part is so vncerteine, that who soeuer shall enter into the search thereof, further than he findeth in the holie scriptures, may seeme as it were rather to talke with men that dreame, than to gather authorities sufficient wherevpon to ground anie warranted opinion: yet for as much as the authors (whom in this Irish historie we chieflie follow) haue set downe what they haue found in the Irish antiquities, concerning the first inhabitation of this countrie of Ireland, and because the reader also may be peraduenture desirous to vnderstand the same, we haue thought good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauing the credit vnto the due consideration of the circumspect reader; and where the errors are too grosse, giuing by the way some cautions, in like sort as our authors themselues haue doone. According therefore to the order of all other nations and people that seeke to aduance the glorie of their countries, in fetching their beginning with the furthest from some one of ancient antiquitie: so likewise the Irishmen haue registred in their chronicles, that their countrie was first inhabited by one of Noahs neeces, after the manner following.





THE FIRST INHABITATION of Ireland, &c.



In the yeare of the world, 1525: the patriarch Noah began to admonish the people of vengeance to followe for their wickednesse and detestable sins, to build his arke to save his kinfolkes and friends of that

univerfall flood which was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earth should be covered with water; & that within few yeares, except they amended in time. This did he before the generall flood, one hundred & five and twentie yeares. But when euerie man seemed to neglect this wholesome admonition, one Cesara that was nece to Noah, hearing his vncles prophesie, doubted least the same should come to passe; and therefore determined with certeine his adherents to seeke adventures in some forren region, persuading his selfe, that if he might find a countrie neuer yet inhabited, and so with sin vnspotted, the generall sentence of Gods wrath should not there take effect. Whereupon rigging a nauie, he committed his selfe to the seas, sailing forth, till at length he arrived in Ireland onelie with thre men, & fiftie women, having lost the residue of his companie by misfortune of sundrie shipwracks made in that his long & troublesome tourneie. The names of the men were these, Bithi, Lalgria, and Fintan. The coast where he first set foot on land, and where also he lieth buried, is called *Nauicularis litus*, that is, the shipwiping riuaige of those. The stones wherein the monozie hereof was preserved from violence of waters, haue bene saene of some (as they themselves haue reported) but how trulie I haue not to say: within fortie daies after his comming on land there, the uniuersall flood came & overflowed all that coast as well as all other parts of the world. But where as this tale betwixt it selfe too manifestlie to be a mere vntruth, if the time and other circumstances be thoughtlie examined, I will not stand longer about the prose or dispose thereof; sauing that it is sufficient (as I thinke) to bring it out of credit, to consider, how that the art of sailing was vnknowne to the world before the uniuersall flood, and no part inhabited except the continent of Syria, and thereabouts. But to passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof grauen in a stone (a deuise borrowed from Josephus, as some thinke) it shall be sufficient for the glorie of the Irish antiquitie to grant that

Ireland was discovered and peopled by some of Noahs kintred, euen with the first Islands of the world (if they will needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to that which is set forth in their histories, when about thre hundred yeares after the generall flood immediatlie vpon the confusion of tongues, Japhet & his posteritie emboldened by Noahs example, aduentured to commit themselves by ship to passe the seas, & to search out the vnknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuerse Isles in these west parts of the world.

There was (saie they) in that retinue one of the same progenie named Bartolennus or Bartolennus, who encouraged with the late attempt and successe of Nimrod kinsman to Pinus (then netolue intruded vpon the monarchie of Assyria) searched so far west, intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without anie partner in authoritie, till at length fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of Ireland. Here he settled himselfe with his thre sonnes Languina, Salamis, and Ruthurgus, right active and stout gentlemen, who searching the land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names in certeine notable places named after them; as Languinie, Stragrus, and mount Salanga, since named saint Dominiks hill, and Ruthurgus his pole. Little is remembered of Bartolennus, sauing that in short space with manie hands working at once, he rid and made plaine a great part of the countrie ouergrown with woods and thickets.

Thus was Ireland inhabited by this people vnder the gouernment of those thre sons of Bartolennus and their offspring, about the space of thre hundred yeares. Togither with Bartolennus arrived Ireland certeine godles people of Nimrods stocke, worthilie termed giants, as those that in bodilie shape exceeded the common proportion of others, and vied their strength to gaine soueraintie, and so oppresse the weake with rapine and violence. That lineage (Chams brood) did grow in short while to great numbers, and alwaie indozed themselves where soeuer they came to beare the rule ouer others. The cause hereof was their bodilie strength, answerable to their hugeness of stature; another, the examples of Cham or Zoastres the magician, and Nimrod grandfather to Pinus. Which two persons in themselves and their progenies were renowned through the world as victorious princes, ruling ouer two mightie kingdoms Egypt and Assyria. A third cause there was, as this: they repined at the blessings bestowed vpon Sem and Japhet, thinking it necessarie to withstand and prevent all lawfull rule and domination, least the curse of slaueerie prophesied by Noah should light vpon them, as at length it did. Here,

An. mundi, 1557
After the best authozs make 300 yeares, and not 100 betwene Noahs flood and Babel.

Bartolennus, or Bartolennus. Clem. lib. 4. Cambreid. lib. 3.

Ruthurg: stagnum.

Ireland first inhabited.

Giants.

Bergon the sonne of Hephzune and brother to Abiron (as Iohn Bale hath) conquered Ireland and the Dykenes.

Euill examples some followed.

Edene neice to Noah.

An. mundi, 1556

Ab. J.anc. in Gen. 5.

Rebellion a-
gainst govern-
ors.

Worthie
resolution.

Victorie too
cruellie viced.

Anno mundi.
2257

Kuanus how
long he liued.

Forged tales
and fables
win credit in
time, to passe
among the un-
faulfull people
for true hi-
stories.

Gen. 10.

Upon rebelliouslie withdrawing their due obedience from their lawfull gouernors here in Ireland, and taking head, set vp a king of their owne faction, and maintaining his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides betwixt the lawfull gouernors & these vsurpers, with daile rases and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them that coueted to liue in quiet vnder their rightfull princes, that they determined with the chance of one general battell, either wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else to end their liues in freedom, and so to be rid of further miserie. But first, where there had growen certeine debates and enimitie among themselves, whereby they had infabled their otone forces, they thought god to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the giants, concluding therefore an agreement, and joining in league with promise to assist ech other to subdue their common enemies, they assemble their power forth of all parts of the land, and comming to ioine battell with the giants, after they had fought right fiercelie together for the space of certeine houres, the victorie inclined to the rightfull part; so that the lawfull kings preuailling against the wicked tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole brood of that mischeuous generation. For the kings meaning to deliuer themselves of all danger in time to come, viced their happie victorie with great crueltie, which turned to their owne confusion: for where they neither spared man, woman, nor child that came in the waie for more despite, & fuller satisfieng of their whole reuenge, they did not boudsafe to burie the carcasses of their flaine enemies; but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs: whereof thorough stench of the same, such an infectiue pestilence infused in all places through corruption of aire, that few escaped with life, beside those that got them awaie by sea.

And hereby lieth a baine tale among the Irishmen, that one of the giants named Kuanus, chancing to be preserued from this mortalitie, liued forth two thousand and one and fortie yeares, which is more than twise the age of Methusalem. By this man (saie they) saint Patrike was informed of all the estate of the countrey: and after that upon request he had receiued baptisme of the said Patrike, he decessed in the yeare after the birth of our saviour foure hundred and thirtie, as in the Irish histories hath bin vndisputedly registred. But such foolish tales and baine narrations may warne the aduised reader how to beware of yelding credit vnto the like idle fantasies and forged tales, when they hap to light vpon such blind legends. For where some of the poets vied for inuention sake to saine such dreaming fables for exercise of their stiles and wits: afterwards through error and lacke of knowledge, they haue bene taken with the ignorant for verie true and most assured histories. But now to the matter, as we find it recorded of an infinit number of giants flaine and made awaie in manner afore rehearsed, certeine there were that got them into some lurking dens or caves, and there kept them till lacke of vitels inforced them to come forth, and make thiff for subsistence; and perceiuing no resistance because the land was in manner left desolat, they wared bolder; and when they vnderstood how things had passed, they settled themselves in the best part of the countrey, easilie subduing the poze seltie soules that remained, and so reniuing their lineage, they became lords of the whole Island, keeping the same in subiection for the space of thre score yeares together.

Among Iaphets sons we read in Genesis that Shagogg was one, who planted his people in Scythia nere

Tanais, from whence about the yeare of the world two thousand three hundred & fourtie. Armodus Anno 2257 with his foure sonnes, Satrius, Carbaneles, Annus, Fergusius, captaines ouer a faire companie of people, were sent into Ireland, who passing by Cre- Remondus with his four sonnes cia, and taking there such as were desirous to take adventures with them; at length they landed in Ireland, inhabited the countrey, and multiplied the race, Ireland: foures inhabi- although not without continuall warre, which they ted by the at- held with the giants for the space of two hundred and firstene yeares, in the end of which terme the giants tacking of Ja- preuailling chased them thence againe, so that they re- phet. The giants tired into Syria. This was about the yeare after the tionale. 2357 creation (as by their account it should seme) two thousand five hundred thirtie and thre, from which time the giants kept possession of the land without foren inuasion, till the yeare two thousand seauen hundred and fouretene; but yet in all that space they were not able to frame a common-welth: for falling at variance among themselves, and measuring all things by might, seditionlie they viced ech other. Which thing comming to the knowledge of the Gre- The sonnes of Dela, be- cians moued five brethren, sonnes to one Dela, be- claus moued five brethren, sonnes to one Dela, be- ing notable seamen and skilfull pilots to rig a name, and to attempt the conquest of this Island. These were of the posteritie of Armodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Saganous, Kutherantus, & Slantius. When all things were readie, and their companies assembled, they toke the sea, and finalie arriuing here in Ireland, found the puissance of the giants sore weakened through their owne ciuill dis- sention: so that with more ease they atchiued their purpose, and wan the whole countrey, bitterlie destrou- eng and rooting out that wicked generation enities to mankind; and after diuided the Island into five parts, and in each of them they seuerallie reigned. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and auoid contention, they concluded to fix a mere-stone in the middle point of Ireland, to the which ech of their kingdoms should reach, so as they might be equalitie partakers of the commodities found within that countrey soile.

These are also supposed to haue inuented the distribution of shires into cantreds, eticrie cantred or baronie containing one hundred towneships. At length desire of souereigntie set the five brethren at variance, & greatlie hindered their growing wealths. But Slantius getting the upper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a lotte, toke on him as chiefe aboute his other brethren, incroching round about the middle stone for the space of certeine miles, which plot in time obtained the priuilege & name of one entier part, & now maketh by the number of five parts (into the which Ireland is said to be diuided) and is called Meth, and in Latine Media, taking that name (as some haue gessed) for that in respect of the other, it contained but the mottie of cantreds, that is, firstene (where ech of the other comprehended two and thirtie a peece) or else for that it lieth in the middell of the land. This part Slantius ioined as a surplussage ouer and aboute his inheritance, to the monarchie: which part notwithstanding grew to a seuerall kingdom. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finalie Slantius departed this life, and was buried in a mounteine of Meth, that beareth hitherto (as they saie) the name after him. Then the princes subiect to him, began to stomach the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereupon ensued continuall wars betwixt them, falling still at debat for the land of Meth, which strife of long time might neuer fullie be appeased. In the necke of these troubles also there arriued in Ireland a new armie of Scythians, who made claime to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their

The sonnes of Dela, be- claus moued five brethren, sonnes to one Dela, be- ing notable seamen and skilfull pilots to rig a name, and to attempt the conquest of this Island. These were of the posteritie of Armodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Saganous, Kutherantus, & Slantius.

They cast into Ireland, and destroyed the giants.

They diuided the countrey into foure parts.

These are also supposed to haue inuented the distribution of shires into cantreds, eticrie cantred or baronie containing one hundred towneships.

Slantius departed this life.

A new armie of Scythians landed in Ireland.

thet forefather Prometheus: and so taking & making parts, they set all in an vprore, that hauocke was made on each side with fire and sword in most miserable manner.

To be short, they spent themselves in pursuing one another with such outrage, that now they cared not what nation or what souldier they receiued to their aid, to keepe vp or beat downe a foe. By which occasion the Britons also put in a foot among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus to direct his course thither, with the same name which he had made ready to passe ouer into Gallia, now called France, to the aid of Segwin then king of the Allobroges that inhabited the countries called Sa-

Segwin.
Allobroges.

uote and the Delphinat. But his enterprize into Ireland took small effect, though there were other kings of the Britons that gat dominion there, in so much that Gurguntius, or Gurguntius, the sonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions to belong to him by lineall descent: notwithstanding the British princes neuer intoted the quiet possession thereof, longer than they held it by maine force, but were often repelled and put to the worse with seeking after it, finding there small gaine other than stripes, whereof they bare alwaies great plentie. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastlie (vnder the conduct of foure capitaines) passed into Ireland from Biscaye, and inhabited that Island, it shall not be impertinent in following the order which our author keepeth, to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may appeere from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

2436

In the yeare of the world 2436, after the vnfortunall flood 780, whilst the Israelites serued in Egypt, Cathelus the sonne of one Beale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon dissauage eriled his countrie with a number of his factious adherents and friends.

See more of
this matter in
the beginning
of the Scottish
history.

This noble gentleman being right wise, valiant, and well spoken, comming into Egypt, got honorable intertainment of Pharaos surnamed Ous, as in the Scottish history more plainelie appeereth. And afterwards departing that countrie, trauesed the seas, and landing first in Dorsetshire, after some bickering with the inhabitants, at length yet he got by their consent a portion of the countrie, lying by the banks of the riuer ancientlie called Spunda, & now Spodego, where shortly after he began to build a citie first named Zachara, but now Barfalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Cathelus his people began to increase in power, through persuasion of the Spaniards their neighbors, they removed into Gallia, where they also builded a citie named Brigantium, which is now called Coruna. Finally, when they grew into such a huge multitude, that Gallia was not able to susteine them, Cathelus with a certaine number of them passed ouer into Ireland, and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge speciallie in all languages, he was highly honored: for he not onelie enriched and beautified the Irish tongue, but also taught them letters, sought vp their antiquities, praetised their youth in warlike feats after the manner of the Greeks and Egyptians, from whence he descended.

To conclude, he was so acceptable to them, that to gratifie such a benefactor, they agreed to name the Island after him Cathella, and after his wife Scotia. This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onelie to Humfreie Lhuid, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of antiquities, by reason of the sundrie arguments of improbabilitie, aswell in the miscount of yeares as other unlikelihoos found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, thoughtlie weighed, and well considered. Yet

certaine it is, that Ireland was ancientlie named Scotia, and the people Scots, as by diuerse old writers it may be sufficientlie proued: albeit by what occasion it first took that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted. But to proceed with the history as we find it. The residue of Cathelus his people, which remained in Spaine, founded the citie of Balon in the confines of Gascoigne, and replenished the seacoasts of Spaine with store of inhabitants, and welnere about two hundred yeares after their first arrivall there (when they were still more pestered with multitude of people) they began to fantasie a new volage, but whether at that time they passed ouer into Ireland, or some whither else, it is uncerteine.

Notwithstanding sure it is, that in the daies of Gurguntius king of the Britons, the chiefe gouernour of Balon with foure brethren Spaniards, of which two are said to be Hiberus and Hermon, not the sonnes (some thinke) of Cathelus (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but some other perhaps that were descended from him, who vnderstanding that diuerse of the westerne Isles were empty of inhabitants, assembling a great number of men, women, and children, imbarked with the same in three score great vessels, and directing their course westward, haued a long time in the sea about the Isles of Orkney, until by good hap they met with Gurguntius then returning from the conquest of Denmarke (as in the British history it appeereth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of vittels and other necessaries, being such as they were not able longer to abide the seas, incumbered with a sort of women and children, to direct and appoint them to some place where to inhabit, promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege people to him and his heires for ever.

Gurguntius aduising himselfe hercof, remembered with what trouble he held the Irish in subiection, and conceiuing hope that those strangers should either subdue or wholly destroy that vncouelie generation, took the othes of those Spaniards with hostages, and furnishing them and their ships with all things needfull, set them ouer into Ireland, where assisted with such Britons as Gurguntius had appointed to go with them for their guides, they made a conquest of the whole countrie, & settled themselves in the same. Some write, that Ireland was before that present bold of all inhabitants: but yet they agree that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Britons, & that vnder such conditions as before is recited. So that it appeereth the kings of this our Brittain had an elder right to the realme of Ireland, than by the conquest of Henrie the second, which title they neuer maintained, and sometimes preuailed in pursuing thereof, as in the daies of king Arthur, to whom the Irish (as in some histories is remembered) acknowledged their due subiection with paiement of their tribute, and making their apperance at the court called in the British tongue Caer Ibeon. Whereunto when their free assent, the submission of their princes with lawfull conquest and prescription are adioined, an inuincible title must needs be inferred.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantially aided by the Britons, settled themselves, and diuided their seats in quarters, the foure brethren reigning seuerallie apart in foure sundrie portions in good quiet and increase of wealth, until their pride and ambition armed two of them against the other two: as Hiberus and one of his brethren against Hermon and the other brother. In this dissension Hermon lost his brother Hiberus. Of whom at the same time the countrie (as some hold) was named Hibernia, as in the description further

E. r.

appeareth,

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards seats in Ireland to be vnder his subiection.

The arrivall of the Spaniards in Ireland, Geoffrey Mon.

The Irish were subiect to King Arthur, Westsister.

Dissension betweene the brethren. Such are the fruits of ambition. See more hercof in the description.

The first inhabitation of Ireland.

No crime so manifest or detestable that wanteth a colourable pretence to excuse it.

Ireland divided into five kingdoms. One sovereign ruler over the rest.

Picts arrive in Ireland.

The oration of Rodorike king of the Picts king of Ireland.

appeareth: althoough some rather bold, that it toke the name of iron, of the plentifull mines of that kind of mettall wherewith that land aboundeth: and so those ancient writers which name it Ierna, named it more aptlie after the speech of the inhabitants than others, which name it Hibernia. But to proceed. Hermon hereupon to avoid the ill opinion of men, for that he had thus attained to the sovereignty by the unnaturall slaughter of his brother, in that unhappie ciuill warre, purged himselfe to his subjects, that neither malicionlie nor contentioulie, but for his necessarie defence and safetie he had bozne armes against his brethren: and to witnesse how farre he was from all desire to rule alone, he appointed certaine capitaine as kings, to rule vnder him seuerall countries, reseruing to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of speech allotted to the monarchie for the better maintenance of his estate.

These parts appointed forth in this wise at length grew to five kingdomes, Leinster, Connagh, Ulster, and Downe divided into two parts, and sometime to more, by vsurping or compounding among themselves: but euer one was chosen to be chiefe soveraigne monarch over them all. Thus it seemeth that certeinlie the Spaniards of the north parts of Spaine, inhabiting the countries about Biscaye and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne histories and the British do wholie agree:) but from whence they came first to inhabit those countries of Spaine, verelie I haue not otherwise to aske: for no other writers that I can remember, but (such as haue registred the Scottish chronicles) make mention of the comming thither of Gathelus with his wife Scota and their people, in manner as by the said chronicles is pretended. But now to our purpose. An hundred and thirtie chiefe kings are reckoned of this nation from Hermon to Laoghris, the sonne of Dealus Magnus, in whose time that holie esteemed man Patrike conuerted them to christianitie. But now in the meane time whilst the Irishmen liued in some tollerable order and rest vnder their severall kings, one Rodorike a Scottish prince with a small companie of men, being weather driven round about the coasts of Britaine, was by chance cast vpon the shore of Ireland.

These were Picts, and the first that had been heard of in these parties (as some authors haue recorded) a people from their verie cradle giuen to dissention, landleapers, merciless, fierce and hardie. They being brought and presented to the Irish king, craued interpretation, which granted, Rodorike their chiefeine made this request for him and his, as followeth: Not as denegate from the courage of our ancestors, but fashioning our felices to fortunes course, we are become to craue of Ireland, as humble supplicants that neuer before this present haue so embased our felices to anie other nation. Behold sir king, and regard vs well, no light occasion causeth these lustie valliant bodie to stoop. Scythians we are, & Picts of Scythia, no small portion of glorie resteth in these two names. What shall I speake of the ciuill warre that hath expelled vs from our native homes, or rip by old histories to moue strangers to bemoane vs? Let our seruants and children discourse therof at leisure, if perhaps you will vouchsafe to grant vs some time of abode in your land, to the which effect and purpose our vrgent necessitie beseecheth your fauours, a king of a king and men of men are to craue assistance. Princes can well discern and consider how nere it toucheth their honour and suertie, to vphold and releue the state of a king, by treason decayed. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more becometh the nature of man, than to be moued with compassion, and as it

were to feele the miselues hurt, when they heare and vnderstand of other mens calamities. Admit (we beseech you) and receiue amongst you these few scattered remnants of Scythia: if your comes be narrow, we are not marie: if the soile of your countrie be barren, we are bozne and ensured to hardnesse: if you liue in peace, we are at commendement as subjects: if you warre, we are ready to serue you as souldiours: we demand no kingdome, no state, no pompous triumph in Ireland: we are here alone, and haue left such things behind vs with our enemies: howeuer you estimate of vs, we shall content our felices therewith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mind not what we haue bene, but what we are.

Great consultation was had about this request of these strangers, and manie things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the Irish said forth for answer the opinions of their antiquaries; that is, such as were skilfull in old histories and sayings of their elders, whereunto they gave credit, and therefore they gathered it could not be expedient to accept the Scythians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme breedeth quarrels: moreover, that the multitude of the inhabitants was such, as Rome in the whole Ile was vnable to receiue them, and therefore those few new comers, being placed among so manie old inhabitants, might breed quicklie some disturbance to bring all out of ioint. But (said they) though we may not contentlie receiue you among vs, yet shall you find vs ready to further you to be our neighbours.

Not far hence there lieth the great Ile of Britaine, in the north part whereof, being void of inhabitants, your manhoods and policies may purchase for you comes to place your felices at ease: we shall appoint you capitaine to guide you thither, we shall assist to settle you with our forces in that countrie, make ready your ships that ye may passe thither with all conuenient speed. Encouraged with this perswasion, they toke their course towards the north parts of Britaine now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britaine was ready to await their comming, and with sharpe battell vanquishing them in field, slue Rodorike with a great number of his retinues. Those that escaped with life, and fought to him for grace, he licensed to inhabit the uttermost end of Scotland. This Marius Humfric Luid taketh to be the same, whome the Romane writers name Aruicagus, who reigned about the yere of our Lord leuente, a prince of a noble courage and of no small estimation in his daies (as should seeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the said Humfric Luid anoneth) was Paurig.

But now concerning the Picts, whether that those that escaped with life, got seats by king Paurigs grant (as above is specified) or that getting to their ships, they withdrew into the Isles of Orkneye, and there remained. Whilnes they wanted also to increase their issue: and because the Britons thought scoone to match their daughters with such an vknowne and new come nation, the Picts continued their first acquaintance with the Irish, and by intreatie obtained wines from them, with condition, that if the crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yeld thus much to the prerogative of the woman, that the prince should be elected rather of the blood roiall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (saith Beda) the Picts were well known to keepe vnto his time.

But howeuer we shall giue credit to this historie of the first comming of Picts into this land, if we grant that to be true which Geoffrey of Monmouth

Doubtfull consultation.

The answer of the Irish to the request of the Picts.

The Irish persuading the Picts to place their felices in Britaine.

Marius or Marius king of Britaine.

Picts more engaged with the Irish by the vntowardness of their king.

repute of this victorie obtained by Marius against the Picts: yet haue I thought good to aduertise the reader, that the Britons of this Ile were disquieted by that nation long before the supposed time of the said king Marius. For Panmerthus in his oration intituled Panegyricus, Max. Dictus hath these words (speaking of the conquest which Julius Cesar had here against the Britons.) But in that age (saith he) Britaine was neither furnished with anie ships of warre for battell on the sea, and the Romans after the warres of Affrike and Asia, were well practised with the late warres against pirats, and after that against Epithydates, in which they were exercised as well by sea as land. Whereouer, the British nation was then vnskillfull, and not trained to feats of war, for the Britons then being onelie vsed to the Picts and Irish enemies, people halfe naked through lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romans force, so that Cesar might onelie as it were glorie in this, to haue passed in that iourneie ouer the ocean sea.

Whereby it should seeme that the Picts and Irish did disquiet the Britons, before the comming of Julius Cesar into this Ile of Britaine. But whether they inhabited at that time in some part of Ireland, or in some of the out Isles by Scott ind, either in anie part of Germanie, or Scandinavia; or else whether they were alreadye setteled in the furthest parts of Scotland, as in Cathness, towards Dungsbyie head: we haue not to asseigne, other than that which in Scotland we haue written, in following Hector Boetius, whose opinion how farre it is to be suspected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the consideration of others. But for the first comming as well of the Picts as Scots (whom he maketh inhabitants with in this Ile so long before) either the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had anie gouernement here, by anie ancient or approued writer. I cannot perswade my selfe, that either Scots or Picts had anie setteled seats within the bounds of this Ile of Britaine, till after the birth of our sauour: but that rather the Scots, as yet inhabiting in Ireland, and in the westerne Isles called by the Roman writers Hebrides, and the Picts, in the Isles of Orkney called in Latine *Orchades*, did vse to make often inuassions vpon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coasts that lie nere to the sea side ouer against those Isles.

From whence they comming ouer in such vessels or boats, as the fishermen doe yet vse, at length the Picts first about the yere of our Lord 290, as Humfreie Lhuid hath noted, entred generallie into Cathness, and other the north parts of Britaine, where they setteled themselves, and remoued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and shortly the Scots likewise came ouer and got seats in the west parts ouer against the north of Ireland, and in those westerne Isles, which Isles they first got into their possession. And in this sort those nations Picts and Scots came first to inhabit here in this our Ile of Britaine, as the said Humfreie Lhuid, not without aduised coniectures grounded vpon good reason and sufficient authoritie to lead him so to asseigne, hath written in his short commentaries of the description of Britaine.

And verelie I thinke we may more safely beleue that which he auoucheth in this behalfe, than that which Hector Boetius setteth downe, sith for anie thing I can perceiue, his authorities bring no such warrant with them, but we may with good reason suspect them. But for the man himselfe, even as he hath verie ouerlike, and with no lesse cunning than eloquence set downe diuerse things incredible, and reported some other contrarie to the truth of the historie for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it;

so in his excuse it may be alledged, that he was not the author of those matters, but wrote what he found in Cambell, Veremound, Cornelius Hibernensis, and such other, in like case as Gesserie of Monmouth wrote what he found in old ancient British monuments, & was not the deuiser himselfe (as some haue suspected) of such things as in his booke are by him expressed. But now to returne to the Picts. It may be that they came at severall times in like manner as the Scots did out of Ireland, of whom the first is remembred to be Ferguse, the son of Fergusard, a man right skillfull in blasoning of armorie, himselfe bare a lion gules in a field of gold. The marble stone wherof in the Scottish historie is mentioned, brought into Ireland by Simon Brehus, and kept till those daies as a pretious iewel, this Ferguse obtained towards the prospering of his iourneie: for that it was thought, who so had the same in possession, could not but obtaine souereignie and rule ouer others as a king, namelie those of the Scottish nation. This stone Ferguse bringing into Scotland, left it there. But although that Ferguse be put in ranke among those Scottish kings that should reigne in Britaine, yet he bare small rule there, & was diuers times beaten backe into Ireland, where finallye he was drowned by misfortune in the creeke of Knockfergus.

That he encountered with Collus king of the Britons (as the Scots write) is not possible, as our author hath verie well noted; except they mislike the name of Collus for Callus, with whom the age of Ferguse might well meet: the rather, for that in the first yeare of Callus reigne the Picts entered, Ferguse immediatly after them, 330 yeares per Christ was borne; where Collus reigned in the yeare after the incarnation 124, about which time befell the second arriual of the Picts in Britaine. And thus it may be they mislike, by error of the name, Collus for Callus, and the second arriual of the Picts for the first. But now to the course of the historie. Whilist the Picts were seated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude; the Irish made sundrie errands ouer to visit their daughters, nephews, and kinsfolks, and by their often comming and going they were aware of certeine waste corners, and small Islands void of inhabitants, as that which seemed rather neglected and suffered to lie waste.

Whereof they aduertised their princes, namelie Kenner or Kenda, who being descended of Ferguse, determined to inuelt himselfe in certeine portions of land beside the Picts. He therefore well appointed passed ouer, and partlie by composition, and partlie by force, got possession of those quarters which were desolate, & began to erect a kingdome there, by little and little increasing his limits: and finallye got betwixt the Picts and Britons, possessing that countrie which toke the name of him called Kenderdaball, and now Kildesdale (as you would saie) Rheudas part; for Dahall in the Scottish tongue signifieth a part. In these quarters he could not settle himselfe, but that he was oftentimes assailed by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chance was to be slaine, but the kingdome continued still in the hands of his successors: and the Picts and Scots grew in friendship together, permitting each other to liue in quiet.

The Scots nested themselves in the Isles and coasts alongst the sea side. The Picts held the middle part. But shortly after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuersitie of people, place, custome and language, together with the memory of old grudges, moued such gelousie and inward hate betwixt those nations, that it seemed they were ready to breake out into open dissention vpon the first occasion. And as in such cases there neuer

Gesserie Monmouth the translator, not the author of the British historie.

The doubt of the time of the comming of Picts and Scots into Britaine. Ferguse king of Scots. The marble stone.

Knockfergus

Kenner or Kenda.

The amitie betwixt Scots and Picts.

Their falling out.

wanteth one deulle or other to raise tumults: it chanced that certeine of the Scottis nobilitie had got out of Grece (as some write) a Polonian hound, which both in swiftnesse of foot, and pleasantnesse of mouth, was accounted perlesse. This hound being stolen by a Pict, was cause of the breach of peace; so that cruell wars thereof ensued, as in the Scottis historie more at large appereth. But where some write, that Eugenius should reigne ouer the Scots when this quarell fell out for stealing of this hound, Hector Boetius saith, it was in king Crathlinth's daies. Whosoeuer it shuld seme by that which the same Boetius writeth, that the hound or greihound for the which this trouble rose, was not fetched so far as out of Grece, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithstanding because the Latinists call such kind of dogs *scythi*, for that the first generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Grece called Polosse; it may be, that some haue thought that this greihound came from thence, for that he was so called after the name of that place from whence the bzard of him first came. But to returne to the historie.

Carauilius
agreeth them.
Anno Christi.
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After the Scots and Picts had tugged together a while, at length one Carauilius a Briton laboured a friendship betwixt them, and bringing his purpose to passe, perswaded them to lend him their helpe to expell the Romans out of Britaine: but his hap was hostile offer to be slaine by the Romane capitaine Aledus. And so new sturs were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romans, the Scots & Picts for the most part taking part with the Britons, till at length Varrinus the Romane lieutenant found means to set the Scots and Picts at variance, and joining with the Picts in league, vsed their aid against the Scots, whome he so earnestlie pursued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were utterly expelled out of all the coasts of Britaine, so that they fled some into one part, some into another, but the most number got them ouer into Ireland, and the Isles, where they remained for the space of fourtie three yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Fergus, being the second of that name, as they account him. From thenceforth the Scots kept such foot in Britaine, that they inroched vpon their neighbors, in such wise as they wared stronger than the Picts, whome in the end they quite roted forth, and nestled themselves in their seats, although now at their first returne they concluded a firme amitie with the same Picts, that joining their forces together, they might the better make head against both Romans and Britons, whome they reputed as common enemies to them both.

The Picts
ruled forth
by the Scots.

Thus the Scots a kinelie, cruell, vnquiet, ancient and victorious people, got place within this Isle of Britaine, mixed first with Britons, secondlie with Picts, thridlie and chieslie with the Irish, which after this time left their name of Scots vnto those in Britaine, and chose rather to be called Irish: and then came vp the distinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Ireland, *Scotia minor* for the countrie inhabited by the Scots within Britaine. But Cambrensis saith, that the Scots chieslie preuailed vnder the leading of fir valliant gentlemen, sons to Muridus king of Ulster, who in the time of speale, surnamed the great that intoted the monarchie of Ireland, passing ouer into Scotland to succour their countreimen there, at length took vp for themselves certeine parcels of ground, which their posteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrensis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord 1200, who treateth hercof more largelie in his booke intituled *Topographia Britannia*. Since which time they haue bene enor taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictis nation being diuinen into

corners, albeit the mounteine parts and out Isles vnto this daie are inhabited with a wild kind of people called Redshanks, esteemed by some to be mingled of Scots and Picts.

The Scots write, that their king Gregorie the sonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 875, pretending a title to Irel and, as belonging to him by right of lawfull succession, made a tourneie thither, and within a small time made a conquest of the countrie. This Gregorie lieth buried in one of the out Isles called Iona, or Colme-hill, where they speake naturallie Irish: and therefore some of the Scots would seme to make the conquest of Henrie the second in Ireland, a reuolting from the right inheritors: although they doe confesse they can not tell how they came from the possession of it, other wise than by forging a tale that they willingly forewent it, as reaping lesse by retaining it, than they laid forth, and so not able to discharge that which was to be defraied about the keeping of it they gave it ouer, perswading themselves that the kings of England haue gained little or nothing by the hauing of Ireland. And yet in the time whilst sic Henrie Sidneie was gouernour there, when the countie of Ulster was auouched to belong vnto the crowne: it was pzoined in open parlement, that the reuenues of that earldome, in the daies of Edward the third were reckoned, and found to amount vnto the summe of one and thirtie thousand marks yearelie, the same being but a fift part of Ireland: so that if things were well looked vnto, and such impoement made as might be, Ireland would suffice to beare the necessarie charges, and yeld no small surplusage vnto the princes coffers.

But now as it falleth forth in the historie. We haue thought good here to shew in what sort Ireland came to receiue the christian faith. We find in deed that immediatlie after Christes time, saint James the apostle, a other trauellling into these west parts, did first instruct the Irish people, and teach them the glad tidings of the gospel, so that diuerse amongst them euen then were christened, and belueued, but not in such numbers (as may be thought) whereby it should be said, that the countrie was generallie conuerted. Notwithstanding, the Scottis chronicles auouch, that in the daies of their king Finco-marke, who departed this life in the yeare of our redemption three hundred fiftie and eight, Ireland was conuerted to the faith by this meanes.

A woman of the Pictis blood chanced (saie they) to serue in those daies the queene of Ireland, which woman being a christian hir selfe, first instructed hir mistresse in the faith and true points of christianitie; and the queene hir husband, who conuerted the whole Irish nation. Howbeit, by the report of the Irish writers themselves, this should not seme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrie was rather still esteemed as one of the vnchristened Isles, till about the yeare foure hundred twentie and six, whilst Celestine the first of that name gouerned the see of Rome, who vpon conference had with his cleargie, touching the resozing of the christian faith in the west parts of the world, greatlie decayed there by the heresie of Pelagius, vnder stood that Ireland also by reason of distance from the hart of christendome, and rudenesse of the nation, had receiued little fruit at all of true religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other that then were assembled to treat of those matters was one Paladius archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauell towards the conuersion of anie of those lands whither it shuld please them to appoint him to go. Celestine knowing the sufficiency of the man conserated him bishop, authorized his tourneie by letters vnder his

Gregorie
king of
Ireland.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie.

Ireland
first
faith by
James the
apostle.

Paladius
sent to
Ireland
the
first
bishop

In the christian faith and religion.

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Paladius
landed in
Ireland.

scale, furnished his wants, and associating to him
such religious persons and others as were thought
necessarie to assist him, deliuered to him the bible
with great solemnitie, & other monuments in fur-
tuerance of his good speed. At length he landed in
the north of Ireland, from whence he escaped right
hardlie with his life into the Isles adjoining, where
he preached the gospell, and converted no small
number of Scots to the christian belife, and purged
that part that was distressed from the infection of
the Pelagians, as in the Scottish historie more at
large appereth. He was required by the Scots that
inhabited here in Britaine, to leaue the Isles and
come ouer vnto them, there to instruct the people in
the waie of true saluation, to the which with the
popes licence he seemed willing enough: and the bi-
shop of Rome the more readilie condescended there-
to for that in the instant time, when Paladius was
to depart, one Patrike attended at Rome, suing for
licence to be sent into Ireland.

Patrike sent
into Ireland.

The pope therefore granted that Paladius might
passe ouer to the Scots in Britaine, and appointed
Patrike to go with authoritie from him into Ire-
land; where, vpon his arrivall he found the people so
well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarie to
their accustomed forwardnesse, that a man would
haue thought that had seene their readines, how that
the land had bene reserved for him to conuert. And
because it pleased God to bestow such an vniuersall
benefit to this land by his meanes, we haue thought
god in following our author herein, to touch some
part of the course of his life. This Patrike in Latine
called *Patricius*, was borne in the marches betwixt
England and Scotland, in a towne by the sea side
called Ciburne, whose father hight Calphurnius, a
deacon and sonne to a priest: his mother named
Conches, was sister to saint Martine that famous
bishop of Tours in France.

The life of
saint Patrike
in briefe.

Patrike of a child was brought vp in learning,
and well instructed in the faith, and much giuen to
devotion. The Irishmen in those daies assisted with
Scots and Picts were become archpriests, soe dis-
quieting the seas about the coasts of Britaine, and
bied to sacke little small villages that late scattered
along the shore, and would often lead awaie captiue
the inhabitants home into their countrie. And as it
chanced, Patrike being a lad of sixteen peares old,
and a scholer then in secular learning, was taken a-
mong other, and became due to an Irish lord called
Macbaine, from whence after six peares terme he
redemed himself with a peece of gold which he found
in a clod of earth, that the swine had newlie turned
vp as he followed them in that time of his captiuitie,
being appointed by his master to keepe them. And
as affliction commonlie maketh men religious, the
regard of his former education printed in him such
remorse and humilitie, that being thenceforth wea-
ned from the world, he betooke himselfe to contem-
plation, ener lamenting the lacke of grace and truth
in that land: and herewith not despairing, but that
in continuance some good might be wrought vpon
them, he learned their tongue perfectlie. And alluring
one of that nation to heare him companie for exer-
cise sake, he departed from thence, and got him into
France, ener hauing in his mind a desire to see the
conuerion of the Irish people, whose babes yet vi-
bore seemed to him in his dreames (from out of
their mothers wombs) to call for christendome.

He setteth in
France.

In this purpose he sought out his uncle Martine,
by whose means he was placed with Germanus the
bishop of Auerre, continuing with him as scholer 3
disciple for the space of foure peares: all which time
he bestowed in like studie of the holie scriptures,
prayers, and such godlie exercises. When at the age of

threescore and two peares, being renowned through
the Latine church for his wisdom, vertue and faith,
he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his
commendation from the French bishops vnto pope
Celestine, to whom he offered his full mind and se-
cret bold, which long since he had conceived touching
Ireland. Celestine inuested him archbishop and pri-
mat of the whole Island, set him forward with all fa-
uour he could deuise, and brought him and his disci-
ples onward to their countrie.

Patrike so in-
uested archbi-
shop of Ire-
land.

In the thre and twentieth yeare therefore of the
emperor Theodosius the younger, being the yeare of
our Lord 430, Patrike landed in Ireland, & because
he spake the tongue perfectlie, and withall being a re-
uerend personage in the eyes of all men, manie like-
ned and gaue god care to his preaching, the rather for
that (as writers haue recorded) he confirmed his
doctrine with diuerse miracles: but speciallie those
regarded his words before all others, that had some
tast of the christian faith aforehand, either by the com-
ming into those parties of Paladius, and his disciple
one Albius an Irish bishop, or otherwise by some o-
ther: for it is to be thought, that continuallie there
remained some sparke of knowledge of christiani-
tie ever since the first preaching of the gospell (which
was shortly after the ascension of our saviour) by
saint James (as before is mentioned.) In continu-
ance of time Patrike won the better part of that
kingdome to the faith.

430

Laigerius sonne of Deale the great monarch, al-
though he received not the gospell himselfe, yet per-
mitted all that would to embrace it. But sith he re-
fused to be baptised, & applie to his doctrine; the bishop
denounced against him a curse from God according-
lie, but tempered yet with mercie and iudgement, as
thus: That during his life he should be victorious, but
after him neither the kingdome should stand, nor his
linage inherit. From thence he toke his waie vnto
Conill lord of Connagh, who honourable receiued
him, and was conuerted with all his people; and af-
ter sent him vnto his brother Logan king of Lein-
ster, whome he likewise conuerted. In pounster he
found great friendship and fauour by means of an
earle there, called the earle of Daris, who honoured
him highlie, and gaue him a dwelling place in the
east angle of Armagh called *Shorta*, where he erec-
ted manie celles and monasteries, both for religious
men and women. He trauelled thirtie peares in pre-
aching through the land, planting in places conuen-
ient bishops and priests, whose learning and vertuous
conuersation by the speciall grace and fauour of God,
established the faith in that rude nation. Other thir-
tie yeares he spent in his province of Armagh among
his brethren, placed in those houses of religion, which
by his meanes were founded, and so he liued in the
whole about one hundred twentie two peares, and
lieth buried in Downe.

Albius an Ir-
ish bishop,
disciple to
Paladius.

Laigerius son
to Deale the
great monarch
of Ireland,
permitted the
Irishmen to
become chris-
tians.

Conill lord of
Connagh.
Logan king of
Leinster.

The earle of
Daris.

Of saint Patrikes purgatorie ye shall find in the
description of the countrie, and therefore we do here
omit it. But yet because we are entered to speake of
the first foundation of churches and religious houses
here in Ireland, in following our author in that be-
halfe: we will speake somewhat of such other holie
men and women as are renowned to haue liued in
Ireland, as ornaments to that Ile, more glorious
than all the triumphs & victories of the world, if their
zeale had bene seasoned with true knowledge of the
scriptures: as it may well be that in some of them it
was, howsoener misaken by the iudgement and re-
port of the simple, which hath raised not onlie of these
persons, but also of the verie apostles themselves,
certeine fantastick tales, which with the learned are
out of all credit. But this matter I will leaue to di-
uines to discourse, trusting that the reader will

S. Patrikes
purgatorie.

Religious
houses & chur-
ches founded.

Whens doings
misaken.

The sundrie inuasions of Ireland.

sent himselfe to heare what we find recorded by old writers, which we shall set downe, and offer to their considerations to thinke thereof as reason maie best moue them.

Giral.Camb.

Giraldus Cambrensis telleth, that in saint Patricks time flourish saint Bride the virgine, and saint Colme, which two, with the same Patrike, were buried in Dolone (as in the Scottish historie ye maie find) and (as the same Giraldus saith) their three bodies were found there thortlie after the conquest. Sir John Contweie being president of Ulster, in viewling the sepulture, testified to haue seene three principall iswels, which were then translated, as honourable monuments worthy to be preserved. Of saint Colme it is doubted in what age he liued. Bridget, otherwise called Bride, was base daughter to one Dubtactus, a capteine in Leinster, who perceiving the mother with child, sold hir secretly (feareling the gealousie of his wife) to an Irish Pret, reseruing to himselfe the fruit of hir wombe. She was there deliuered of this Bridget, whome the Pret trained up in learning, and vertuous education, and at length brought hir home to hir father.

Sir John Contweie president of Ulster. St. Colme.

Pret, that is, Magus in Latine, or (as we may say) a magician or sorcerer in English. An. Dom. 439.

The estimation wherein she was had.

The king of Leinster.

She professed virginity.

An. Dom. 500. Bridget departed this life.

A concordance of the four euangelists.

Conanus first an of war, and after a bishop. Abbat Brendan.

The damsell also was instructed in the faith by saint Patrike, that preached then in those quarters, whereupon she became so religious and ripe in iudgement, that not onlie the multitude of people, but also a whole synod of bishops assembled nere to Dublin to heare hir aduise in weightie causes, such estimation they had of hir. One fact of hir being yet a child, made hir famous. The king of Leinster had giuen to hir father Dubtactus as a token of his good liking towards him for his valiant seruice, a rich sword, the furniture whereof was garnished with manie costlie iswels. And as it chanced, the damsell visiting the sicke neighbours diuerlie distressed for want of necessarie reliefe (hir father being a sterne man, and his ladie a cruell spouse) she could deuise no other shift to helpe to releue the want of those poore and naxie people, but to impart the same iswels of that idle sword among them. This matter was heinouslie taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chanced that thortlie after he came to a banquet in hir fathers house, and calling the maid ashe him that was not yet past nine yeres of age, he asked hir how she durst presume to deface the gift of a king in such wise as she had don this. She answered that the same was bestowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremitie, I would haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your selues too, all, were ye in my power to giue, rather than Christ should starue. She professed virginity, and allureed other noble yong damells vnto hir fellowship, with whome she continued in hir owne monastrie, where she was first professed, vntill the yeare of our Lord 500, and then departing this life, she was buried in Dolone in saint Patricks towne.

Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monuments of hers, there was found a concordance of the four euangelists, seeming to be written with no mortall hand, beautified with mynstrell pictures in the margent, the colours and cunning workmanship whereof at the first blosht appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heardsfull view of the diligent beholder vertie luster and wonderfull artificiall. Conanus that was first a souldier, succeeded saint Patrike in the see of Armagh, after he had certeine yeares followed the warres. Brendan abbat at the age of ten yeares was of such incomparable holinesse (as they saie) and therewith so wise and learned, that his father and mother, thinking themselves to haue gained the most worthy fruit that might issue of their marriage, by

mutuall consent professed continencie, and abandoned matrimoniall companie. He flourished in the daies of saint Bridget, and liued in familiar societie with saint Arons the bishop, and Fintan the abbat.

Spadoc alias Conan of noble parentage taken prisoner by the king of Temore, and kept in his court with diuerse yong men his scholefellows, openlie adured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might serue God as they were accustomed, the which being now kept in sunder and restrained of libertie, they were forced to discontinue. Whereupon immediatlie they were dismissed. He died bishop of Fernes, and laid the foundation of that burrow. His successor Melingus, although he was bishop, gaue himselfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne hands deuised and brought a running spring to his monastrie, induring that travel daily after praier and studie for the space of eight yeares together.

Fintan abbat was had in such reuerence, that whereas Colme king of Leinster kept Conmahe the kings son of Tensill prisoner, he went boldlie with twelve of his disciples through the pearch of all the sonldiers, and in sight of the king was suffered to baptize the yong prince. For the Irish are not sterne against those of whom they haue conceived an opinion of holinesse. I remember (saith our author) that Cambrensis writeth himselfe merueille to haue objected to spoorce then archbishop of Cashill, that Ireland in so manie hundred yeares had not brought forth one martyr. The bishop answered pleasantlie (alluding to the late dispatching of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enormities, yet haue spared neuer the blood of vertuous men. Marie now we are deliuered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making martyrs, so that from henceforth I trust no complaint shall need for want of martyrs. Malachias was bozne in Armagh of a noble progenie, brought up in vertue by the example of his mother, and trained forth in learning, professed greatlie in deuotion: so that being yet but a verie babe, he was espied diuerse times to steale awaie from his companions to praie in secret. He was so graue and modest, that of himselfe he chose the most graue and seuerer scholemaister, refusing an excellent clearche, because he saw him somewhat lightlie demeaning himselfe at game. In the beginning of his yong full yeares, he became the disciple of Amarius an old recluse, whose austeritie of conuersation the whole towne had in great reuerence. Where he became a deacon, and at fife and twentie yeares a priest.

The archbishop, for the same and the opinion of his worthinesse, receiued him to be assistant to him in office, in the which he so behaued himselfe, that he reformed superstitions, and reuined the force of religion, namelie in the vniiformitie of their church seruice, wherein before time they serred. The famous monastrie of Wandhor he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vncles left him. The same monastrie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of manie religious houses in France. This abbey being spoiled and murthered of his brethren murdered in one day by the prior, the possessions thereof being come to the hands of Malachias by his vncles assignement, he restored forthwith, and aduanced the foundation. At the age of thirtie yeares he was by canonical election forced to accept the bishopricke of Conereth, a people of all the Irish then most savage and bold, whome with inestimable trauell he reclaimed from their beaustie maners. In the meane while died Celsus bishop of Armagh, after whome success

Spadoc.

Melingus.

Colme king of Leinster.

The answer of the archbishop of Cashill to Giraldus Cambrensis.

Malachias.

The monastrie of Wandhor.

oed Malachias, at the age of eight and thirtie yeares. But before this, more hand the space of two hundred yeares together, a custome had crept into the contrie, that the metropolitane see was conferred vpon such bishops as were married, and were of the blood royal, in manner by way of inheritance. Therefore Sigellus or Scale the next of kintred, animated by the partialitie of some princes, and getting into his custodie the bible and staffe, and other monuments of saint Patricke, whereunto opinion of the common people tied the prelacie, came to his palace with a band of soldiers to haue slaine the bishop. When all the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demanding what was their purpose? The bloudie soldiers letting fall their weapons, in stead of executing the pretended murder, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as friends.

Three yeares he sat in the pinnacie rather to discontinue the horrible corruption before vsed, than with intent to settle himselfe there. After he had removed the abuse, he procured Malachias to succeed him in the archbishopps see, and he returned to his former see of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the bishopricke of Coner. But Malachias understanding that in times past they were six severall sees, he diuided them againe, and ordeined an other to the bishopricke of Coner, desirous rather to lessen his cure than to enlarge the fruits by taking more charge vpon him. Malachias being demanded of his brethren the monkes of Wenchor, where and when he would wish to die and to be buried, if it late in his choise: He answered: If in Ireland, beside the bodie of saint Patricke: if beyond the seas, at Clareuale where saint Barnard was then resident, and in the seat of Alloules. He purposed within few daies to sue to pope Eugenius for increase of the number of metropolitans, which request was thostile after accomplished. And in this viage which he thus made, he staid at Clareuale, and there diuerse times openlie foreshewed, that the yeare of his departure forth of this world was come; and accordingly when he had taken leave of saint Barnard and the brethren, he went downe from his chamber to the church and there did communicat. Which done, he returned to his lodging, and there on Alloules daie in the yeare of his age 54 he gaue by the ghost, so mildlie and quietlie, that it seemed rather a sleepe than a death.

Malchus, though borne in Ireland, yet he spent the most part of his time in the monastrie of Winchester in England, and from thence was taken and admitted bishop of Lismore. Saint Barnard remembred of him by occasion he cured a lunaticke child in confirming, else (as they termed it) in bishopping him. This miracle scene and confessed by manie hundreds of people, was blowen through the world. The same time happened discord betwixt the king of Mounter and his brother, and as the matter was handled, the king was ouermatched and fled into England, where he visited Malchus in his abbeie, and would by no meanes depart from him; but remaine there vnder his rule and government, so long as it pleased God to denie him quiet returne into his countrie: he contented himselfe with a poore cell, vsed dailie to bath himselfe in cold water, to alluage the wanton motions of his flesh, and for his diet receiued none other delicats than bread, water, and salt, day and night, sobbing and bewailing with great remorse of conscience his former misdeemed life. At length the other kings and people of Ireland began to repine at the usurper, set vpon him with open war, vanquished him in a pitcht field, and called home the rightfull prince his brother

again, to resume his kingdome, who with manie earnest persuasions of Malchus and of Malachias could vneth be brought to forsake that trade of life and companie, the which he had with such delectation inured himselfe vnto.

Thus far of the Irish saints. Of the which, as some of them are to be esteemed right vertuous and godlie men, so other of them are to be suspected as persons rather holie by the superstitious opinion of the people, than inured with any such knowledge of true godlinesse and sincere religion, as are worthy to be registred in the number of those that of right ought to passe for saints, as by certaine late writers may appeare. But this we leaue to the iudgement of the aduised reader, for that in such matters we mind not to preiudice any mans opinion, but onelie with the reader to take heed how he giueth credit to that which oftentimes is found written by authors touching feigned miracles, and other vaine superstitious dealings, wherethrough manie zealous persons haue often bene deceived. Now therefore to leaue saints, and returne to other matters touching the Irish historie. In the yeare 586: the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Islands in the north-west ocean called the Isles of Orkenie, and scowred the seas, that none other nation durst vneth appear in sight for dread of them. A people giuen greatlie to seeke the conquests of other realmes, as they that could not faile to find more warme and fruitful places for to inhabit than their owne. These hot fellowes chanced to light into Ireland by this meanes. Careticus the king of Britaine ran into such hatred of his people, that they raised warres against him. The Saxons that possessed now six severall kingdomes in the Ile of Britaine, reioiced not a litle at this ciuill discord betwixt the Britaine king and his subjects.

Wherevpon meaning to make a full conquest of the Britains, & vtterlie to expell them forth of all the Ile, he assembled their powers, & ioined to the same Curmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all times a nauie in a readinesse, and men to furnish it, holpe the Saxons to chase the Britains into the marches of Wales. For from thence (being retired into the mounteins and woods) they could not drue them. This Curmundus (as some thinke) builded at the same time the towne of Curmondchester, and after being assisted by the Saxons, made a viage into Ireland, where he sped not greatlie to his desire, and therefore the Irish account not this for any of their conquests, as some of their antiquaries informed our author. Curmundus therefore finding but forie successe, built a few slight castles and forts in the frontiers, and so left the land, and sailed from thence into France, where at length he was slaine. Our chronicles in deed name him king of Ireland; but the Irish affirme that before Turgesius, there was none of the easterne people that obtained dominion in their countrie.

Giraldus Cambrensis to make the matter whole (a Gods name) thinketh Turgesius to haue conquered the land, as lieutenant or deputie vnder Curmundus. But this being granted, there ariseth a more manifest contradiction than the former: for he himselfe numbred betwixt Laogtrius king of Ireland that liued in the yere foure hundred and thirtie, and Edmunding, whome Turgesius vanquished, 33 monarchs, whose reigns comprehended foure hundred yeares, so that Turgesius liued in the yere after the incarnation eight hundred and thirtie. When it is so plaine that he could not haue any doings with Curmundus, who ioined with the Saxons against Careticus, in the yere six hundred foure score and six. This knot (saith our author) might be untwined

oed Malachias, at the age of eight and thirtie yeares. But before this, more hand the space of two hundred yeares together, a custome had crept into the contrie, that the metropolitane see was conferred vpon such bishops as were married, and were of the blood royal, in manner by way of inheritance. Therefore Sigellus or Scale the next of kintred, animated by the partialitie of some princes, and getting into his custodie the bible and staffe, and other monuments of saint Patricke, whereunto opinion of the common people tied the prelacie, came to his palace with a band of soldiers to haue slaine the bishop. When all the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demanding what was their purpose? The bloudie soldiers letting fall their weapons, in stead of executing the pretended murder, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as friends.

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Malchus,

discord betwixt the king of Mounter and his brother.

For, Bale,

586 The Norwegians scoured the seas, and made the Isles of Orkenie.

They invaded Ireland,

Curmundus an archpirat of the nation of Norwae.

Campion.

Laogtrius, 430

The doubt resolved.

untwined with more facilitie thus. Curmundus made much of that little he got, and wrote himselfe king, which title our historians doe allow him, because he made the waile plaine, intred it a while, and set open the gate vnto his countreymen. Turgesius attended the whole exploit, and brought it to perfection, and in these respects either of them may be called king and conqueror of Ireland.

Turgesius
whar he did.

He buildeth
fortresses.

Turgesius
reigneth
in peace.

Malaghlilen
king of
Ulster.

The policie of
Malaghlilen.

Turgesius therefore with his Norwegians the second time inuaded Ireland, sustained diuerse losses and overthrowes: but in the end fortifying himselfe by the sea coasts, & recelling thereby his friends at his pleasure, wared so strong that he subdued the whole Ile. still erecting castles and fortresses as he wan ground, so to maister the Irish that with such manner of strengthes of wals and rampires had not as yet bene acquainted: for till those daies they knew no defense but woods, bogs, or strokes. Turgesius so subdued the Irish kings, and kept them in awe, that without interruption he reigned like a conqueror thirte yeares. He cried hauocke & spoile where anie rich preie was to be had, sparing neither those of the laitie nor of the clergie, neither church nor chapel, abusing his victorie verie insolentlie. Malaghlilen king of Ulster was in some trust with the tyrant. His onelie daughter Turgesius craved for his concubine. The father hauing a readie wit, and watching his time, began to breake with Turgesius in this wise: *Saving your fauile my lord (quoth he) there are diuerse ladies of blood in this countrie meet better fellows for a king than that browne gristle: and therewith he began to reckon vp a number of his nieces and cousines, indowed (as he set them forth) with such singular beautie, as they seemed rather angels than mortall creatures. The tyrant as it were rauished, and doting in loue of those peerles peeces before he saw them, by reason of such exceeding passies as he thus heard of them, doubted yet least Malaghlilen extolled them to preserve his daughter out of his hands: and the subtil father cloaked his drift with modest behauior, lingering time to inflame the leachers follie, as he that wilbed anie thing more to be suspected, than that which he meant most earnestlie to bring to passe.*

At length, when Turgesius seemed to take his dealing thus of time somewhat displeasing, he vsed this or the like speech: *If I should saie (quoth he) that I gaue you my sole daughter with goodwill to be deuoured, your high wisdom would some ghesse that I did but flatter you; and yet if ten daughters were deerer to me than your good pleasure and contentation, by whose bountifull goodnes both she, & I, and we all are supported, I were vnworthe that secret and nere friendship wherein it liketh you to vse me. As for the twench, it will be in part honorable for hir to be requir'd to the bed of such a prince, with queenes haue not sticked to come from farre, and yield the vse of their bodies to noble conquerors, in hope by them to haue issue. And howeuer it be taken, time will weare it out, and redeeme it; but such a friend as you are to me and mine, neither I nor mine shall liue to see. And verelie I meane not to hazard your displeasure, if it were for a greater matter than the value of twentie maidenheads; seeing fathers haue not sticked to giue vp their owne wiues to quench the lusts of their sons. Therefore am I thus agreed, name the daie and place, separat your selfe from the view of your court, conferre with those that haue a deintie insight, & skillfull eyes in discerning beauties; I will send you my daughter, & with hir the choise of twelue or thirteene gentlewomen, the meanest of the which may be an emperesse in comparison. When they are before you, make your game as you like, and then if my child please your fantastic bitt, she is not*

to god to be at your commandment: onelie my request is, that if anie other shall presume vpon your leanings, your maiestic will remember whose child she is.

This liberall proffer was of Turgesius accepted (whose desire was most insatiable) with manie good words, thanks, & faire promises. To be short, the same daie Malaghlilen put his daughter in prince-like apparell, attired after the trimmest wise, and with hir thirteene proper yong men beautifull and amiable to behold: and so being sent to the king were presented vnto him in his priue chamber, hauing none about him but a few dissolute youthfull persons; wherupon those disguised yong striplings drew forth from vnder their long womanish garments their skeins, and valiantlie bestirring themselves, first stabbed their weapons points through the bodie of the tyrant, and then serued all those youths that were about him with the like fauice, they making small or no resistance at all. The brute of this murder was quicklie blowne abroad through all Ireland: and the princes ready to catch hold on such advantage, rose in armes with one assent, in purpose to deliuer themselves from bondage, and recover libertie.

All Ulster and Leinster were speedilie got together, resorting vnto Malaghlilen the author of this practise, who lightlie leapt to horse, and commending their forward redinesse in so naturall a quarrell, said: *My lords and friends, this case neither admitteth delay, nor requireth policie; hart and hand is all in all. Whilist the matter is fresh and greene, and that some of our enemies lie still and sleepe, some lament, some curse, some are together in counsell, and all the whole number dissimulated: let vs prevent their furie, dismember their force, cut off their sight, seise vpon their places of refuge and succour. It is no victorie to plucke their feathers, but to breake their neckes; not to chase them in, but to robbe them out; to wad them, not to rake them; not to tread them downe, but to rot them vp. This lesson the tyrant himselfe did teach me. I once demanded of him as it were in a parable, by what good husbandrie the land might be rid of certaine rauening foules that annoied it. He aduised vs to watch where they byed, and to fire their nests about their eares. So was then vpon these considerations which shewd themselves in our possessions, and let vs so destroye them, that neither nest nor rook, neither sed nor stalker, neither branch nor stumpe shall remaine of this inuagratious generation. Scarce had he ended his tale, but that with great shouts and clamours they extolled the king, as defender of their liues and liberties; assuring them both of their bold and hardie comacks and speedfull expedition lost with their confederats, and with a running campe swept euerie corner of the land, raised the carcasses to the ground, chased aboate the strangers, due all that abode battell, each man recovering his owne, with the state of government.*

Thus in effect haue the Irish writers reported of Turgesius a Norwegian, whether he did reigne before the supposed time of Curmund, or whether that he came thither as lieutenant to him: which if it should be true, no doubt the same Curmund was some king of the Danes, or Norwegians, and not of the Africans (as some of our countreymen name him.) Which error is some committed, in taking one heathenish nation for another, as those men haue done that haue named the Hungarians (when they did innade Gallia before they were christians) Saracens. And so likewise might that author (whosoener he was) whome Geffreie of Monmouth followeth, finding Curmund written to be a king of the miscreants, mistake the Norwegians for Africans, because

Elizabeth
presents
him to
the king
&
Queen
to
be
killed
in
the
Tower.

The
policie
of
Malaghlilen.

Curmund

raunce both those nations were infidels: and therefore
sith haplie the Affricans in the daies when that au-
thor liued, bare all the bute aboue other heathenish
nations then, as the Turks do now, he named them
Affricans. Howsoeuer it was, certeine it is that
the Danes or Norwegians made fundrie inuasions
into Ireland, and that at seuerall times. But for
Turgesius, whether he were an absolute king, or
but a lieutenant of some armie, vnder some other
king named Gurmound, or peraduenture Gormo,
(as such names are son corrupted) I cannot affirme,
because that no certeine time is set downe in the
chronicles which are witten of those nations, where,
by they may be so reconciled together, as sufficeth to
warrant anie likelie coniecture in this behalfe.

But if I should saie (with the readers licence) what
I thinke, this Gurmound whatsoeuer he was, made
no such conquest of Ireland, nor of this our Ile of
Brittaine (as by some writers is supposed) but yet
might he peraduenture land in Wales, and either in
fauor of the Sarons then enemies to the Britons, or
in hatred of the chistian name persecute by cruell
wars the British nation, and vse such crueltie as the
heathenish nations then were accustomed to practise
against the chistians in all places where they came,
and chanced to haue the vpper hand. The chiefest
cause that moueth me to doubt thereof, is for that I
find not in anie of our approued ancient English
writers, as Beda, Malmesburie, Huntington, Houe-
den, or such like, anie plaine mention made of him;
whereby I may be thoughtlie induced to credit that
which I find in Geffrie Monmouth and others recoz-
ded of him, except his name be misfaken, and so
thereby some erroz crept in, which I am not able to
resolue.

But sith we are entred to speake thus farre of
the Norwegians, here by the waie I haue thought
it not impertinent to the purpose of this Irish histo-
rie, to write what we find recorded in the chronicles
of those northerlie regions, Denmarke, Norweie,
and Sweden, witten by Saxo Grammaticus, Al-
bertus Crantz, and others, concerning the fundrie in-
uasions made by the Danes, Norwegians, or Nor-
mans (whether we list to call them) into Ireland.
Frideleic or Frideleus king of Denmarke that suc-
ceeded Dan the thirde of that name, surnamed the
Swift, arriving in Ireland, besieged the citie of
Dublin, & perceiving by the strength of the walles,
that it would be an hard matter to win it by plaine
force of hand without some cunning policie, he deu-
ised to catch a sort of swallows that had made their
nests in the houses within the towne, tied wild fier
to their wings, and therewith cast them by, and suf-
fered them to flie their waies, whereupon they com-
ming to their nests, set the houses on fier, which whiles
the citizens went about to quench, the Danes entred
the citie and toan it.

Secondlie, Frotho king of Denmarke, the thirde
of that name, after he had subdued the Britons here
in this Ile, made a voiage into Ireland also, where
he landed with some danger: for the Irishmen had
strawed all alongest the shore a great number of cal-
trops of iron, with sharpe prickes standing vp, to
wound the Danes in the feet, as they should come
forth of their ships to follow them, for they meant to
sle of a pyctenied policie for that purpose. But Fro-
tho perceiving their deceitfull craft, followed them
more aduicelike than rashlie, and so put their cap-
taine named Beruill to fight, and slue him in the
field; whose brother remaining in life, & mistrusting
his owne puissance, yielded himselfe to Frotho, who
diuiding the preie amongst his souldiers and men of
warre, shewed thereby that he onelie sought for glo-
rie and not for gaine, reseruing not a pennie of all

the spoile to his owne vse. After this, in the daies of
king Frotho the fourth of that name, which reigned
ouer the Danes, one Starcater a giant, in compa-
nie of Haco a Danish capteine, made a iourne like-
wise into Ireland, where in the same season, one
Huglet reigned as monarch ouer that Ile: who ha-
uing plentie of treasure, was yet so giuen to coue-
tousnesse, that by such vnprinzelie parts as he plash-
ed, to satisfie his greedie desire to fill his coffers, he be-
came right odious, and farre out of all fauor with his
subiects. Yet there were of his nobles, verie valiant
and woorthie men, namelie two, Gegathus, & Sub-
dauus: whereupon, when it came to passe that he
should foine in battell with his enemies the Danes,
the most part of all his people fled out of the field, so
that Gegath and Subdauus were in maner left a-
lone. For they regarding their honours and dutie that
appertained to men of their calling, would not fle,
but manfullie did what laie in their powers to beat
backe the enemies, inasmuch that Gegathus raught
Haco such a wound, that the vpper part of his liuer
appeared bare. He also wounded Starcater in the
head right fore, so that in all his life daies, he had not
before that time receiued the like hurt: in the end
yet Huglet the monarch of Ireland was slaine, and
Starcater obtaining the victorie, did make great
slaughter of the Irish subiects, the which had followed
their king to this battell, being men (thorough his
corrupt example and slothfull trade of life) degene-
rat from all warlike order and vse of manlike exer-
cise.

After this, the Danes went vnto Dublin, which
towne they easilie toke, and found such store of ri-
ches and treasure therein, that euerie man had so
much as he could wish or desire; so as they needed not
to fall out among themselves for the partition, sith
there was so much for each mans share as he could
conuenientlie carrie awaie. Thus hath Saxo Gram-
maticus witten in effect of Starcaters comming
into Ireland: of whome the Danish writers make
such mention, both for his huge stature and great
manhood. Some haue thought, that Starcater was
the verie same man which the Scots name Finmac-
cole, of whome in the Scottish historie we haue made
mention: but whereas the Scottish writers affirme
that he was a Scottish man bozne, the Danish wi-
ters report that he was bozne in Castland, among
the people called Estones. Reiginus the sonne of
Sitwardus the second king of Denmarke, hauing
achieued fundrie victories in England and Scotland,
and subdued the Isles of Dykeneie, he passed likewise
into Ireland, slue Helbrycke king of that land, and
toke the citie of Dublin by siege, where he remained
the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he de-
parted from thence.

After this, Gormo the thirde of that name king
of Denmarke, although an infidell himselfe, and a
cruell persecutor of the chistian religion, yet toke to
wife a chistian ladie named Thira, daughter to E-
thelred king of England, who had issue by him two
sonnes knaught, or Canute, and Harold, pzo-
men of high balliance and notable prowesse, inso-
much that after the atchieuing of diuerse woorthie vic-
tories against the enemies nere home, they made a
voiage into England, not sparing to inuade the do-
minions of their grandfather king Ethelred: who
rather reioysing, than seeming to be offended with
those manlike enterprizes of his cousins, proclaimed
them his heires to succeed after him in all his lands
and dominions, although of right the same were to
descend first vnto their mother Thira. The young
men being incouraged with their grandfather his
bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuasion of
Ireland, where at the siege of Dublin, Canute or
Knaught

Frotho the
fourth.
Starcater a
giant.

Huglet king
of Ireland.

Gegathus &
Subdauus.

Haco wound-
ed.
Starcater
wounded.

Huglet slaine.

Dublin won.

Reiginus.

Helbrycke
king of Ire-
land slaine.

Gormo the
third of that
name king of
Denmarke.
He marrieth
Thira daugh-
ter to Ethel-
red king of
England.
Canute and
Harold.

They inuade
Ireland.
Canute is
slaine.

Saxo Gram.
Albert. Crantz.

Frideleus.

Dublin be-
sieged.

Dublin set on
fir, and won
by the Danes.

Frotho the
third.

Caltrops
drawn by
the Irish to
annoy the
Danes.

Beruill go-
uerneur of
Irishmen
came.

Slainth the elder brother was shot into the bodie with an arrow, and died of the wound: notwithstanding his death was kept close by his owne commandement given before he died, till his people had got the citie into their possession. But the gaine was small in respect of the losse, which was thought to rebound vnto the whole Danish nation by the death of that noble young gentleman Canute, who for his high prowesse and valiance was most tenderly beloued of all men; but namely of his father king Gozmo, inso-

much that he swore to kill him with his owne hands,

whosoever should first tell him newes of his death.

This Gozmo was now a man far stricken in age,

and blind, hauing small toie of ante twololie pleasures,

otherwise than to heare of the welfare and prosperous proceedings of his sonnes. When therefore

his wife queene Thira had perfect aduertisement of

his sonnes death, and that neither she nor any other

durst breake the matter vnto his husband, she deuised

a shift how to signifie that vnto him by outward

signes, which by word of mouth she was afraid to ex-

presse, as thus. She caused mourning apparell to be

made for his husband, & putting off his roial robes,

clad him therewith, and other things appertaining

to mourners she also put about him, and prepared all

such furniture and necessaries as were vsed for fune-

ral requies, witnessing the lamentable griefe con-

ceined for the losse of some friend, with that kind of

mourning weid and funerals ceremonies. Which

when Gozmo perceiued: Who is me (saith he) you

then signifie the death of my sonne Canute. Where-

to she made answer, that he and not she did discouer

the truth of that which was meant by those mourning

garments; and with that speech ministred cause of

his husbands death, whereby she became presentlie a

widow, not openlie mourning for his sonne, before

she mourned likewise for his husband: for he took

such griefe for Canutes death, that immediatlie he

died thorough sorrow and dolor: so as Thira was thus

duen to lament, as well the death of his sonne, as

of his husband both at once. But now to the purpose

of the Irish historie.

We haue thus partlie heard what the Danish wri-

ters doe record in their histories, touching the con-

quests which their people made in Ireland; but whe-

ther the same be meant of that which goeth before, or

rather of that which followeth, touching the trade

which the Norwegian merchants vsed thither; or whe-

ther the Irish writers haue passed these iournies o-

uer with silence, which the Danish writers in forme

(as before is touched) doe make mention of, I cannot

asirme. But like it is that as the Danes, or Nor-

mans, whether you will call them, did inuade Ire-

land as well as England, France, and Scotland, in

those daies according to the report of their writers,

and that by waie of open warre as well to conquer

the countie, as to take prizes, prisoners, and booties,

and not for trade of merchandize onely: albeit that

they might peraduenture so get entrie at the first, as

by the Irish histories it should seeme they did shortly

after the slaughter of Turgesius. And afterwards

when they saw themselves settled, and perceiued that

they began to grow to be enuied of their Irish

neighbours, who thereupon would not sticke to mo-

lest them as occasions serued, they saw no better

meane to assure themselves against their aduersa-

ries, than to send vnto their countrymen, which in

those daies roued abroad (as before I haue said) in

euery quarter of this our west ocean, waiting for

opportunitye to aduance their conquests in each coun-

trie where any thing might be gotten. And so this

mate agree verie well with the Irish writers, whom

as I doe not take vpon me to controll, but rather to

report the storie as I find it by them written, I will

proceed with the order which they follow. After the countie was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppressed by the same Turgesius & his people, Danes or Norwegians whether they were (for so Cambrensis esteemeth them) the Irish deliuered of seruite bondage, fell to their old wonted habit, in persecuting each other: and hauing lachie defaced their fortified townes and castles, as receptacles and couerts for the enimie, all sides laie more open to receiue harme.

This being perceiued and thoroughly considered, the princes that in the late rule of Turgesius had espied some towardnesse to wealth & ease, fell in hand to discourse the madnesse & follie of their ancestors, which saw not the vse of that which their enimies abnised: they began to loth their vnquiet trade of life, to wish either lesse discord, or more strength in each mans dominion; to cast the danger of naked countie, ready to call in the enimies, as the strength of forts & castles was a meane to preserve them from losse. Faine would they haue poultred remedie in this case, if they had knowne how. The former subjection, though it seemed intollerable, yet they felt therein proceeding steps towards peace. The gaine that role of merchandize, rest and suertie to the whole estate of the countie. For the difference was great betwixt the indenours of the two nations, Norwegians and Irish. The first knew the waie to thine, might they get some commodious seats and faire. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

While the princes and potentats staied vpon such a good consideration, certein merchants of Norwate, Denmarke, and of other those parties, called Ostmanni, or (as in our vulgar language we tearme them) Easterlings, because they lie East in respect of vs, although indeed they are by other named properlie Normans, and partlie Saxons, obtained licence safelie to arrive here in Ireland with their wares, and to offer the same. Whereupon the Irish, thorough traffike & bartering with these Normans or Danes (for so they are called also in our English chronicle) by exchanging of wares and monie, finding them ciuill and tractable, and delisting also with gale conceits, brought into them by those merchants (such as till they saw them they neuer esteemed needfull) they began to enter into a desire that a trade might be open betwixt them & the other nations, whereupon to allure other, they licenced these merchant strangers to build (if they thought good) haue townes in places most commodious. This was no longer granted, than begun, and with speed finished.

Amilanus founded Waterford; Sutarius, Limericke; Auogus, Dublin; and so by others diuers other townes were built as leisure serued. When by the holpe and counsell of these men, manie castles, forts, staples, and churches, euery where were repaired. And thus are the Irish mingled also with the blood of the Danes, Norwegians, or Normans, who from thenceforth continually stocked into Ireland, to the great commoditie of the inhabitants, living amongst them obedientlie, till wealth pricked and moued them to raise rebellion: but they could not haue holden out, had not the conquest iniuring determined both their quarrels. In the meane while they became lords of the hauens and burrow townes, planted men of warre in the same, and oftentimes skirmished with their aduersaries; but yet measured their fortune with indifferent gaines, and crept no higher than the same would giue them leaue. Whelie a memoire is left of their field in Clontars, where diuers of the Irish nobilitie were slaine, that lie buried before the crosse of Kilmalnam. These are by our autho, not without good iudgement, reported to be Danes,

The policie of Thira to signifie to his husband the death of their sonne Canute.

Gozmo dieth of sorrow.

Easterlings began to trade into Ireland.

They built townes and castles.

Waterford, Limericke, Dublin.

The merchants grew more rebellious.

The field of Clontars.

The generall
conquest of the
Irish by
William
Conqueror
in the year
1066
The power of
the monarchy
in election of
bishops.

The Easter-
lings will be
called Hops-
mans.

Maximus
king of the
great
king of
Ireland.

Danes, which people then being pagans, sore afflicted England, and after that France, from whence they came againe into England with William Conqueror. So that those people called *Ostomanni*, *Essterlings*, *Normans*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, & *Suedenens*, are in effect all one nation, borne in that huge region called *Scandinavia*; and as it appeareth by conference of times and chronicles, much about about one season, vexed the Frenchmen, afflicted Scotland, subdued England, and multiplied in Ireland. But in the yeare of Christ 1095, perceiuing great enuie to remaine and lurke in the distinction of the names *Easterlings* and *Irish*, that were altogether *westerners*; and the *Easterlings* not *easterne* indeed, but rather *simple northerne*; in consideration thereof, and because they magnified themselves in the late conquest of their countreymen, who from *Normandie* coming ouer into England ruled there at their pleasure, these strangers in Ireland would algate now be also called and accounted *Normans*.

Long before this time (as ye haue heard) Ireland was befolowed into two principall kingdomes, and sometime into more, whereof one was euer elected and reputed to be chiefe, and as it were a monarch, whome in their histories they name *Maximum regem*, that is, the greatest king; or else without addition, *Regem Hibernie*, the king of Ireland: the other they name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to wit, small kings or else kings, by limiting the places whereof they were to be reputed kings, as of *Leinster*, *Connagh*, *Ulster*, *Downe*, or *Meath*. To the monarch, besides his allowance of dominion, titles of honor, and other pri-

uileges in iurisdiction, there was granted to him a negatiue in nomination of bishops, when they were vacant: for the cleargie and laitie of the diocesse commended one, whom they thought conuenient vnto the king, the king to the monarch, the monarch to the archbishop of Canturburie: for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland had not receiued their palles.

In this sort was nominated to the bishopricke of Dublin then void, in the yeare of Christ 1074, at the petition of Godertius king of Leinster, by sufferance of the cleargie and people there, with the assent of *Uerdienatus* the monarch, a learned prelat called *Patricius*, whome *Lanfranke* of Canturburie consecrated in *Pauls church* at London, and swore him to obedience after the manner of his ancestors. Christian bishop of *Lismore*, legat to *Engenius* the third, summoned a prouinciall councill in Ireland, wherein were authorized foure metropolitans, *Armagh*, *Dublin*, *Cashill*, and *Tuen*; of the which places were bishops at that present, *Celafius*, *Gregorius*, *Donatus*, *Edonius*. For hitherto though they yielded a primasie to the bishop of *Armagh* in reuerence of saint *Patrike* the first bishop there: yet the same was but of good will, and confirmed rather by custome than by sufficient decree; neither did that archbishop take vpon him to inuest other bishops, but sent them to Canturburie (as before is mentioned) which from henceforth they used not to do, inasmuch that the next bishop named *Laurence*, sometime archbishop of saint *Neuins* in *Conlandlagh*, was ordered and installed at home by *Celafius* primate of *Armagh*.

Godertius
king of Leins-
ter.

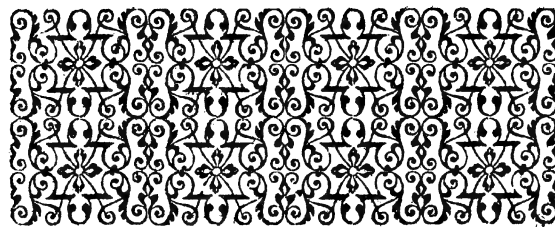
Uerdienatus
the monarch
Patricius
consecrated
bishop of Du-
blin by Lan-
franke.

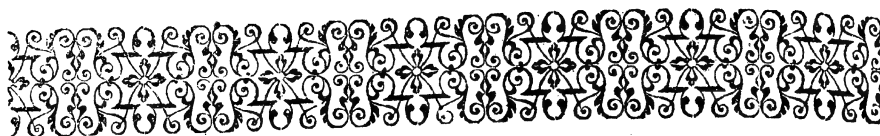
1152
Christian bi-
shop of Lis-
more.
Foure metro-
politan sees
in Ireland.
The bishop of
Armagh.

Laurence
archbishop of
St. Neuns.
1162

FINIS.

Not well vnderstanding what the writer of this part of the Irish historie ment to fall vpon so blunt a conclusion; but supposing it was vpon some reasonable inducement: we thought it conuenient to leaue it as we found it: intending (without anie addition herevnto) to set downe the conquest of Ireland, as the same was left recorded by *Girald of Cambria*: whose prefaces and historie, right worthie the reading, doo immediatlie follow.





The names of the gouernors, lieutenants, lord iustices, and deputies of Ireland, since the conquest thereof by king Henrie the second.

The year of
our Lord.

1174



Richard Strangbow earle of Penbroke gouernor, hauing Reimond le Grace ioined in commission with him.

1177

Reimond le Grace lieutenant by himselfe.

William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant, hauing Iohn de Curcie, Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan ioined in commission with him.

Hugh Lacie lieutenant.

1182 Iohn Lacie constable of Chester } gouernors.
and Richard de Peche

Hugh Lacie againe lieutenant.

Hugh Lacie the yoonger, lord iustice.

1227 Henrie Loandoris archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice.

1228 Maurice Fitzgiralde lord iustice.

1253 Iohn Fitzgeffrie knight, lord iustice.

Alain de la Zouch lord iustice.

1258 Stephan de Long Espe lord iustice.

William Deane lord iustice.

1261 Sir Richard Rochell or Capell lord iustice.

1267 Dauid Barrie lord iustice.

1268 Robert Vfford lord iustice.

1269 Richard de Excester lord iustice.

1270 Iames lord Audleie lord iustice.

1272 Maurice Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

Walter lord Genuille lord iustice.

Robert Vfford againe lord iustice.

1281 Fulborne bishop of Waterford lord iustice.

Iohn Samford the archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice.

William Vescie lord iustice.

1295 William Dodingfels lord iustice.

Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

1298 Iohn Wogan lord iustice.

1314 Theobald Verdon lord iustice.

1315 Edmund Butler lord iustice.

1317 Roger lord Mortimer lord iustice.

Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.

1319 Roger lord Mortimer second time lord iustice.

1320 Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare lord iustice.

1321 Iohn Birmingham earle of Louth lord iustice.

1323 Iohn lord Darcie lord iustice.

1327 Roger Outlaw prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.

Anthonie lord Lucie lord iustice.

1332 Iohn lord Darcie second time lord iustice.

1337 Iohn lord Charleton lord iustice.

1338 Thomas bishop of Hereford lord iustice.

1339 Iohn lord Darcie ordeined lord iustice by patent during his life, by Edward the third.

Rafe Vfford lord iustice.

1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice.

Iohn Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

Walter lord Bermingham lord iustice, his deputies were Iohn Archer prior of Kilmainan & Baron Carew, with sir Thomas Rokesbie.

Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond had the office of lord iustice for terme of his life, of king Edward the third his grant.

Thomas Rokesbie knight lord iustice.

Almericke de saint Amand } appointed L. I. 1355
Iohn Butler earle of Ormond } by turnes. 1357

Maurice Fitzth. earle of Kild. }

Lionell duke of Clarence lord iustice.

Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond L. I. 1361

William lord Windfor the first lieutenant in Ireland. 1367

Richard Ashton lord iustice.

Roger Mortimer } Iustices. and lieutenants 1372

Philip Courtneie } specially recorded in Ri- 1381

Iames erle of Orm. } chard the seconds daies.

Robert Vere earle of Oxford marques of Dublin created duke of Ireland.

Roger Mortimer earle of March lieutenant. 1394

Roger Mortimer earle of March and Vlster lieutenant.

Roger Greie lord iustice.

Iohn Stanleie knight lord lieutenant.

Thomas of Lancaster brother to king Henrie 1401

the fourth lord lieutenant, whose deputies at sundrie times were Alexander bishop of Meth, Stephan Scrope knight, and the prior of Kilmainan.

Iames Butler earle of Ormond lord iustice. 1403

Girald earle of Kildare lord iustice.

Iames Butler earle of Ormond, sonne to the 1407

foresaid Iames, lord iustice.

Iohn Stanleie againe lord lieutenant. 1413

Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.

Iohn lord Talbot of Sheffield lieutenant. 1414

Iames Butler erle of Ormond the second time 1420

lieutenant.

Edmund earle of March, Iames

earle of Ormond his depute.

Iohn Sutton lord Dudleie, sir

Thomas Strange knight his

depute.

Sir Thomas Stanleie, sir Chri-

stopher Plunker his depute.

Lion lord Welles, the earle of

Ormond his depute.

Iames erle of Ormond by him-

selfe.

Iohn earle of Shrewesburie, the

archbishop of Dublin in his

absence lord iustice.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king

The year of
our Lord.

Lieutenants
to king Hen-
rie the sixt.

L. deputies and iustices of Ireland.

61

1546
1547

king Edward the fourth, had the office of lieutenant by king Henrie the sixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at sundrie times were, the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzestace knight, James earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare, lord iustice in king Edward the fourth his daies, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the K. had the office of lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by sundrie times thete:

Thomas earle of Desmond, } Deputies
John Tiptoft erle of Worcester, } to the duke
Thomas earle of Kildare, } of Cla-
1570 Henrie lord Graie of Ruthine. } rence.
Sir Rouland Eustace lord deputie.
Richard duke of Yorke, yoonger sonne to king Edward the fourth, lieutenant.
Edward sonne to Richard the third lieutenant, his deputie was Girald earle of Kildare.
Iasper duke of Bedford and earle of Penbroke,

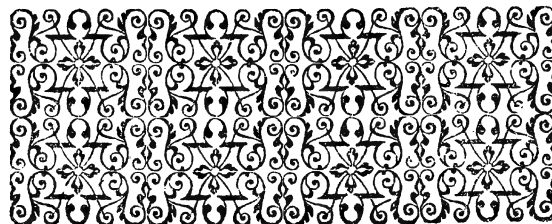
lieutenant, his deputie was Walter archbishop of Dublin. The yeare of our Lord.
Edward Poinings knight, lord deputie. 1544
Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, lieutenant, his deputie Girald earle of Kildare.
Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, lord deputie.
Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, after duke of Norfolk, lieutenant. 1520
Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, lord deputie. 1523
Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare againe lord deputie.
The baron of Deluin lord deputie.
Piers Eutler earle of Ossorie againe lord deputie. 1529
William Skeffington knight, lord deputie.
Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, againe lord deputie.
William Skeffington againe lord deputie.
Leonard lord Graie, lord deputie. 1534
Sir William Brereton knight, lord iustice. 1540
Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie. 1541

The names of all the lords deputies and iustices in Ireland,

since the death of king Henrie the eight 1546, who died in Januarie.

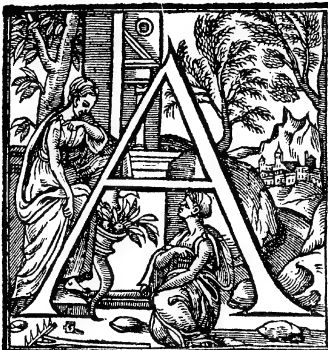
1546 Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight by patent, dated 24 Martij, Anno primo Edw. 6.
1546, 1547 Sir Edward Bellingham lord deputie, 22 Aprilis, Anno eodem.
1548 Sir Francis Brian lord iustice.
1549 Sir William Brabeston lord iustice.
1550 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 3. 4 Augusti.
1551 Sir James Crofts lord deputie, 29 Aprilis.
1553 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 1 Sept. 4.
1555 Thomas lord Fitzwalter lord deputie, 27 April.
1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie } Lords iustices.
Doctor Coren }
1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice alone, 18 Ianuarij.
1557 Thomas erle of Suffex L. lieutenant, 19 Martij.
1558 Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice.

Thomas earle of Suffex lord deputie, 6 Majj. 1559
Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iustice. 1564
Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1565
Doctor Weston lord chancellor }
Sir William Fitzwilliams } 1567
Sid Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1568
Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice. 1570
Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputie, 11, 1571
Decemb. Anno 14 Elisab.
Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie 3. 5 Augusti 3. 1572
Sir William Drurie lord iustice, 14 Septemb. 1579
by patent, 18 Majj.
Sir William Pelham lord iustice. 1580
The lord Arthur Graie. 1580
Adam archbishop of Dublin } Lord iustices 1582
Sir Henrie Wallop }
Sir Iohn Perot lord deputie. 1584





TO THE RIGHT WOR-
thie and honorable gentleman fir
Walter Raleigh knight, seneschall of the
duchies of Cornewall and Excester, and lord warden of the
stannaries in Deuon and Cornewall : Iohn Hooker
wibeth a long, a happie, and a prosperous life, with the
increase of honour.



Mong all the infinit good blessings, right honorable,
which the Lord God hath bestowed vpon vs, I thinke none more
expedient and necessarie, than the vse and knowledge of histories
and chronicles: which are the most assured registers of the innumerable
benefits and commodities, which haue and dailie doo grow to the
church of God, and to the ciuill gouernment through out all nations.
The vse of them began and was receiued euen from the first begin-
ning, and immediatlie vpon the disperfing of the sonnes of Adam
through out the world: for they were no fooner diuided into feuerall
nations, but they did (as Cicero faith) make choife of some one
man among themfelves, who furpassed the reft in wifedome, know-
ledge and vnderftanding, *Ad quem confuebant*. These kind of men
for the most part in thofe daies were preests and philosophers, and
for their great knowledge, wifedome and credit, had the charge to
commend to their posteritie fuch notable and good acts as were wor-
thie the memorie. And as all other nations had fuch men, fo the re-
more Ilands in the great Ocean had the like. For Britaine, now conteining England, Scotland and Wales, had
their Druides and Bardos, and Ireland had their Odalies or Rimers, who being verie wife men & of great credit,
did deliuer all their faings in meeter, and were therefore called Poets. And thefe for the better alluring of the
people to attention, and to frame them to the knowledge of vertue, did vse to fing with an instrument fuch lef-
fons and instructions as they were wont to giue, whether it were concerning manners and common conuer-
fation, or matters of policie and gouernment, or of prowesse and martiall affaires, or of the gefts of their ances-
tors, or of anie other thing thought meet to be learned and worthie the knowledge, by which meanes they
made men the more apt, readie, and willing to applie themfelves to vertue and to a commendable courfe of life,
both concerning God how he was to be honored, the magistrate how he was to be obeyed, & the common socie-
tie how it was to be conserued; and finallie how the whole courfe of mans life was to be ordered and directed.
These and manie other like commodities when Cicero had confidered, did grow by these means, which is the
verie substance of an historie: he described the same to be the witnesse of time, the light of truth, the life of
memorie, and the mistresse of life: willing and aduifing euerie man at all times and in all matters to haue their
recourfe to the same, and to be well exercifed in the knowledge thereof, bicaufe the things paff are fet downe
therin, and by them a man may learne what to doo in the life to come. For as the wife man faith, There is nothing
new vnder the funne: for the thing which is now hath beene, and by the things paff we are taught the things
to come. And fo faith Auguftine: *Historia magis vel certe non minus prænunciandis futuris, quam enuncian-
dis præteritis inuenitur intenta*: Histories doo teach and aduertife vs as well of the things to come, as of the things
paff: and the knowledge thereof is fo no necessarie that Melancthon would haue no man to be vnlearned in hi-
stories, bicaufe *Sine qua nulla in re quispiam lucem habet*. And Thucidides the old ancient historiographer of
Grecia would that euerie man fhould haue about him a booke of histories, as a thing most necessarie for him in
all matters whatfoeuer: and this did he draw and learne (as it should seeme) from Moses, who when he had
faithfullie and diligentlie written and fet downe the whole courfe of the world, the wonderfull works of God,
and all the most necessarie precepts and rules for mans life, either concerning matters of religion or caufes of ci-
uill policies, or of common societie: then he and Iofua affembling all the people together, did deliuer vnto them
the whole Pentateuchon of Moses to be dailie read & taught, with a commandement that they fhould neuer haue
that booke out of their hands, but to haue alwaies their continuall recourfe to them, as well for their life, as alfo
for their direction in all their caufes. Which thing they did most diligentlie obserue and keepe, and not onelie in
matters of religion, but in all doubtfull matters, as to the most true oracles, they would make their recourfe
for their full resolutions. As the enimies of Iehuda, when they saw the prosperous successe of the building of the
temple in the times of Ezras and Nehemias, and they much maligning the same, made sute to king Artaxerxes
that he would reuoke the decree which king Cyrus had made vnto the Iewes, licencing them to build the tem-
ple, alledging manie great and fundrie matters againft them. Wherevpon the king commanded the chronicles
to be searched, whether it were true that had beene informed againft them. Likewise when Hamon had gree-
uouflic complained vnto king Ahasuerus againft Mardocheus and the Iewes, charging them with fundrie hai-
nous offenses worthe death, the king commanded the chronicles to be searched. Also when Paule and Syllas
first preached the gofpell at Theffalonica and Barea, a doctrine then accounted strange and new, they searched
and examined the books *Num hac ita se haberent*. For as they found things there recorded, fo gaue they credit,
and by the same they did proceed in the like. For it was a common thing among the Romans, that not onelie
A.ij. they

The first vse of
histories.

The first chro-
nographers.

The first chro-
nographers in
England and
Ireland.

Poets were
the first chro-
nographers
in Britaine.

The definition
of an historie.
Cicero de oratore.

Ecclesiast. 1. 3.

*August. de ciuit.
Dei.
Chronica Ca-
ronis.
Thucidides.*

Deutero. 5.
Iofue. 1.

1. Esdras. 4.
Nehemias.

Esther. 6.

Acts. 17.

The epistle dedicatorie.

they would make recourse in all doubtfull matters to their owne annales; but what so euer they found in the like in anie other nation or commonwealth, which might further them in anie thing touching their owne affaires, they would draw the same into an example for themselves to follow, which was no small benefit to their commonwealth.

Alexander. Likewise Alexander the great, notwithstanding he were brought vp in all good letters vnder Aristotle, yet when he was to enlarge his empire, he gaue himselfe to the diligent reading of Homer, the most exact chronographer of the Troian wars: and so he esteemed that booke, that in the daie time he caried it about him, and in the night time he laid it vnder his beds head; and at all times conuenient he would be reading of it, and in the end was so perfect therein, that he could verbatim repeat the whole without booke; the stratagems, the policies, and the manie deuises vsed in those warres he practised in his owne warres, which stood him in great steed. Iulius Cæsar also in his wars searched the ancient booke and histories of the cite of Rome: and did not onelie thereby draw a paterne for his owne direction, both for his ciuill and his martiall affaires: but also, he being then the greatest monarch of all the world, thought it not preiudiciall to his imperiall estate and maiestie, to commend vnder his owne hand writing vnto his posteritie, the historie of his owne age and doings. Manie like princes hath England bred, who haue bin verie carefull, that the memoriall of the good things done in their times should be commended to their posteritie, to follow in the like. And therefore euerie king for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares, was wont to reiteine and keepe some wise, learned, and faithfull scribes, who should collect and record the things done in euerie their seuerall times, and all which as time and course of yeares did serue, were published; and what great good benefits haue growne thereby to this present age, and like to serue to the future time, all the world maie easilie see and iudge: for this I dare boldly saie and affirme: No realme, no nation, no state, nor common wealth throughout all Europa, can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than do the histories of this little Isle of Britaine or England. I would to God I might or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of bloud, murder, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greuous & irksome to be read & considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into an historie. Which hath beene some cause whie I was alienated and vtterlie discouraged to intermedle therein: for being earnestlie requested, by reason of my some acquaintance with the maners and conditions of that nation during my short abode therein, to continue the historie of that land, from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents, which hitherto hath not beene touched; I found no matter of an historie worthe to be recorded: but rather a tragedie of cruelties to be abhorred, and no historie of good things to be followed: and therefore I gaue the matter ouer, and was fullie resolu'd not at all to haue intermedled therewith. Neuertheless, being againe verie earnestlie requested, and no excuse neither of my age, nor of my often sicknesse, nor of my calling in the seruice of the commonwealth, nor of my small learning and skill, sufficient to compas such a matter, could be accepted: then (but with an euill will) I entred into it, and the more I bethought my selfe of the matter, the more I began to consider, and at length to behold the too great and woonderous workes of God, both of his seuerie iudgement against traitors, rebels, and disobedient; and of his mercie and louing kindnesse vpon the obedient and dutifull. Whereof, though there be infinite examples both in the sacred histories and humane chronicles: yet I find none more apparrant and effectuall, nor more fit for vs, and for this our time and age, than the histories of our owne nation, which yeeld vnto vs most infinite examples, how yong princes rebelling against the kings their fathers, noble men against their soueraignes, and the commons against the kings and rulers, some by the mightie hand of God swallowed vp in the seas, some deuoured with the sword, some by martiall and some by ciuill lawes executed to death: and few or none which haue escaped unpunished. But of all others, none to be compared to this tragicall discourse of Ireland, and the most vnnaturall wars of the Desmonds against hir sacred maiestie. Whose disobedience the Lord hath in iustice so seuerelie punished and reuenged, as the like hath not in our age beene scene nor knowen; which albeit somewhat at large it be set downe in the historie, yet breefelie and in effect is as followeth.

The earle of Desmond, named Gerald Fitzgiralde, was descended of a yonger house of the Giraldines of Kildare, and both of them descended from one and the same ancestor Gerald of Windfor, a noble gentleman of Normandie; who after his arrival into England, travelled into Wales, and there married the ladie Nesta daughter to the great Roelines prince of South Wales, and by hir among others had issue Moris Fitzgiralde, ancestor to these the foresaid Giraldines; and he being assistant to Derman mac Morogh king of Leinster in Ireland, was one of the chiefeest and most principall seruitors in the conquest, or rather one of the conquerors of that land vnder king Henrie the second. The issue and offspring of this Moris as they were honourable in blood, so they were no lesse honorable in all their actions: they being verie famous for their good gifts of the mind, in wisdom and policie in their ciuill gouernment, and renowned for their valiantnesse and prowesse in martiall affaires, in both which they had well tried themselves, and therefore manie times they had the cheefe gouernment of the whole realme, being sometime lord iustices, sometime lord lieutenants, and sometime lord Deputies of the whole land. And for their truth and fidelitie were aduanced to honor. For Thomas Fitzgiralde being the elder house, was created earle of Kildare in the eighteenth yeare of king Edward the first, in the yeare one thousand two hundred hundred twentie and seuen. Moris Fitzthomas a yonger brother of that house was created earle of Desmond; and from thence as before, they continued verie honourable, dutifull & faithfull subiects, for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares: vntill that this braineicke and breake-dance Gerald of Desmond, and his brethren, aies, and complices, forgetting the honour of his house, and forsaking their faith, dutie and allegiance, did breake into treasons, and shewed themselves open enimies, traitors and rebels, vsing all maner of hostilities and outrages, to the impeach of hir most sacred maiestie, and the destruction of the commonwelth: the price whereof in the end he paid with his and their own bloods, to the vtter destruction of themselves and that whole familie, there being verie few Giraldines in the prouince of Mounster left to bemoane or bewaile their deaths. For first the earle himselfe, the cheefe of his familie, after his long repast in his traitorous follies, was driuen in the end to all extremities and penuries, and at the last taken in an old cotage, and his head was cut off and sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge, and his lands and inheritance confiscated and discontinued from his house and name for euer. Sir James one of his yonger brethren, in taking of a preie, was taken and made a preie; he was hanged as a theefe, quartered as a traitor, and his head and quarters disperfed and set vpon the gates and wals of the citie of Corke. Sir Iohn of Desmond, another of his yonger brethren, and next to himselfe the cheefe ringleader of this rebellion, was taken, his head cut off and set vpon the castell of Dublin, and his bodie hanged by the heeles at Corke. His onelie sonne and heire being wholie disinherited, is prisoner in the Tower of London. His ladie and wife destituted of all honour and liuings, liueth a dolefull and miserable life. His captains, soldiers, and field, and the other died most miserablie in the woods. The Italians and strangers few or none left aliue to returne to aduertise of their successe vnto their holie father. The common people such as escaped the sword, all for the most part are perished with famine, or fled the countrie. The land it selfe being verie fertile, is waxed barren, yeelding nor come nor fruits; the pastures without cattell, and the aire without fowles, and the whole prouince for the most part desolate and vnhabited, sauing townes and cities: and finally, nothing there to be scene but miserie and desolation.

Sir James of Desmond taken & hanged.
Sir Iohn of Desmond killed & hanged.
The earles sonne a prisoner in the Tower of Londō.
The countesse of Desmond liueth a wofull life.
D. Allen slaine.
D. Sanders dieth miserablie.
The land left altogether barren.

The epistle dedicatorie.

A notable and a rare example of Gods iust iudgement and seuer punishment, vpon all such as doo resist and rebell against the higher powers and his annointed: which is so greuous an offense in his sight, that next to the capitall offenses against the first table, this is accounted the greatest and in the highest degree. For as it is written, Who resisteth against the higher power, resisteth against Gods ordinances, and he shall receiue iudgement. And the Lord shall root him from out of the face of the earth that shall blasphem his gods, and curse the prince of the people. Euen as of the contrarie, when the people liue in all subiection, humblenesse, and obedience, the Lord defendeth and keepeth them, and with his manifold blessings prospereth them; as hir maiesties good subiects dwelling within the English pale, and inhabiting within hir cities and townes can witnesse. They sow and till the land, and doo reape the fruits. Their fields are full of sheepe, and they are clothed with the wooll. Their pastures are full of cattell, and they inioie them. Their cities and townes are well inhabited, and they liue in safetie. All things go well with them, and peace and plentie resteth in their houses. Two notable examples (I saie) and worthie to be throughlie obserued; the one of Gods iust iudgement against the rebels and traitors, and the other of mercie and loue towards the obedient and dutifull subiect. Which examples the later they are, the more should they imprint in vs an inward affection and an vndoubted resolution, to yeeld to the superiours all durie and obedience; and by the examples of the rebels, to shun as a pestilence all disobedience and rebellion; least in doing the like, we doo receiue the like iust iudgements with them. Let therefore the examples of the elders be sufficient perswasions and instructions to the posteritie, to follow that which is good, and to eschew that which is euill. For albeit good counsell of our friends, and conferences with the good men, maie much preuaile with vs, yet none can so much preuaile nor be of such vertue and effect, as the examples of our ancestors, and the actions of our forefathers when they be laid before vs: *Magis enim exemplis potest persuaderi, quam argumentis extorqueri.* And therefore in times past, the surest course which our forefathers tooke, either in ciuill gouernment or in martiall affaires, was that which they drew from the examples of their ancestors before them. And for as much as such is the value and vertue of the footsteps of our forefathers, I trust it shall not be offense vnto you, that I doo a little digresse and speake somewhat of your selfe and of your ancestors; who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cause haue you to looke into the same: that what in some of your later forefathers was conspited, maie not in you be conspited, but rouzed and raised vnto his former and pristinat state. And for as much as I am somewhat acquainted in their descents, let me make bold with you to laie the same downe before you.

There were fundrie of your ancestors by the name of Raleigh, who were of great account & nobilitie, and alied as well to the Courtneis earls of Deuon, as to other houses of great honour & nobilitie, & in fundrie succeeding descents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them being your ancestor in the directest line, was named sir Iohn de Raleigh, who then dwelled in the house of Furdell in Deuon, an ancient house of your ancestors, and of their ancient inheritance: and which at these presents is in the possession of your eldest brother. This knight married the daughter and heire to sir Roger D'ameri, or de Ameri, whome our English chronicles doo name lord de Amerie, who was a noble man and of great linage, and descended of the earls de Amerie in Britaine, and alied to the earls of Montfort in the same duchie and prouince. This man being come ouer into England, did serue in the court, and by the good pleasure of God and the good liking of the king he married the ladie Elisabeth, the third sister and coheire to the noble Gilbert earle of Clare and of Glocester, who was slaine in the battell of Banokesborough in Scotland, in the time of king Edward the second. This earle died sans issue, he being the sonne and the said ladie Elisabeth the daughter to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, by his wife the ladie Iane de Acres or Acon, daughter to king Edward the first. This Gilbert descended of Robert earle of Glocester, sonne to king Henrie the first, and of his wife the ladie Mawd, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Altrouill in Normandie, coosen to the Conqueror, knight of the priuie chamber to king William Rufus, and lord of the lordship of Glamorgan in Wales. So that your ancestor sir Iohn de Raleigh married the daughter of de Amerie, Damerie of Clare, Clare of Edward the first, and which Clare by his father descended of king Henrie the first. And in like maner by your mother you maie be deriued out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobilitie, and whose vertues are highlie recorded sparsim in the chronicles of England; some greatly commended for their wisedomes and deepe iudgements in matters of counsell, some likewise much praised for their prowesse & valiantnesse in martiall affaires, and manie of them honored for both.

But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable vnder the sunne, and time hath deuoured and consumed the greatest men and the mightiest monarchs, and most noble commonwealths in the world, according to the old countrie saing; Be the daie neuer so long, yet at length it will ring at euen song: so this honorable race, though for so manie descents, and for the course of so manie yeares it continued in great honor, nobilitie, and reputation, yet in proceesse of time the honour became to be of worship (neuertheless alied alwaies and matched in houses of great honour and nobilitie) and so euer since possessed by knights of your owne name, vntill by little and little the honour and estimation of your noble and worthie ancestors seemed at length to be buried in obliuion, and as it were extinguished and to be vterlie forgotten as though it had neuer beene. And now when all was past anie hope and vnremembred to the world, it hath pleased God to raise the same euen as it were from the dead, and to looke vpon you the youngest sonne of manie, as he did vpon Ioseph, one of the youngest sonnes of Iacob; and in you hath left a hope to restore the decayed house of your sept and familie. He hath brought you into the good fauour of your prince, who hath pleased to reward and honour in you the approoued faithfull seruice of your late ancestors and kindered deceased, and inclined hir princelie hart, conceiuing a great hope of your owne sufficiencie and abilitie to restore you againe, being the last branch remaining of so manie noble and famous houses descended. And whereof commeth this, that the Lord hath thus blessed you, and so bountifullie hath dealt with you? but onelie (as the wise man saith) *Vt noscas in omni virtute omnibus prodesse*, and that you should be beneficiall and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, *Semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem est afferendum*: for we are not borne to our selues alone, but the prince, the countrie, the parents, friends, wiues, children and familie, euerie of them doo claime an interest in vs, and to euerie of them we must be beneficiall: otherwise we doo degenerate from that communite and societie, which by such offices by vs is to be conferred, & doo become most vnprofitable: *Nam inutilis prorsus est, qui nullam utilitatem reipublice ac communi societati possit afferre*, and euerie such man, as a member vnprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer suffered to haue a place in the hieue, than whiles he worketh; no more is that man to haue place in the publike weale than whiles he dooth some good therein, bicause through idlenesse they doo not onelie no good, but as Cato saith, they doo euill: *Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt*. Idlenesse therefore the mother of all wickednesse, and idlers the sonnes of so bad a mother, are vterlie to be exiled and expelled out of all well gouerned commonweales; and they onelie to be fostered, nourished and cherished, who as they are borne to the countrie, so if they doo good and be beneficiall to the same.

And how great your care hath beene heerein, the course of your life hitherto dooth manifest it. For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions, you trauelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thence, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother sir Humfreie Gilbert, trauelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discovered, infinit commodities in

Rom. 13.

The prosperitie and quietnes in the English pale.

Patrie. de insit resp.

The descent of the lord warden.

All things haue an end.

Cicero de offic.

Cicero.

Cato. Idlers ought not to haue place in the commonwealth.

The epistle dedicatorie.

fundrie respects would haue infused, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also fore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said woorthie knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to haue discouraged a man of a right good stomack and value from anie like seas attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends, wherevnto you leuelled your line for the good of your countrie, did not giue ouer, vntill you had recovered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your owne English nation in *Virginia*, the first English colonie that euer was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glorie of the Spaniards, & an impeach to their vaunts; who bicause with all cruell immanitie, contrarie to all naturall humanitie, they subdued a naked and a yeelding people, whom they fought for gaine and not for anie religion or plantation of a commonwealth, ouer whome to satisfie their most greedie and insatiabie couetousnesse, did most cruellie tyrannize, and most tyrannicallie and against the course of all humane nature did seorch and roit them to death, as by their owne histories dooth appeare. These (I saie) doo brag and vaunt, that they onelic haue drawne strange nations and unknowne people, to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of christianitie, and to the enriching of their countrie, and thereby doo claime the honor to be due to themselves onelic and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as apperteineth, it shall be found much more honorable in sundrie respects, for the aduancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gaine and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospell, and a true christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweeter sacrifice, and a more acceptable seruice before God? And what can be more honorable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without iniurie, wrong, & bloodshed; and to frame them from a savage life to a civil government, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests haue performed? And what can be more beneficiall to a common weale, than to haue a nation and a kingdome to transference vnto the superfluous multitude of fruitlesse and idle people (heere at home daile increasing) to trauell, conquer, and manure another land, which by the due intercourses to be deuised, may and will yeeld infinit commodities? And how well you doo deserue euerie waie in following so honourable a course, not we our selues onelic can witnesse, but strange nations also doo honour you for the same: as dooth appeare by the epistle of *Besimerus* of France, to the historie of Florida: and by *Julius Caesar* a citizen of Rome in his epistle to his booke intituled *Cullombegados*. It is well knowne, that it had beene no lesse easie for you, than for such as haue beene aduanced by kings, to haue builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to haue vsed the fruits of princes fauours, as most men in all former and present ages haue doone; had you not preferred the generall honour and commoditie of your prince and countrie before all priuie gaine and commoditie: wherby you haue beene rather a seruant than a commander to your owne fortune. And no doubt the cause being so good, and the attempt so honorable, but that God will increafe your talent, and blesse your doings, and euerie good man will commend and further the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more aduersaries he shall haue to depraue and hinder the same: yet I am perswaded, as no good man shall haue iust cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so enuious of his countries honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthie an enterprise; and that so much the sooner, bicause you haue indured so manie crosses, and haue through so much enuiengs and misfortunes perseuered in your attempts, which no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so worthie a worke. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to blesse you, so much the more are you bound to be thankfull vnto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his grace and mercie towards you. Giue me leaue therefore (I praie you) to be bold with you, not onelic to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the fauour of your prince and souereigne: who besides his great fauour towards you manie waies, she hath also laid vpon you the charge of a gouernement in your owne countrie, where you are to command manie people by your honourable office of the stannarie, and where you are both a iudge and chancellor, to rule in iustice and to iudge in equitie. Wherin you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, bicause vpon your iudgement (and such as you shall appoint to be vnder you) the determinations of all their causes dooth rest and depend, knowing that a hard iudgement abideth for such as be in authoritie, if they iudge not vprightlie, and doo not yeeld iustice to euerie man indifferentlie. Be you therefore carefull in this respect, that you be well reported for your vpright dealings, both herein, & in euerie of all your other actions to all men. Be you a patterne of vertue, & an example of true nobilitie, which is grounded & hath hir foundation vpon vertue, for as the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, non caro nec sanguis*. And therefore saith Demosthenes; If thou draw thy descent & pedigree euen from Iupiter himselfe, yet if thou be not vertuous, iust & good, *Ignobilis mihi videris*. In my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be borne of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobilitie faileth, when his ancestors vertues in him faileth, *Hic enim vere nobilis est celandus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitulatur*. Your ancestors were verie ancient, and men of great nobilitie, beneficiall to their princes and countrie manie & sundrie waies. And as in nature you are defended from them, so it hath pleased God to blesse you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike seruice, and in experience in manie small causes, and besides hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and fauour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be carefull to restore the house of your decayed forefathers to their ancient honor and nobilitie, which in this later age hath beene obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state: which you are not onelic taught by their old and good examples, but also by the ensignes of their and your nobilitie. For the fusils, being an instrument of trauell and labour, doo aduertise you, that you are one of the sonnes of Adam, borne to walke in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common societie: which when you behold and looke vpon, you must so endeouour your selfe, euen as Agathocles king of Syracusa, whose cupbords, though they were well furnished with great store and varietie of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficientlie fraughted, vnlesse he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups, in which he vsed to drinke, to teach & remember him in the middle of his roialtie, to be mindfull of his origin estate and dutie.

Palingenius.
 Demosthenes.

Fusils, instruments of labours.

Agathocles.

White colour.

Gules.

The epistle dedicatorie.

such instructions as partly by my selfe, but more by other mens helps, I had collected and gathered; and thought to haue continued the same from the death of King Henrie the eight, vnto these presents: it came vnto my mind and I thought it verie expedient, to make a new review of that, which by others had bene doone in the interuall betwene *Cambrensis*, and my doings, wherein I found great paines had bene taken, and that the authors had well deserved great prailes and commendations. And yet in this they were much to be blamed, that all of them were beholding vnto *Giraldus*, and not one of them would yeeld that curtesie either to publish his historie, or vsing the same to acknowledge it. For some misliking both method and phrase, framed it into another forme, and penned it in a more loftie stile; and vnder that colour haue attributed vnto themselves the honour and fruits of another mans doings. In whidi, their discourtesie was the more, because they iniured so noble and woorthie a personage. For *Giraldus* was a noble man by birth; he being the sonne vnto Mauricius, the sonne vnto Giraldus de Windsor, and to his wife the ladie Nesta, daughter to the great Roefius prince of south Wales. He was from his youth brought vp in learning, and proued verie well learned in all good letters both diuine and likewise humane: and by profession he was a man of the clergie, and liued by the patrimonie of the church. He was chapleine to king Henrie the second, and to king Iohn his sonne, and both of them he attended in their iourneys into Ireland, and at the request and commandement of the king the father, he wrot the historie of this land according to what he saw and knew to be true. The more noble then that this man was by birth, the more reuerend in calling, the more painfull in trauels, and the better learned he was: euen so much the more is their fault, that will borrow of him and not acknowledge it, nor thinke themselves beholding vnto him. For as Plinie saith, *Ingeniū p̄doris est, fateri per quos profecerimus*; it is the part of a good nature not to be ashamed to acknowledge and confesse by whom he is the better, and benefited. I know it hath bene an old vsage in all ages, and among all the ancient writers, both Græcians & Latinists, that they would borrow of other mens writings, and enlarge their owne therewith: as Plato did of Socrates and Pythagoras, Aristotle out of Plato, Cicero of them both; and so likewise others: and these men would not onelie confesse the same, which was accounted to be some part of recompense, but also they accounted their owne doings to be much the better, as that they were confirmed by the authoritie of such wise, graue, and well learned men. The like reason might suffice to persuade such in this later age, as which be so curious that they will not haue anie father, doctor, or anie other writer to be named nor alleaged in sermons, readings, predhings, or writings; and yet they will not sticke to vse & recite verbatim, whole sentences, yea & whole pages out of other mens writings, and attribute the same to themselves, as of their owne inuention. A great fault and a point of ingratitude, not allowed among the gentiles: much lesse should it be so among christians, especiallie among them of the highest profession, *Non profiteri per quos profecerint*.

The ingratitude
fulnesse vnto
Cambrensis.

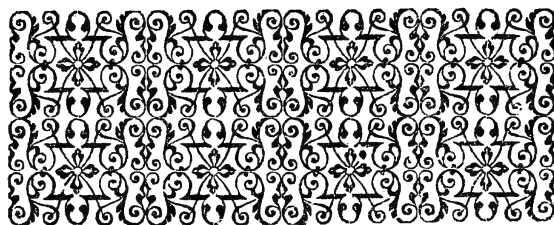
The genealogie
of *Giraldus*.

But leauing euerie man to himselfe, for as much as all histories are to be doone with all sinceritie & truth, whidi in this cannot be so well doone, vnlesse the first writer and author of this historie of Ireland haue his place: I haue thought good to publish and set forth *Giraldus* his owne workes as they are, which, leauing all other translations, I haue as faithfullie translated as the historie requireth, and in as fit an English phrase as is most meete and conuenient for the reader. And because the same so long hence written, hath sundrie obscure things, which doe require some further opening, for the better vnderstanding of the reader; I haue subiected and added to euerie chapter (so requiring) such notes and obseruations, as he shall be therewith the better instructed and satisfied. This thing thus by me doone, together with so much as I my selfe haue penned from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents: which although it maie seeme to be verie imperfect, and to want that fulnesse as the course of so manie yeares might afford; or that some things maie be misreported and set downe, otherwise than the truth is, or that some things maie be mistaken, &c: let this be imputed vnto them, through whose default the same is so befallen; for manie things were promised and little performed; and some, who had and haue an interest in the matter, haue refused and would doe nothing. But for my selfe, according to such instructions and collections as are come to my hands, I haue after the method and nature of an historie, most sincerelie and faithfullie set downe what is materiall and woorthie the writing. And for as much as your selfe was a partie and a doer in some part of the Desmond wars, in which you were a painfull and a faithfull seruitor, and therefore can giue some report and testimonie to this discourse, and also for the loue and honour which I doe owe and beare vnto you, I thought it my part and dutie to offer and present, and presentlie in most humble maner I doe offer and present the same vnto your good fauour and protection. And albeit the thing it selfe be verie slender, and too farre an inferior present to be offered to one of your estate and calling; yet let your courtesie couer that, and accept my good will, which as time and occasion hereafter shall serue, I shall & will be most willing (as your lordships most deuout and assured) to supplie in all the good seruices I maie or shall be able to doe at your commandement. The Lord blesse you and multiplie your daies, to the honor of God, the good seruice of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, the comfort of your friends, and to your owne increase in all honour. Exon. Octob. 12.

I 5 8 6.

Your L. verie good friend and alie
at commandement,

JOHN HOOKER.



The first preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto his historie of the conquest of Ireland.

If so much as in our Topographie we haue at large set forth and described the site of the land of Ireland, the natures of sundrie things therein conteined, the woonderous & strange prodigies which are in the same, and of the first origin of that nation, euen from the first beginning vntill this our time: it resteth, that at the request of sundrie men, and of some of great estate, we do now in a particular volume declare & set forth the conquest of the same land in these our daies, together with the noble acts & gests therein doone. For if we haue well discovered the old & ancient times long before vs, how much more should we doo that which we haue seene, and for the most part are witnesses thereof, & which are yet in our fresh & perfect memorie? Our Topographie discovereth the things done in times past and long ago; but this present historie intreateth of the things presentlie doone, and in our daies. But me thinketh I see some man to shrinke vp the nose, and as it were to snuffe, because I haue written all things so plainelie and euidentlie; and therefore in great scorne he reacheth the booke to one, & with as great disdaine casteth it to another. But let him know this, that I haue now written this chieflie for the laie people, and for such princes as be not of greatest learning, and are therefore desirous to haue things to be vttered in such a plaine and sensible speech as they may best vnderstand the same. For whie, most plaine terms are most meet to be vsed, when the noble acts of noble men & worthie seruitors are to be published and set forth to the notice and knowledge of all men. For this cause therefore haue I written this historie in as plaine & sensible maner as I can (leauing as much as may be) the darke & obscure maner of writing vsed in times past. And for so much as euerie age hath his peculiar manner, I haue according to the mind of the philosopher (whose aduise is, that the liues of the old men, and the pleasant speeches of yoong men should be receiued and followed) I haue (I saie) of purpose written in that order and phrase of speech as now is most in vre. For sith that words are but messengers of a mans mind, and giuen onelie to that end he should without close couering and couching plainelie disclose his mind and meaning: I haue purposelie indeuored my selfe, that seeing what others doo not see, and knowing what others doo not vnderstand, I might so write as I might of all men be vnderstood. For whie, Seneca saith: It is better to be dumbe and not to speake at all, than so to speake as not to be vnderstood, so that the speech be framed in such phrases & onder as are most meet to be vsed, & with the wise and learned do most affect. But for so much as some men haue maliciousslie and slanderousslie depraued my Topographie, I haue thought good by the waie here to interlace a few words in defense therof. All men generallie concerning the beginning of a good or a learned matter, doo consider and haue respect speciallie to three things; the first is, the author of the thing, then the matter it selfe, and lastlie, the ordering and well handling of the thing so begun. Concerning the first and last of these three, the enuious man being afraid to vtter his malice, euen against his will giues praise & commendation to both. But yet as a staged man can not alwaies dissemble and cloke himselfe, so this man, who to haue his will ouer me & to deprauie me, inueigheth against the second point, thinking and meaning by reproouing me to be a lier therein, to condemne all the rest; he obiekteth therefore and laieth to my charge the strange prodigies which I wrote, namelie how the wolfe spake and talked with a priest; of the man that in the hinder parts was like to an ox; of a woman that had a beard like a man; and a man like an horse; of a gote & a lion, which resorted and accompanied with a woman. But who so misliketh hereof, let him read in the booke of Numbers, & he shall find that Balaams asse spake and reprooued his master. Let him examine the liues of the fathers, and he shall learne how that a satyre in the wildernesse did talke with Anthonie the heremite; and how Paule the heremite was fed in the desert by a rauen. Let him read also the workes of Jerome, the Exameron of Ambrose, and the dialog of Gregorie. Let him likewise read saint Augustine his booke of the citie

The first preface.

citie of God, especiallie the xv. and xxi. booke, which are full of strange prodigies and woonders: let him read Isidorus in the xi. booke of his Etymologies, concerning woonders, his xij. booke of beasts, & his xvi. booke of pretious stones, and of their vertues; let him also read Valerius Maximus, Trogus Pompeius, Plinius, and Solinus, & in euerie of these he shall find manie things which he may mislike and thinke to be vntruths, & so condemne the residue of all the writings of so noble and woorthie men. But let him be better aduised, & consider well, how that as S. Ierome saith, there are manie things contained in the scriptures which seeme to be incredible, and to carie no truth in them, and yet neuerthelesse are most true. For whie, nature dooth not, nor can preuaile against the Lord of nature: and therefore euerie creature ought not loth, but to reuerence, and haue in great admiration the works of God: & as S. August. saith, How can that be against nature which is doone by the will of God? Bicause the will of so great a creator is the nature and beginning of euerie thing created. A portent then or a monster is not against nature, but against it which proceedeth from nature. And therefore as it is not impossible to God to ordeine and creat what natures or things he listeth; no more is it impossible to him to alter and change into what forms he listeth the things alreadie created. And yet I would not that euerie thing by me writtten, should forthwith be credited and receiued as an vndouted truth: for whie, I my selfe do not so firmlie belecue of them, as of things most certeine and true, sauing of such things which by experience I know to be true, and which also euerie other man may by prooffe so find it to be. For as for all other things, I so account of them, that I neither do nor will stand either in the deniall or affirmation of them. The icwellers & such as haue, & be acquainted with the pretious stones come out of India, do not so stranglie think or haue admiration of them, as they who neuer saw them afore: & yet they hauing had once experience of them, do the lesse muse & wonder at the strangenes of them. For whie, the dailie vse taketh awaie all strangenes & admiration; and euerie thing be it neuer so strange & maruellous at the first, yet by dailie viewing of them they wax to be contemned and the lesse esteemed: euen as the Indians themselves do litle value or esteeme their commodities, which we do so much maruell & wonder at. S. Augustine therefore vpon the gospell, how the water was turned into wine hath these words: Maruellous great is the power of God in the creation of the heauen & earth, & of the gouerning of the same; & as great it is to see how the raine water, by the nature of the vine is turned into wine, and how of litle and small seeds great trees and fruits do spring and grow; and yet because we do see it this daie as it were by a naturall course, we do lesse esteeme & consider of them. But yet God aboue the common course hath reserved to himselfe some small things, & which seeme to be of no value, to the end that his power might appeare in greater things, and driue vs the more to consider of them. Wherefore let the malicious & enuious be contented, & not to enuie against the Lord of nature, who of purpose in the sight of man hath doone manie things against the common course of nature: because it should be apparant, & euerie man should well see, that Gods power far exceedeth mans reach & knowledge, & his diuinitie surpasseth mans vnderstanding. Cassiodorus therefore saith: It is a great point of knowledge in man to vnderstand & haue the knowledge, that God can and dooth such great and woonderfull things as do far exceed and passe the capacitie & vnderstanding of man. For God alwaies of purpose dooth transpoe and alter his great things into strange forms, that albeit men may in some respect discerne the same: yet fullie they can not comprehend the same. If then the old and ancient writers haue diligentlie and with good allowance noted & registred in their writings the strange prodigies in their times; whie are we doing the like (vnlesse the whole world be set in wickednesse) maligne and backbitten? For if there be anie new and strange thing in our worke, and which heretofore hath not beene heard of: yet let not the malicious & spitefull man forthwith, without further allowance condemne and deprauie it, but rather suffer to remaine as it is. For as the poet saith: If our forefathers had reiected (as we do) all new things, what shuld now be old? Let him therefore cease to blame or carpe at new things, because in course of time they ceasse to be new, and wax to be old. He may therefore take his pleasure, and deprauie the same, & yet no doubt our posteritie will allow thereof. He may do what he can to hurt it, yet they will accept and read it. He may do what he can to disprooue and blame it, yet will they loue it. He may do what he can to reiect it, yet will they receiue and allow of it.

The second preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto the noble Earle of Poitiers.

HAuing beene eftsfoones, and by manie requested, to register and write the historie of such noble acts doone in our times, which I haue either seene my selfe, or haue heard it credible reported; I was for my excuse woont to alleage the wickednesse of the time, wherein, by reason of the excessive riotousnesse which so aboundeth, all things are so farre out of order, and men so carefull to pamper vp the bodie, that the mind, which of his nature is free, is now in captiuitie, and cannot haue his libertie. Neuerthelesse, considering, and diligentlie aduising with my selfe, how necessarie the knowledge of those things will be to our posteritie, and how nothing is more pernicious and hurtfull to a good wit, and an honest disposition, than to lie wallowing in idlenesse and sloth; I did at length with much ado yeeld my selfe to those requests, and resolved my selfe to satisfie the same. But yet what can be more presumptuous than to write when time serueth not, & leisure wanteth? Or to desire our owne bookes to be commonlie read, and yet at no leisure to read our selues? Or that we should be subiect to the examination and sifting of a malicious reader, and an enuious iudge, and yet we not at leisure to examine our selues? Tullius, the founteine and wellspring of all eloquence, being on a time requested to make an oration, is said he did excuse himselfe, because he had not studied nor read the daie before. If so famous a man, and the father of all eloquence, did so esteeme the benefit of studieng, what shall others of a farre meaner estate and learning thinke of themselves? For true it is, the wit of man if it be not reuiued with continuall and dailie reading waxeth faint and dull, and with reading it is increased and nourished as it were with a naturall food and sustenance. For as the full barns are soone spent, if they be not new stored; and the stocke of great wealth and treasure soone wasted & consumed, if it be not repared; euen so the knowledge of man being not dailie renewed by reading and perusing of other mens works dooth soone perish and decaie. We are compact and doo consist of two natures, the one temporall, the other eternall; and hauing respect to both, are to nourish both, the earthie part with things transitorie and earthie according to the time, the heauenlie part with things perpetuall and euerlasting. The bodie for the time hath his cares; but the mind, which of his nature is free, and which cannot be shut vp, and as it were imprisoned, is neither vnder the power of vs, nor of anie others; let it therefore inioie his owne and proper libertie which to it apperteineth, and inioie the freedome to it belonging. As for the outward man, let him wander and straie, and be troubled about manie things, let him follow vaine and trifling toies, and doo all things as will lusteth, & let him be subiect to the miserable condition of the flesh: but the inward man, which as the kernell is inclosed in the shell, let him inioie that right and priuilege which God hath giuen vnto it; let it be so warded and defended, that being in troubles, it be not troubled; and being solitarie, it be not destituted. God and the king haue ech of them their feuerall power and empire ouer vs: the king hath power onelie ouer the bodie, but the secret and incomprehensible part within vs, namelie the soule, God onelie possesseth, and he alone knoweth and searcheth the same. For it is a most noble and excellent thing, passing all other the gifts of God vnder heauen, being incomprehensible, and yet comprehending all things, and most euidentlie declaring the diuine power which is in it. For by a certeine naturall agilitie which is in him he comprehendeth all the foure corners of the world, and in a maruellous secret celeritie dooth discerne the whole world and all that therein is: it hath the knowledge and vnderstanding of all arts, sciences & knowledges: he is onelie known to him that is vnknown, seene of him that is not seene, & comprehended of him which is incomprehensible. God forbid therefore, that the continuall exercises of this soule should be hindered with vaine and worldlie cares, whereby things for a time omitted or set aside should perish or be forgotten: for what is the bodie to the soule but a heauie burthen, a paine, & as it were a prison, which though not holding him, yet hindring him? For what the shell is to the kernell, the same is the flesh to the spirit, both of them carrieng his owne impediment and burthen. Wherefore right noble now earle of Poitiers, but shortlie which shall be king of England, & duke of Normandie, hauing the force and helpe of this, I haue yeelded my selfe, and haue now written and drawn out the historie of the conquest of Ireland, and the subduing of the barbarous nation of the same in these our daies, and haue dedicated the same vnto your highnesse: that by recording the gifts thereof, and seeing how your father did grow in renowme and honor, so the same also may increafe in you: and as you are known to be the right heire of your fathers inheritance, so you may succeed him also in his vertues and victories to your great honor. I haue hitherto traueled in this rude and rough matter after a grosse manner, but hereafter more fullie, and in better order to be exprefsed and set foorth, as time and yeares shall increafe, and as I shall be more at full instructed.



To his most reuerend lord and beloved in Christ, Iohn the noble and worthie king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and of Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou: Giraldus offereth this
his simple worke, and wisheth all health both of bodie and of soule, and a prosperous successe in all things according to his hearts desire.



I pleased your noble and excellent father king Henrie, to send me being then attendant vpon him, ouer with you into Ireland, where when I had noted sundrie notable things, and which were strange and unknowne to other nations: then at my returne, I made a collection and choise of the chiefe matters therein: and within three yeares, I made my booke of Topographie, of the woonders of Ireland, and of the description of that land, doone in and for the honor of your father; who hauing good liking, and being well pleased with those my trauels (for why, he was a prince (a thing rare in our times) verie well learned) his desire and pleasure was, I should also write out the historie of the last conquest of the same land, made by him and his. Which renewing my former trauels I did: but neither it, nor these my paines were considered. For vertue commonlie is more commended than rewarded. But because by negligence, or rather by reason of the great businesse, where-with I was incumbered: I had almost forgotten the site, nature, and maner of the west parts of the said land, which I had not seene a long time. I thought it good to ouerrun, and peruse againe my said worke, and being better corrected, to dedicat the same vnto your highnesse. Wherein our historie taketh his beginning from the time that Dermot mac Morogh prince of Leinster was driven out of his countrie by his owne men, and fled to your father then being in Aquitaine: most humbly crauing, and at length obtayning aid and succor, vntill your first coming into that land, when I was with you: and haue faithfullie declared in order, what things were there doone by euerie of these noble men and capteins, which then passed thither, euen from the first to the last; and what good or euill was doone by them.

In which historie as in a glasse, a man may most apparantlie and euidentlie see and discern truth; who, and what they were which deserued the most honor in this conquest; whether the first aduenturers out of the diocesse of saint Davids my consins and kinsmen; or they of the diocesse of Landaff, who came next, and who in verie deed are gentlemen, but more in name than valiant in act; and who vpon the good successe of the first, hoping to haue the like themselves, went ouer: or else they which passed ouer the third time, who were well and fullie furnished at all points with good store of armor, vittell, and other necessaries. Surelie they deserued well, who gaue the first aduenture: and they also are much to be commended, which continued the same: but they deserued best, who went ouer last. For they not onelie did establish and confirme the authoritie and dooings of the first and second, but also made a final end, and brought the whole countrie into subiection. But alas, by reason of their too hastie returning from thence, and of the vnnatural warres and rebellion of the sonnes against their father, the land could not be brought to a perfect order, nor the things begun could haue his full perfection. Wherefore, o noble king, despise not the great trauels and labors of your father, nor yet my poore paines herein. Doe not impart your honor and glorie to the vnworthie and vnthankfull: neither for the coueting of an Island of silver to hazard the losse of one of gold: the one surpassing and exceeding the other in value. For the gold of Arabia and the silver of Achaia doo both fill a mans cofer alike: but the one more in price and value than the other. Besides this, there is another thing which might persuade you to be mindfull, and haue some regard of the land of Ireland. It hath pleased God and good fortune to send you manie children, both naturall, and also legitimat; and more hereafter you may haue. It were therefore verie good as you may, to appoint and place in those two kingdomes, two of your sonnes to be gouernors and rulers of them: and vnder them to appoint a great number of your men, and endow them liberallie with great liuings and luehoods; and especiallie in Ireland, which as yet is rude, vnnurtured, and nothing to the purpose by our men inhabited. But if so be that neither for the increasing of your owne honor, the enriching of your treasure, nor for the aduancing of your children, you will haue respect to your realme of Ireland; yet haue some consideration of your poore veterans and old seruitors, who haue most faithfullie and trustilie serued both you and your father, and by whose service that realme of Ireland was first conquered; and is yet kept and retined; and yet are supplanted by such yong nouices and yonkers as are of late gone thither

The epistle dedicatorie.

thither, to inioy and to succeed into the fruits of other mens trauels, fortune better fauoring them, than vertue commending. And the follie of these men is growne to such a pride and arrogancie, that as it is said, they are greatlie to be suspected to aspire and to vsurpe the whole seignorie and dominion to themselves, which it lieth you vpon to see to be quailed and abated.

And in following these your Irish affaires, you are to haue great care and regard, that when so euer you doo march and take anie iourneie, either for the vanquishing of the enimie, or for the reuenging of anie wrongs and iniuries; that you haue alwaies an eie backward, and leaue all things behind you in such safe and sure order, that no danger thereof doo insue vnto you. For why, the household enimies be alwaies working of wiles, and waiting for an aduantage; and doo but looke when time and place may serue for them to rebell: and therefore you are to haue great care and good regard, that you doo leaue all things behind you in safetie, and out of danger: and that you doo not suffer the serpent to lurke and hide himselfe, as it were in your bosome: nor to nourish and rake up the fire as it were in your lap, the same being ready to breake out into great flames: for this shall not onelie be counted a great retchlesnesse, but also a great fault in you; and to your great reproch. It is verie expedient therefore to euerie prince, that in his land he doo not foster and mainteine anie such Hydras and venomous serpents. And for princes of Ilands, it should be good for them, that they in their dominions and realmes haue in no side anie other marches than the sea as it selfe. But if it be so, that you will not be perswaded for anie of the foresaid reasons, to haue regard or remorse to your said land, being so oftentimes desolated, and almost vtterlie destroyed; that it may be reduced to some better order and state, whereby it may be more profitable to your selfe and vnto yours: then I praie you to pardon vs Welshmen, notwithstanding we be of nature somewhat rash; and giue vs leave to put you in remembrance touching which your father, for the aduancement of himselfe and of his posteritie, did promise to pope Adrian, when he first procured licence and libertie to invade and to conquer the realme of Ireland. The first is, that you would set vp the true religion, and reforme the church of God in that realme: and then, as you doo now in England, so also in Ireland, you doo cause to be paid out of euerie house the Peter pence, according to the tenure of the said priuilege by your father obtained, and which remaineth in the treasure of Winchester; that you maie so deliuer your fathers soule, and satisfie his promise. For why, as Salomon saith: A lieng toong becometh not a king, especiallie when he shall liue to God, and being a creature, wittinglie to offend his creator; for that is an offense verie heinous and dangerous.

And forsomuch as you are to answer before the high and strict iudge, hauing nothing for your excuse and defense than as before is said, for the so much innocent blood by your father and your selfe alreadie shed, and which hereafter maie be shed: you ought to be verie carefull and diligent, that Gods anger maie be appeased, and your fathers promise be performed: that God being thus honored for this conquest, you maie haue a prosperous successe, and all yours in this world: and also after this life inioie that perpetuall felicitie, which surpasseth all ioy and felicitie. And because you haue not kept nor performed these promises, these two defects by Gods iust iudgement are befallen vnto you. The one is, that this conquest could neuer be brought to his full effect and perfection. The other is, that they which were the cheefest and most principall seruitors in this conquest, namely Robert Fitzstephans, who first entered into the land, and made waie vnto others, Henrie of monte Moris, Reimond, Iohn de Courcie, and Meilerius, neuer had anie lawfull issue of their bodies begotten. And no maruell: for notwithstanding the happie and fortunat successe of the conquest, the poore cleargie was neuer considered, but were driven to beg; and the cathedrall churches which were richlie inaued with great liuehoods, possessions, and territories, were altogether waited and spoiled. These things a good prince of his honor ought to see to be redressed, and to provide that the cleargie, who are and ought faithfullie to asist and serue him in all weightie causes of counsell and importance, should be releued, and inioie the honor vnto them belonging, and that small portion which was promised vnto them; that God in some things maie be appeased and satisfied for these cruell and bloudie conquests. And moreouer, vnder your patience we saie also, that for the perpetuall memorie of this conquest made by Englishmen, and because in proceffe of time, and course of yeares, there happeneth great change of lords, and manie times the inheritance cometh to such as are furthest remoued in kinred, that therefore there be a yearelie tribute rated and yeelded vnto the king, to be paid in gold or such commodities as that land best yeeldeth: and that this be comprised in a publike instrument, that the whole world maie know how the realme and land of Ireland is subiect to the crowne of England. And forsomuch as things doone, being put and registred in writing, and to be read by an interpreter, are not sensible, nor so well vnderstanded of the hearer, as when he maie or dooth read the same in his owne speech and language; it were verie good (in my opinion) that some learned man, and skilfull in the French toong, should translate the same into French.

tion, grace, and fauour: wherefore whoſoeuer within our iurisdiction will aid and helpe him, our truſtie ſubiect, for the recouerie of his land, let him be aſſured of our fauour and licence in that behalfe.

(1) Derman is in Latine *Dermius*, and *Spozogh* is in Latine *Murchardus*, and are mere Iriſh names: and for a difference giuen commonlie to a child at his birth or chriſtning: *Spac Spozogh* is a word compounded of *Spac* which is a ſonne and of *Spozogh* the proper name of a man, and ſo *Spac Spozogh* is the ſonne of *Spozogh*: the Latine name is *Murchardus*, which is to ſaie *De Murchardus*, or of *Spozogh*: according to the Welſh phraſe in which the word ap is uſed in the ſame ſenſe. And this is common to the Iriſh & Welſh, for they call not anie man by the name of his familie or nation as is uſed in England: but by the name of difference giuen to his father, as in this example: Derman being *Spozogh*'s ſonne is called Derman *Spac Spozogh*. But this name of *Spac Spozogh* is ſince turned and become the name of a familie or nation: for by reaſon that this *Spac Spozogh* was a noble and valiant man about all the reſt of his nation in his daies: therefore his ſequels and poſteritie haue euer ſince and doe yet keepe that name. Some are of the mind that *Spozogh* and *Maurence* are one name: but the Latine differences importeth the contrarie, and the one is a mere Iriſh name, and the other a Welſh, and borrowed out of Wales.

(2) Leinſter in Latine *Lagenia*, is one of the ſixe parts or portions of Ireland (for into ſo manie is the whole land diuided.) It lieth vpon the eaſt ſeas, and extendeth in length from the further point of the territarie of Dublin, which is at the riuer of the Boine by Drogheda in the north, vnto the riuer of the Sorie which ſtretcheth by the citie of Waterford in the ſouth. In it are one and thirtie cantreds otherwiſe named baronies or hundreds. It was ſometimes diuided into ſixe, but now into ſeauen counties, that is, Dublin, Kildare, Catherlogh, Kilkennie, Waterford, Lear, now called the queenes countie, and Offalie called the kings countie. There are alſo in it one archbiſhop; namely Dublin, and ſeure biſhopricks; that is, Kildare, Fernes, Leighlin, and Waterford.

(3) Meeth in Latine *Media* is one of the ſixe portions of Ireland according to the firſt diuiſion. It is the leaſt portion being but of eightene cantreds, but yet the beſt and moſt fertile, and lieth for the moſt part all within the Engliſh pale: and euer ſince the conqueſt of king Henrie the ſecond, hath bene ſubiect and obedient to the Engliſh lawes and gouernement: and becauſe it lieth as it were in the nauill or bowels of the land, it taketh the name accordingly, being called *Media*, which is the middle. In it is but one biſhop and the ſuffragan, and vnder the pſimat or archbiſhop of Ardmach. His ſee is at Trim and his houſe at Arbraghin. There was no prince ſole gouernour of this as was of the other portions: becauſe it was alwaies allowed & allotted to the monarch, whome they called *Maximum regem*, or *Regem Hibernie*, as a ſurplus towards his diet.

(4) Marcus Antonius was a famous and a noble Romane, excelling in wiſdome, knowledge and learning all the Romane princes in his daies; as alſo a verie noble and a valiant man in the fields, hauing attained to great victories and atchieued to many conqueſts. And yet notwithstanding being married to Cleopatra queene of Egypt, he ſo doted vpon her, and was ſo bewitched in loue of her: that leauing all his wonted manners, he conſumed his whole time in her companie, and in the end was more infamous for his vicious, diſordered, and loſe

life, than before commended for his proweſſe and vertue.

(5) Troia called alſo Ilion, was an ancient and a famous citie in Aſia the leſſe, and ſituated in the prouince of Dardania, builded by Troas the ſonne of king Crichonius, who called it after his owne name. It was a citie verie large, ſtrong, and rich, and in thoſe daies thought impregnable; & yet by means that Helena was rauished, the ſame was in the end utterly ſubverted and deſtroyed: the hiſtorie is this. Priamus the king of Troie had by his wiſe Hebe, a ſonne named Paris or Alexander: he dreamed on a time that Mercurius ſhould bring vnto him the three ladies, Venus, Juno, & Minerva, that he ſhould giue his iudgement which was the faireſt and moſt beautifull of them. When Venus, to haue the iudgement for her and in her behalfe, did promiſe him that he ſhould haue for the ſame the faireſt woman in all Greece. Not long after, Paris being in his fathers court in Troie, there were great ſpeeches made of Helena and of her paſſing beautie. She was wiſe to Menelaus king of Sparta in Greece. Where vpon Paris calling to memorie his former dreame, and alſo inflamed with a ferment deſire to ſee ſo faire a ladie, maketh preparation both of ſhips and of men to ſaile into Greece. Holobert, ſome write that he was ſent by the king his father in an ambalſage to king Menelaus: but whether it was ſo or not, certaine it is he went thither, and was receiued with all courteſie, and had his intertainment in king Menelaus houſe. Paris hauing viewed and beheld quene Helena, he was not ſo much warmed before vpon the onelie report of her, as now inflamed with her paſſing forme and beautie; and taking the advantage of king Menelaus abſence, perforce taketh Helena, ſpoileth the kings houſe, and carrieth all aſwaie with him. Menelaus at his returne home, being diſturb'd at ſo ſudden a change and chance, and grieued with ſuch an iniurie, ſendeth his meſſenger firſt to Paris, and then his ambalſadours to king Priamus for reſtitution and amends. But when no intreatie could take place nor requeſts be heard, the Grecians not minding to beare with ſuch an iniurie, doe all conſent to be auenged thereof: and therefore with all their force and power, doe prepare to giue warres vnto Troie, and make thoſe of Agamemnon the kings brother to be their captaine. The warres were cruell and long, and endured for the ſpace of ten yeares, but in the end Troie was taken, ſpoiled, and alſo deſtroyed.

6 Nero, whole name at the firſt was Claudius Domitius, was in his youthfull yeares well diſpoſed to good letters, & giuen to honeſt exerciſes. And Claudius the emperor hauing good liking of him, adopted him to be emperor, and married him vnto his daughter. After the death of Claudius, he being emperor, did gouerne well enough the firſt ſixe yeares: but thenſelſom he waxed ſo vicious, and became ſo horrible in all diſolute wantonnelle, prodigallitie, monſtrous lecherie, couetouſnelle, and all other moſt wicked vices: that he ſeemed to be borne to the deſtruction of the whole world. And in the end he was and became ſo odious to the whole world, that it was decreed by the ſenat, and ſentence giuen, that he ſhould be beaten and whipt to death. Which thing he perceiving, fled out of Rome, and finding none that would kill him, did runne himſelfe thorough with his owne ſword, ſaſeng; ſpoſt wickedlie haue I liued, and moſt ſhamefullie ſhall I die.

7 Domitianus, the brother of Titus, and ſonne of Veſpaſian the emperors, was nothing like vnto them, but altogether reſembled & was of the nature and

and disposition of Nero: for at the first entrie into the empire, he did to his commendation sundrie good acts; but in the end he became so wicked a man and so cruel a tyrant, that he generallie was hated of all men, and abhorred of his owne familie, of whom some of them, to rid the common wealth from so wicked a member, did murder and kill him in his owne chamber.

(8) This Henrie was the sonne of Henrie the third of that name, and emperor of Rome, he was king of the Romans in his fathers time, and emperor next after him. His father died, he being verie young, and left him to the gouernement of the emperesse his mother; who during his minority did rule and gouerne the empire in verie good order: but when he himselfe came to the sole gouernment, great dissensions fell betwene him and his nobles, because he contemned, despised, & oppressed them. He gaue himselfe to wantonnesse and pleasure, and little esteemed the execution of iustice; by means whereof, he had manie enemies, who sought that they might depose him both of empire and of his life. The pope also and he were for the most part in continuall debates and strifes, and who was the chiefe cause why he was so ouerset and hated of his nobles. And being thus ouermatched and in the hatred both of the temporall and ecclesiasticall estates, he for verie sorrow languished and pined awaie, and so died.

(9) Augustus was the sonne of Octavianus a senator in Rome, who married Accia the daughter of Julius Cesar, and was first named Octavianus Julius Cesar. His uncle hauing no son, adopted him, made him his heire, and appointed him to be his successor in the empire. After the death of the said Julius, the state by reason he was so cruellie murdered, was maruelouslie troubled and in great perils. But this Octavianus hauing attained to sit in Julius Cessars seat, did so prudentlie order and direct his gouernment, that he did not onelie reduce and restore the citie and empire of Rome to a quietnesse; but also increased the same with the conquests of sundrie nations. Such also were his excellent vertues in wisdom, magnanimitie, courtesie, affabilitie, & liberalitie, and such others; that all people were not onelie rauished in loue with him, but also came and resorted of all nations vnto Rome, to visi, see, and heare him. And hauing stablished the empire in quietnesse, enlarged it with manie nations, & increased vnto himselfe the vniuersall loue of all people, the Senat gaue him not onelie the name of Augustus, but gaue vnto him also the titles of the highest and greatest honors, and was called *Summus pontifex perpetuus dictator Imperator patrie*, and yielded vnto him the whole power and empire of the sole monarch of the world, now reposing that in him alone, which rested before in the Senat and people of Rome. These be the fruites when a prudent magistrat and a wise gouernour ruleth in loue and gouerneth in wisdom.

(10) Julius Cesar was the sonne of Lucius Julius a noble Romaine, and came and descended of the ancient house of the Julies, who were of the race of Aeneas: he was as noble a man as euer Rome brought forth, and excellent in all respects: most valiant and fortunate in the warres, and verie prudent in the ciuill gouernement, verie well learned, and a notable orator: he deserved well of his common wealth, for he enriched the same with the conquests which he made ouer sundrie nations. But his ambitious mind and immoderate desire to reigne alone, and to be the sole monarch of the world, drowned all the good vertues which were in him, and for which all the nations feared him, the citizens of Rome hated him, and the senators envied him: and in the end a conspiracie was made for the murdering of him,

and by the senators executed. For he on a certeine daie, vpon occasion being come into the Senat house, and mistrusting nothing, although he wanted not sufficient warnings before giuen him, was there wounded in two and thirtie places to death, and so murdered.

The returne of Dermon Mac Morogh
from king Henrie through England, and of
his abode at Bristolow and other
places in Wales.

Chap. 2.

Dermon Mac Morogh, hauing receiued great comfort and courtesie of the king, taketh his leaue, and returneth homeward through England. And albeit he had bene verie honourable and liberalie rewarded of the king: yet he comforted himselfe more with the hope of good successe to come, than with liberalitie receiued. And by his daile toiling he came at length vnto the noble towne of (1) Bristolow, where because ships and botes did daile repaire and come from out of Ireland, and he verie desirous to heare of the state of his people and countrie, did for a time sojorne and make his abode: and whilst he was there he would oftentimes cause the kings letters to be openie red, and did then offer great intertainment, and promised liberal wages to all such as would helpe or serue him; but it serued not. At length Gilbert the sonne of Gilbert, earle of Cheystone (2) came to see him and to talke with him: and they so long had conferred together, that it was agreed and concluded betwene them, that the erle in the next spring then following, should aid and helpe him: and in consideration thereof, the said Dermon should giue him his onelie daughter and heire to wife, together with his whole inheritance, and the succession into his kingdome. These things orderlie concluded, Dermon Mac Morogh being desirous (as all others are) to see his naturall countrie, departed and toke his iourneie towards S. Davids head or stone (3) in south Wales: for from thence is the shortest cut ouer into Ireland, the same being not a daies sailing, and which in a faire daie a man may ken and discern. At this same time Ríce Fitzgriffith was chiefe ruler vnder the king in those parties; and Dauid the second, then bishop of S. Davids, had great pittie and compassion vpon his distresse, miserie, and calamitie.

Dermon thus languishing and lieng for passage, comforted himselfe as well as he might, sometime dawning and as it were breathing the aire of his countrie, which he seemed to breathe and smell, sometimes blessing and beholding his countrie, which in a faire daie a man may ken and descrie. At this time Robert Fitzstephans vnder Ríce had the gouernement, & was constable of Aberteffe the chiefe towne in Caretica (4) and by the treacherie and treason of his owne men was apprehended, taken and deliuered vnto Ríce, and by him was kept in prison three yeares, but now deliuered, vpon condition he should take part and ioune with Cristich against the king. But Robert Fitzstephans, considering with himselfe that on his fathers side (who was a forman) he was the kings naturall subiect, although by his mother the ladie Bessa, daughter to the great Ríce Fitzgriffith, he were cosen germane to the said Fitzgriffith, chose rather to aduenture his life, and to seeke fortune abroad in forren countries, than to hazard his faith, credit, and fame, to the flunder, reproch, and infamie of himselfe, and of his posteritie. At length by the earliest mediation and intercession of Dauid then bishop of S. Davids, and of Maurice Fitz-

Fitzgerald, which were his halfe brothers by the mothers side, he was set free and at libertie: and then it was agreed and concluded betwene them and sparc 20
 202020gh, that he the said sparc 202020gh should giue and grant vnto the said Robert Fitzstephans, and spaurice Fitzgerald, the towne of (5) Wexford, with two (6) cantreds of land adioining, & to their heires in fee for ever: and they in consideration thereof, promised to aid and helpe him to recouer his lands the next spring then following: and to be then with him without all faile if wind and weather so serued. Wexmon being wearie of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to draw home-wards for the recouerie of his owne, and for which he had so long trauelled and sought abroad: he first went to the church of S. Dauids to make his orisons and praiers, and then the weather being faire, and wind good, he aduentureth the seas about the middle of August; and hauing a merrie passage, he forthlie landed in his ingratefull (7) countrie: and with a verie impatient mind, hazarded himselfe among and through the middle of his enemies; and coming safelie to (8) Fernes, he was verie honorable receiued of the cleargie there: who after their abillie did refresh and succour him: but he for a time dissembling his princelie estate, continued as a pilgrim all that winter following among them.

(1) Bisslow in the old time was named Wdora, afterwards Wenta, and now *Brifolium*, and standeth upon the riuer *Hauinum* which is nauigable, & flieth into *Senerne* or the *Senerne* seas: in it there are two rodes, the one named *Kingrode*, five miles distant from Bisslow, in which the ships doe ride. The other is named *Wongrode*, a place where the ships lie bedded, and this is three miles from Bisslow. It standeth upon the borders or confines of the prouince of *Glocestershire* and *Summerfetshire*: some would haue it to be in the marches and vnder the principallitie, but in the old times it was parcel of the *valleie of Bath*, which was the metropole of *Summerfetshire*. It is verie old, ancient and honorable, and sometimes named but a towne: but since for desert and other good considerations, honoured with the name and title of a citie, as also is made a seuerall prouince or countie of it selfe, being distinct from all others; hauing a maior and aldermen according to the ancient times, as also two shiriffes according to the latter grants, by whome the same is directed and gouerned. It is the chiefest emporium in that part of England, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants of great wealth, aduentures, and traffikes with all nations: great dealings they haue with the *Camber* people and the *Irish* nation, the one of them fast bordering vpon them, and the other by reason of the neerenesse of the seas, and pleasantnesse of the riuer, dailye resorting by water to and from them.

(2) Chepstone is a market towne in *Wales*, in that prouince named in old time *Wenta*, being now vnder the principallitie of *Wales*. In times past it was named *Strigulia*, wherof *Richard Strangbow* being earle he took his name, being called *Camer Strigulensis*.

(3) S. Dauids head or stone is the promontorie in west *Wales*, which lieth and reacheth furthest into the seas towards *Ireland*: and the same being a verie high hill, a man shall the more easilie discern in a faire daie the countrie of *Wexford*: for that is the nearest part of *Ireland* vnto that part of *Wales*. Not farre from this promontorie or point is the cathedrall church of *Saint Dauids*, which is the see of the bishop there: it was and is called *Penenia*, and was in times past an archbishoplike. But as it is written

in the annales of the said church, that in the time of *Richard Carew* and two of his predecessors bishops there, they were by the kings commandement made to yeld, and submit themselves vnto the metropolitane see of *Canturburie*.

(4) *Aberteife* is an old ancient towne standing vpon the mouth of the riuer of *Teife*, and thereof it taketh his name, that is to saie the mouth of *Teife*, but now it is called *Cardigan*. The countrie about it was in times past named *Caretica*, but now *Cardiganshire*, so *Aberteife* is *Cardigan* towne, and *Caretica* *Cardiganshire*.

(5) *Wexford* in Latine named *Guefordia*, is next after *Dublin* the chiefest towne in *Leinster*: it lieth full vpon the seas, but the haven is a barred haven and dangerous: from it is the shortest cut out of *Ireland* into *England*, if you doe touch and take land either at *Saint Dauids* or at *Wylford*.

(6) A cantred (as *Giraldus* saith) is a word compounded of the *British* and of the *Irish* tongues, and containeth so much ground as wherein are one hundred villages: which in *England* is termed a hundred. Men of later time to declare the same more plainelie, doe saie that it contained thirtie villages, & euerie village contained eight plough lands. Wher saie that a cantred containeth twentie townes, and euerie towne hath eight plough lands arable, besides sufficient pasture in euerie for three hundred kine, and none to annoie another; and euerie plough land containeth six score acres of land *Irish*, and euerie *Irish* acre farre exceedeth the content of the common acre.

(7) The place where *Dermon* landed is named *Glasse caerge*, it is a creeke or a baie lieng vpon the open seas, and in the countie of *Wexford*, thence there was builded a monastirie which was and is dissolved.

(8) *Fernes* is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, whose diocesse is the countie of *Wexford*, it lieth nere in the middle of the prouince of *Leinster*, and was sometimes a church well adorned and maintained, but now in great ruine and decaye, the bishop & chapter not remaining there at all. There is also a strong fort of the princes, wherein sometimes was kept a garrison at the princes charges, but now onelie a constable is placed therein, and he hath the sole charge thereof.

The going ouer and landing of *Robert Fitzstephans* and of his companie in *Ireland*, and of the winning of the towne of *Wexford*,

Cap. 3.

In the meane time *Robert Fitzstephans*, not vnmindfull nor careless of his word and promise, prepareth and prouideth all things in a readinesse, and being accompanied with thirtie gentlemen of seruice of his owne kinfolks & certaine armed men, and about three hundred of archers and footmen, which were all of the best chosen and piket men in *Wales*, they all ship and imbarke themselves in three sundrie barkes, and sailing towards *Ireland*, they land about the callends of Maie at the (1) *Banne*. When was the old prophesie of *Merlin* fulfilled, which was, that A (2) knight biparted should first enter with force in arms & breake the bounds of *Ireland*. If you will vnderstand the mysterie herof, you must haue respect to his parents, for his father was a Norman and an Englishman, his mother the noble ladie *Mesta* was a *Camber* or a *Britaine*, in his companie also was *Heruete* of *Mont spaurice*, a man infortunat, en-armed,

armed, and without all furniture: but he travelling in the behalfe of the earle Richard, to whome he was uncle, was rather a (3) spie than a souldier. On the next daie following Maurice of Denbighast a (4) lustie and a hardie man, and bozne about Milford in west Wales, he with ten gentlemen of service, and a good number of archers imbarke themselves in two ships, and arrive also at the Banne. These men thus landed at the Banne, and not standing well assured of their safetie, by reason their coming was blown abroad through the whole countrie, they with all hast sent messengers to Dermot, aduertising him of their coming. Whereupon diuerse of that countrie, who dwelling upon the sea coasts, and who when fortune frowned had and did thinke awaye from Dermot, now perceluing that the fauored him againe, returned and saluoned upon him; according to the saying of the poet in these words:

As fortune so the faith of man doth stand or fall.

Maurice as he heard of their landing and coming, sent his bafe son Donold, a valiant gentleman vnto them with five hundred men: and verie shortly after he himselte also followed with great toie and gladnesse. And then when they had renewed their former covenants and leagues, and had sworn each one to the other, to obserue the same and to keepe faith: then, though they were people of contrarie dispositions, yet now being good friends and all of one mind, they ioine their forces together, and with one consent do march towards the towne of Waterford, which is about twelue miles distant from the Banne. When they of the towne heard thereof, they being a fierce and vnrulie people, but yet much trusting to their wanted fortune, came forth about two thousand of them, and were determined to wage and giue battell. But when they saw their aduersaries armie to be better set in order than in times past, and that the hoisemen were well armed with armour and shield shining bright: then upon new chances & changes taking new counsels, they set on fire and burned their suburbs, and retired into the towne.

Fitzstephans minding and preparing to giue the assault, fillth the ditches with armed men, and setteth his archers to marke and watch well the turrets of the wals: which things done, he with great shottes and force giueth the assault. The towneismen within being reade to stand at defense, cast ouer the wals great peces of timber & stones, and by that meanes hurting manie, made the rest to giue ouer and retire. Among whom a lustie yong gentleman named Robert Barrie, being hot and of a lustie courage, and nothing afraid of death, so he might achue vnto honour, giueth the first aduenture to scale the wals: but he was striken with a great stone vpon the headpiece, wherewith he fell headlong downe into the ditch and escaped verie hardlie, for with much ado did his fellows draine & pull him out of the place. About sixtē peares after, all his great teeth with the force and violence of this stroke fell out; and that which is verie strange, new teeth grew vp in their places. Upon this repulse they all retired and withdrew themselves from the wals, & assembled themselves vpon the sea strands, where forthwith they set on fire all such ships and vessels as they could there find. Among whom was one merchant ship lately come out of England laden with wines and come, which there laie then at anchor, and a compaignie of these lustie yong men hauing gotten botes for the purpose, would haue taken hir: which the mariners perceluing, suddenly cut their cables and hoisted vp their sailes, & the wind being weesterlie and blowing a good gale, they recovered the seas. These yong men still following them, had almost lost all and

marred the market: for if others their fellows had not made good thist and rowed a good pace after them they would scarce haue recovered the land againe. Thus fortune, which is onlie constant in inconsistency, seemed to haue forsaken Maurice and Fitzstephans, and to haue left them destitute of all hope and comfort: neuertheless, on the next morow hauing heard diuine service through the whole campe, they determine with better aduise and circumspection to giue a new assault, & with lustie courages drew to the wals. The towneismen within seeing this, began to distrust themselves, & to consider how most vnnaturallie and vnrulie they had rebelled against their prince & soueraigne: wherupon being better aduised, they send messengers to him to intreat for peace. At length by the earnest intercession and mediation of two bishops, and certeine good and peaceable men, which were within the towne, peace was granted; and foure of the best & chiefe men within the towne were deliuered and giuen for pledges and hostages, for the true keeping of the peace and their fidelitie. Maurice, to gratifie his men in these his first successes, and to acquit the first aduenturers, did according to his former promise and covenant giue vnto Robert Fitzstephans and Maurice Fitzgerald the towne of Waterford, and the territories thereunto adjoining and appertaining, and vnto Ieremie of Pont Maurice he gaue in fee two cantreds, lieng on the sea side betwixt Waterford and Waterford.

(1) The Banne is a little creeke lieng in the countie of Waterford, neere to Fisher a fether towne, which is belonging to the bishop of that diocese, the open seas being on the east and not farre from the haue mouth of Waterford on the south: and as it should seeme, Fitzstephans and his companie mistooke the place or were driuen in there, the same being verie vnapt for a harborow: but the same being the place of the first receipt of Englishmen, there were certeine monuments made in memorie thereof, and were named the Banna & the Boenne, which were the names (as the common fame is) of the two greatest ships in which the Englishmen there arrived.

(2) A knight biparted. The prophesie was not onelie verified in respect of the parents of Robert Fitzstephans, the one being a Norman Baron, and the other a Camber: but also in respect of his armes and ensigne which were biparted being of two sundrie changes, nammelie partie per pale gules, and ermine changes, a saltier counterchanged. For commonlie all prophesies haue their allusions vnto armes, and by them they are discouered, though at the first not so appearing before the enent thereof.

(3) Gentlemen. The Latine word is *Milites*, which in the now common speeches is termed knights, a name of worship and honour: but the word it selfe importeth and meaneth men expert and skillfull to serue in the wars, whether it be on foot or horsebacke. In times past when men ruled by the sword, then such as were valiant and of good experience grew in to credit and estimation; and the people did make choise of such to gouerne, rule, and defend them, and who for their excellent vertues were called *Nobles*, which in English is gentlemen. And then men being ambitious of honour, did contend who might best excell in feats of prowesse and chualtrie: some deliting to excell in the service on foot: and because they blessed chiefe the target and shield, they took their name thereof, & were called *Scutiferi*. Some practised chiefe the seruice on horsebacke, and they (according to the manner of their seruice) were named *Equites*: but both the one and the other were in proceesse of time called *Armigeri*, in English esquires: and this is taken for a degree somewhat aboue the estate of a one.

lie gentleman. And for so much as service in the fields did carie a waie with it the greatest honor and credit, and princes willing & desirous to incourage gentlemen to excell that waie and in that kind of service, they deuised a third degree of honour named knighthood. And this, as it excelleth the others before and not to be giuen but for great desert: so to increase the credit and estimation thereof, it was not to be giuen but with great solemnities and ceremonies; and the person so to be honored, was to be adorned with such ornaments as do speciallie apperteine to the furniture of such service, as namelie a sword, a target, a helme, a paire of spurres, and such like: and they which were thus aduanced were named *Milites* or knights, and thus the name of service was turned to the name of woorthip: yea this degree did grow and wax to be of such credit, honor and estimation; that kings and princes were and would be verie circumspect and aduised, before they would dub or promote anie man to this estate. Wherefore considering the estate, nature & woorthip of a knight, and seeing also the course of this historie, it cannot be intended that all they which went ouer and serued in this conquest, though they were named *Milites*, that therefore they should be counted & taken for knights of woorthip and high calling: but that they were such as were expert and skilfull to serue in warres according to the nature of the word *Miles*. Wherefore I haue and do English the word *Miles* in this historie a gentleman of service.

(4) A pie, not to watch the doings of his countrymen, whereby to take them in a trip, but to note, marke and consider the nature, maner, and disposition of the countrie and people: whereby to aduertise the earle how he should provide and order his doings against his coming ouer into the land.

(5) Maurice of Bendalgaist was doubtlesse a valiant gentleman, and borne and bred in west Wales, in or about the prouince of Denbroke. He is not named nor mentioned in some books of this historie; but I finding in such exemplars as I haue of best credit, do thinke I should haue done wrong to haue omitted him. There are yet of his race, posteritie and name, remaining at these daies in the countie of Merford, and elsewhere.

Of the ouerthrow giuen in Ossorie,
and of the submission of the
king thereof.

Chap. 4.

These things thus done and ended as they would themselves, they increase their armie with the townesmen of Merford, and being then about three thousand men, they march towards (1) Ossorie, whereof Donald was then the prince, & who of all the rebels was the most mortall enimie which Mac Spozogh had. For on a time he having the said Dermons eldest son in his ward and handfast, was in gealoulie of him, and mistrusted him with his wife: whereupon he did not onlie shut him vp in a closer prison; but also to be auenged thereof, and of other supposed iniuries, putteth out both of his (2) eyes. First then Dermon and his companie enter into Ossorie, but they durst not march or aduenture anie further than to the midst of the countrie, because the whole countrie else was full of woods, streits, passes, and bogs, and no waie at all for men to trauell. But when they met and encountered with the Ossorians, they found no cowardes nor daffards, but valiant men, and who stood well to the defense of their countrie, and manfullie resisted their enimies. For they trusted so much to

their wanted god fortune and successe in such like affaires, that they thronke not a whit from them, but droue them perforce out of the bogs and woods, and followed them into the champaine countrie.

Robert Fitzstephens being in the plaine and open fields with his hoisemen, and seeing that the Ossorians being there he had the aduantage of them, giueth most sterclie the onset vpon them, and slue a great number of them; and such as strayed and were scattered abrode, they either slue them or ouerthrew them: and such as were ouerthrotene, the footmen with their Galloglasses axes did cut off their heads. And thus hauing gotten the victorie, they gathered vp and brought before Dermon Mac Spozogh three hundred of their enimies heads, which they laid & put at his feet; who turning euerie of them one by one to know them, did then for toy hold vp both his hands, and with a loud voice thanked God most highlie. Among these there was the head of one, whom expectallie and aboue all the rest he mortallie hated. And he taking vp that by the heare and eares, with his teeth most horrible and cruellie bit a waie his nose and lips.

After this, they made a rode through the whole countrie, & marched almost to the uttermost parts, and still as they passed they murdered the people, spoiled, burned, and wasted the whole countrie. And thereupon the prince of Ossorie by the aduise of his friends, maketh sute and intreateth for peace: which obtained (although in verie deed it was but a coloured and a dissembled peace on both sides) they put in their hostages, made fealtie, and were sworn to be faithfull and true to Mac Spozogh, as vnto their lawfull and true lord. In these seruices, as in all other, Robert of Barrie, and Mellertus had the picke and praise, and shewed themselves of all others the most valiant. Both these yong gentlemen were nephues to Fitzstephens (4) the one being his brothers sonne, and the other his sisters sonne. They both were of like valiantnesse, but of sundrie dispositions and natures. For Mellertus being ambitious and desirous of honour, referred all his doings to that end; and whatsoeuer he attempted, was to aduance his fame and credit, making more account to be reported and haue the name of a valiant man, than to be so in deed. The other being of a certaine naturall disposition both noble and valiant, was neither a greedy seeker of laud and praise, nor an ambitious crauer of fame and honour; but being alwaies among the best, did rather seeke and trauell to the best, than to be onelie counted the best.

Besides, he was naturallie indued with such a maidenlie shamefastnesse, and no bragger nor boaster, would neither glosse his doings, nor yet like well of anie others which would so do of him. By means whereof it came to passe, that the lesse ambitious and desirous he was of honour, the more the same followed him: for glorie and honour follow alwaies vertue, as the shadowe the bodie, following them who do most seeke for hir, & following them who do lest regard hir. And manie men are the more liked of manie, because they seeme not to like of anie: and praise, fame, and honour most commonlie, the lesse it is esteemed, the more soner it is had & gotten. It fortuned on a time that the armie thus being in Ossorie, they did on a night incampe themselves about an old castell. These two gentlemen as they were euer wont, laie together, and suddenly there was a great noise, as it were of an infinit number of men, which seemed to breake in and rush in among them, with great force and a rage, destroying all that euer was, and making a great noise with clashing of their harnesse, and striking of their bills together, and therewithall such a noise and a thowt, as though hea-

men and earth would haue come together.

These kind of phantasmes and illusions doe often times happen in Ireland, especiallie when there be a mie hostings. With this noise the more part of the armie was so afraid and dismayd, that for the most part they all fled, some into the woods, and some into the bogs, euerie one seeking a place where to hide and succour himselfe. But these two onelie tartens behind, taught to their weapons, and forthwith full boldlie ran to Fitzstephans tents, and called againe together all such as were thus scattered, and encouraged them to take their weapons, and to stand to defence. Robert of Barrie in all his hūlie burlie, standing alone by himselfe musing, except a man or two of his owne men about him, did aboue all others not without anie great admiration of manie, and to the great griefe of such as enuied him, best acquit himselfe. For among other good gifts which were in him, this was speciallie reported of him; that no feare, or force, no sudden mishap or misadventure whatsoeuer, could at anie time make him afraid or discomfited, and to die atwaie. For howsoeuer things fell out and happened, he was alwaies at hand, and in a readines with his weapons to the fight. And such a one as is alwaies ready to abide whatsoeuer shall happen, and to preuent what mischeifs maie insue, is by all mens iudgements counted the best and ballantest man. This man was he, who in this Irish warres was the first who either was stricken or hurt. As concerning the foresaid phantasmie, this one thing is much noted of it; that in the morning following, when all things were pacified and quieted, the grasse and weeds which the night before stood there vpright and of a great height, did now in the morrow lie downe flat vpon the ground, as though the same had bin troden with great multitude of people, and yet was it most certaine that none had bene there at all.

(1) There be two *Mozies*, the one named the *upper Mozie*, which is of the ancient inheritance of the *Spacguilfathikes*, and who are the barons thereof; and this lieth in the diocesse of *Leighling*: the other lieth on the north of *Dymond*, and is vnder the iurisdiction of the earle of *Dymond*, who is also the earle thereof, being named earle of *Dymond* and *Mozie*. It is a diocesse of it selfe, and the bishop thereof is named the bishop of *Mozie*, whose see and house is at *Balkenne*. It is parcell of the prouince of *Leinster* and vnder the obissance then of *Dermot* *Spac* *Porogh*.

(2) This was a courteous kind of punishing, for comonlie such is the reuenging nature of the meere Irishman, that albeit he can do late neuer so manie plagues and punishments vpon his enimie: yet is he neuer satisfied, vntill he haue also his life, yea and manie not therewith contented, but will bitter their twicked nature euen vpon the dead carcase, as dooth appeare in this chapter of the same *Spac* *Porogh*, who finding one of his enimies heads, was not satisfied, vntill in most cruell maner he did with his teeth bite awaie his nose and his lips.

(3) There are in Ireland three sort of degrees of soldiers: the first is the *housleman*, who commonlie is a gentleman bozne, and he is armed with such armor as the seruice of that countrie requireth: the second degree is the *bernaugh*, & he also is a gentleman or a freholder bozne, but not of that abilitie to mainteine a house with his furniture, and therefore he is a light souldier on foot: his armor is both light and slender, being a skull, a left gantlet or a target, a sword and sheine, and three or foure darts: the third degree is the *Calloglasse*, who was first brought in to this land by the Englishmen, and thereof taketh his name. For *Calloglas* is to saie, an English peo-

man or seruant; his armor is a skull, a sacke, an habergeon or shirt of male, a sword and a sparre, other wise named a *Calloglasse* or *balbert*, & this man is counted the best souldier on foot, and the strength of the battell. These in all hostings haue attending vpon them a number of boies and *bernes*, and who doe spoile and kill all such as be ouerthrowne and hurt in the fields.

The conspiracie of *Rothorike* monarch of Ireland, and of the residue of the princes against *Mac* *Morough* and *Fitzstephans*.

Chap. 5.

In the meane time the wheele of fortune is turned vpride downe, and they which before seemed to stand aloft, are now afraid of sliding; and they which were on high, in perill now to fall. For as soone as it was noised through the whole land of the good successe of *Dermot*, and of the comming in of strangers into the land, and whereof they were much afraid: *Rothorike* prince of (1) *Conagh*, and (2) monarch of the whole land, considering how of small things great do grow; and considering that by the comming in of strangers, the whole land was in some perill; sendeth abroad his messengers, and summoneth a parlement of the whole land: who being assembled, and the matter at full debated, they do with one voice and consent conclude and determine to make open warres, and to giue the battell vnto *Spac* *Porogh*. And forthwith euerie man hauing made ready both men and armor to his bittermost power, do ioine all their forces and strengths together, and with maine and strength do invade the countrie of *Dkensile* in *Leinster*.

Dermot *Spac* *Porogh* in this distresse was somewhat disquieted, and in a great perplexitie; partly because some of his (but glossing) friends distrusting the sequele, did thinke from him, & hid themselves: some of them most traitorouslie, contrarie to their oath and promise, were fled to his enimies: and so in this his distresse he had verie few friends, sauing onlie *Robert* *Fitzstephans* and the Englishmen with him. He therefore with such compante as he had, went vnto a certeine place not farre from *fernes*, which was compassed and intironed round about with great thicke woods, high stikle hilles, and with bogs and waters; a place so strong of it selfe, as it was in a maner inaccessible, and not to be entred into. And as soone as they were entred into the same, they forthwith by the aduise of *Fitzstephans* (3) did fell downe trees, plashed the wood, cast great trenches and ditches round about, and made it so strict, narrow, crooked, and strong, that there was no passage nor entrie for the enimie: and yet by their art and industrie it was made much more strong.

(1) *Conagh*, in Latine *Conacia*, is one of the five portions of the land, according to the ancient diuision. In it are thirtie cantreds or baronies; and before and vntill the conquest they were vnder the government of the sept of the *Donnors*, the eldest man of which sept by the Irish law was ouer the prince: but at the conquest it was giuen to certeine noble men of England, & by certeine descents it came to *Walter* de *Burgo*, who was lord of that whole prouince and earle of *Molster*. From these *Burghs* descend the *Burghs* now being in *Conagh*, they being of a base line, and first were put onlie in trust to keepe that countrie to the vse of their lords, who then dwelled and remained in England. This countrie lieth betwene *Ulster* in the north, *Down* in the

the south, and the seas in the west. The charest and onelic merchant towne of empoyment thereof is Galloswaie.

(2) There was alwaies one principall gouernoz among the Irish, whom they named a monarch; and he was commonlie either of the Spac Carthies in Spounster, or of the Poroghs in Leinster, or of the Connor in Connagh, as this Rotherike was. He was elected & chosen by the common consent of all the nobilitie of the land: & being once chosen, all they did homage and fealtie vnto him. The prouince of Speth, which was the least of the five seuerall portions, was reserved alwaies vnto him for his diet. For though the Dinolaghins did dwell in Speth, and were great inheritors or possessors there, yet they were not counted for princes as the others were. This monarch did gouerne the whole land vniuersally, & all the princes were directed by him: in him it laie whether it should be peace or warre; and what he commanded was alwaies done.

(3) The manner of the Irishie is to keepe them selves from force of the enemies, or in the bogs, or in the woods: the one of his nature is so strong as no horseman is to aduenture into the same; the other with industrie they make strong, by felling of trees & plashing of the woods; and by these means the horsemen (in whom is all the strength of their warres) can haue no passage nor entrie to the enemy, but must either retire, or go on foot, or seeke some other waie. If they will and must needs passe that waie, they must of necessitie go on foot, and then they are too weake and easilie to be overcome by the Irishes, whose seruice is onelic on foot: therefore they do chesellie keepe themselves in such places, as where they can take the aduantage of others, and not others of them.

The description of Dermon Mac Morogh, and of the message of Rotherike O Connor sent vnto him for peace.

Cap. 6.

Dermon Mac Morogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie, a balliant and a bold warrior in his nation: and by reason of his continuall halloving and crieng his voice was hoarse: he rather chose and desired to be feared than to be loued: a great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great aduancer of the poore and weake. To his owne people he was rough and greuous, and hatefull vnto strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him. Rotherike minding to attempt anie waie what soeuer, rather than to aduenture and wage the battell, sendeth first his messengers with great presents vnto Fitzstephans, to perswade and intreat him: that for so much as he made no challenge nor title to the land, that he would quiettie, and in peace returne home againe into his owne countrie, but it auailed not. When they went vnto Spac Morogh himselfe, & perswaded him to take part with Rotherike, and to ioine both their forces and armies in one, and then with might and maine to giue the onset vpon the strangers, and so betterlie to destroye them. And in this doing, he should haue Rotherike to his good friend, and all Leinster in rest and quietnesse: manie reasons also they alledged concerning their countrie and nation; but all was to no purpose.

The speeches and oration which Rotherike O Connor made vnto his foldiers.

Chap. 7.

Rotherike O Connor, seeing that by these his deuises and practises he could do no good at all, and thinking that forsomuch as he could not auaile with words, he with force and armes, as his last practise and helpe, prepareth his armes, and maketh for the battell; and assembling his people together, maketh vnto them these speeches. The right noble and balliant defenders of your countrie and libertie, let vs consider with what people, and for what causes we are now to fight and wage the battell. That enemy of his owne countrie, that tyrant ouer his owne people, and an open enemy vnto all men, and who sometimes was an exiled man; see how he being inuironed with the force of strangers, is now returned, & mindeth the utter destruction of vs all, and of this his nation. He enuieing the safetie of his countrie and countrey, hath procured and brought in a strange nation vpon vs, that by the helpe of a hatefull people he might satisfie and more effectually accomplish his malice, which otherwise by no means he could haue brought to passe. He then being an enemy, hath brought in that enemy which hath bene euer hatefull both vnto him, and vnto vs; and who are most greedie to haue the soueraintie & dominion ouer vs all, protesting and openly affirming, that by a certaine fatall destiny they are to be rulers ouer this land; yea, & as far hath he shed out his venom, and almost euery man is so inuenedomed therewith, that now no fauour nor mercie is to be shewed, & cruell beast, yea more cruell than euer was beast! for to satisfie his insatiable malice, and to be auenged with the bloodshedding of his owne people, he spareth neither himselfe, nor his countrie, nor sex. This is he who is a most cruell tyrant ouer his owne people: this is he who with the force and helpe of strangers bleseth all force and crueltie against all men. He deserueth well therefore to be hated of all, which seeketh to be an enemy vnto all. Take therefore (ye worthie citizens) well to your selues; I saie looke and consider well how by these meanes, I meane by ciuill discord, all realmes & nations haue for the most part bene ouerthrowen & banquished. (1) Julius Cesar minding to inuade Britaine had the repulse twice, & was driven out by the Britons. But when Ambrogius fell at variance with the king, he then to be reuenged, sent againe for Julius, who therupon returned and conquered the land. (2) The same Julius also conquered all the west parts of the world, but when he waxed & became ambitious, & would be a sole monarch, & haue the whole gouernement in himselfe, then discord was raised, & debate was rise, & by that meanes all Italie was filled with murders and slaughters. (3) The Britons being at discord with their king, procured Curmundus, who then was a terror to all the ocean Isles, that he with the Saxons should pursue and make wars vpon their king, who so did: but in the end to their owne confusion and destruction. Likewise not long after (4) Kemberus the French king, being an enemy to his owne people, and at discord with them, he procured the said Curmundus to aid and helpe him to subdue his people, who so did: but thereof he had but bad successe. Wherefore let vs with one mind like to these Frenchmen stand spurtie to the defense of our countrie, and courageously giue the onset vpon our enemies. And whiles these strangers be but few in number, let vs lustilie issue out vpon them: for fire whiles it is but in sparkles is soon covered, but when

when it is in great flames, it is the harder to be quenched. It is god therefore to meet with things at the beginning, and to prevent sickness at the first growing: for diseases by long continuance hauing taken deepe root, are hardlie to be cured. We therefore, who are to defend our countrie and libertie, and to leaue to our posteritie an immortall fame: let vs ballantie, and with a god courage aduenture and giue the onset, that the ouerthrow of a few may be a terro; vnto manie; and that by this example all other foren nations may be afraid to aduenture the like attempt.

(1) Julius Cesar hauing receiued two repulses, retired & toke shipping, being in an bitter despaire & not minding to returne anie more. Whereupon Calpibelan then king of the land called & assembled all his nobles to London, where for ioie he kept a great and a solemne feast, and at the same were vied all such games and pastimes, as in those daies were most accustomed. And at a wrestling game then it chanced two yong gentlemen, the one being nephew to the king, and the other cousin to the erle of London (Kent) to fall at variance, & in the end the kings nephew was slaine. The king much grieued therewith sent for the earle, whose name was Androgeus: and because he would not come vnto him he made wars vpon him. The earle considering in what distresse he was, and how farre vnable to incounter the power and withstand the displeasure of the king, sendeth his messenger with his letters vnto Julius Cesar, and besought him most earnestlie to returne with his armie, and he would aid and helpe him against the king with all the power he had. Julius Cesar glad of these tidings returneth with all speed, and in the end hath the victorie: and thus by meanes of debate and diuision the relme, which otherwile was thought to be impregnable, was subuerted and made tributarie.

(2) Julius Cesar hauing happie and fortunate successe in all his affaires, grew into such a liking of himselfe, that he would needs be the sole monarch and emperoz ouer the whole world, taking foule euill that according to the ancient gouernement of the Romans anie one should be ioined with him: and ambitioultie seeking the same, he became dreadfull to the people, lothsome to his friends, and in the displeasure of the senat: who maligning at his aspiring and mistrusting the sequels thereof, conspired his death, and in the end he comming into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, was murdered and slaine.

(3) At this time Careticus was king and ruled ouer Britaine, now named England, who was so vicious a man in all respects, that he became hateful both to God and man: and his subiects not abiding his tyrannie, nor boking his wickednesse, fell at diuision with him. Whereupon Gurmundus then king of Ireland was procured (some saie by the Britons and some saie by the Sarons) who being entered into the land, and seeking by all the meanes they could to be the sole lords of the land, to inuade the land, which he did, and by the helpe of the Sarons droue the king out of his realme into Wales. And the Sarons hauing thus their toils droue also all the Britons out, who from thenceforth hauing lost the land of Britaine, did inhabit themselves in Wales, Conestball, and elsewhere, where they might haue refuge and succour. And thus though they were reuenged of their king, yet they themselves in the end felt the smart thereof: for they were all destroyed or banished: such are the fruits of dissention and debate.

(4) This Nembertus was not king of France, but as (Gaufred saith) was nephew to the king: and

the land being then in great troubles, this Nembert made title vnto it, and seeking by all the meanes and waies he could how to compasse the same, procured Gurmundus to helpe and aid him, promising him great rewards. Whereupon Gurmundus passed ouer into France, where he had but an euill successe: for there was he slaine, Nembert ouerthrowne and the French nation preuailed. And hereupon Rothorike taketh an occasion to incourage his people to stand to their tackle, and ballantie to withstand Mac Sporogh, who as Nembert had procured in Gurmundus; so had he flocked in Englishment to overrun his countrie.

The oration and speeches of Mac Mo- rog to his souldiors and people.

Cap. 8.

Mac Sporogh beheld his men, & percelating them to be somewhat dismayed and out of heart, framed his speech to recomfort them, and thus saith vnto them. Ye men of Leinster, truth and kindred in all aduentures hath hitherto ioined vs in one fellowship: therefore let vs now plucke vp our hearts and like men stand to our defense. For why, that wicked and ambitious man Rothorike, the author of all wickednesse & mischief, who desirous to haue the sole souereignetie and dominion doth now determine (which God forbid) either to drowe vs cleane out of our countrie, or bitterlie to destroye vs: and marke you now how he lifteth by his head and looketh aloft. He is so proud and glorieth so much in his great multitude, that by ambition and pride he measureth & valueth his force and strength: but yet (for all that) manie times a small number being valiant and well appointed are better and haue preuailed against great troops, being but sluggards and vnarmed. If he make challenge and pretend title to Leinster, because the same sometimes hath bene tributarie to some one king of Conagh, then by the same reason (1) we also maie demand and challenge all Conagh: for both thereof and of all Ireland our ancestors haue bene the sole gouernors & monarchs. But to the purpose and to speake plainelie, he seeketh not to rule and to reigne as a monarch, but to surpe and destroye as a tyrant, to drowe vs out of our countrie, to succed into euerie mans right & inheritance; and so alone to rule the roff, and to be master ouer all.

Anie there are which do brag of their great multitudes, and put their trust therein: but let them be well assured that we Leinster men though we be but few in number; yet we neuer were nor yet are afraid to incounter euen with the best & proudest. For why, victorie is not gotten, neither doth it stand alwaies in the great multitude of people, but in vertue and balliantnesse, in strength and courage. We on our sides against pride, haue humilitie: against wrongs, equitie: against arrogancie, modestie: and against intemperance, discretion & moderation: and these vertues are to fight for vs. When do not alwaies attaine vnto victorie by great troops and multitudes of people, but by vertues. The lawes of all nations do grant and allow to resist and withstand force and iniurie with force and strength: it is a fauourable cause to fight for our countrie, and to defend our patrimonie. And forsomuch as they contend for the gaine, but we to eschew the losse; let vs be of a god courage: we stand vpon a god ground, and our feat is naturallie vertie strong of it selfe, as also by our industrie made more strong: but by reason of the streitnesse thereof, the greater the companie is therein, the more comberous and troublesome it will be:

and

and yet to win the victorie, a small companie being valiant, courageous, and of a good agreement shall serue and be sufficient.

(1) There be (as is said) five portions of Ireland, and euerie of them (except spesh which was reserved to the monarch for the time being for his diet) had their particular princes, & none of these did hold anie one of the other: but of some one of them chosse was made by the whole estates of the land to be the monarch; and he for the time being did take and receiue homage and fealtie of all the others, not in respect that he was a particular prince, but because he was the monarch. And this Mac Morogh allegeth for himselfe, denieng that he held anie of his lands of the king of Connagh other wise than in respect that he was the monarch.

The oration of Robert Fitzstephans
made vnto his companions and souldiors.

Chap. 9.

When Dermot Mac Morogh had ended his speech, Robert Fitzstephans calleth his companie together, & thus he speaketh vnto them. Ye lustie yong men and my companions in warres, which haue abiden with me in manie perils; & yet still of adble minds & valiant courages: if we now consider with our selues, what we are, vnder what capteine, and wherefore we do aduenture and attempt these great enterprises, no doubt we shall excell in our wanted valiantnesse, and good fortune shall be on our side. We first came and descended from the (1) Troians, and since are of the French blond and race: of the one we haue these our noble and valiant minds, and of the other the vse and experience in feats of armes: wherefore being thus descended of noble progenie by two manner of waies and in two respects; as we be now well armed and appointed, so let vs also be of valiant minds and lustie courages: and then no doubt this rascall and naked people shall neuer be able to resist no; with stand vs.

Besides you see and knowe how that at home, partly by the subtil and craftie dealings of our owne coulines and kinsmen, and partly by the secret malice and deuises of our familiars and acquaintances, we are bereft & spoiled both of our countrie and patrimonie. And now we are come hither, not as greedy crauers for large stipends, no; yet as couetous prouers for gaine and lucre: but onlie in respect and consideration to haue and inioie the lands & townes to vs, and to our heires after vs, offered and promised. We are not come hither like pirats or thieues to rob and spolie, but as faithfull friends, to recouer and to restore this noble and liberall gentleman to that his patrimonie, whereof he is spoiled and dispossessed. He it is that hath allured and flocked vs hither; he it is that loueth our nation: and he it is who purposeth to plant and settle vs and our heires in this Ile. And peraduenture by these meanes the whole land, which is now diuided into five prouinces or portions, may be deduced and brought into one, and the same in time be whole vnto vs and our heires: if that by our valiantnesse and prouesse the victorie be gotten, and Mac Morogh by our seruice, meanes, and industrie be restored, and then the whole dominion to vs and to our heires for euer to be reserved.

How great were then our hono; & glozie! yea so great, that with the perils of our bodies, losse of our liues, and the dangers of death, it is to be wished for, sought, & aduentured. For why should we be afraid? and what is death I praye you? As it anie other than

a short delaie or distance of time, & as it were a short sleepe betwene this transitorie life and the life eternall to come? What is death (I saie) but a short passage from vaine and transitorie things to perpetuall and euerslasting ioies? And certeine it is we must all once die: for it is that inenitable destinie, which is common to all men, and can be eschewed of no man: for we are idle, and do nothing worthie of perpetuall fame and memorie; or we are well occupied, whereof insatieth praise and hono;: yet die shall we. When the matter being so, let them be affraid of death, who when they die, all things die with them: but let not them thinke no; be dismayed, whose vertue and fame shall neuer die but liue for euer. Wherefore ye worthie men, who are enoblished for your valiantnes and famous for your vertues, let vs with bold minds and good courages giue the onset vpon our enemies, that in vs our noble race & progenie be not stained, but that either by a glorious victorie, or a famous death, we do atchiue to perpetuall fame and hono;.

How Rotherike intreateth for peace
and obtineith the same.

Chap. 10.

Rotherike, when he had well considered with himselfe how the events of wars are doubtful and uncerteine, & that as the wise man saith; A man of wisdom rather than the warres: and also being somewhat timorous to aduenture the battell with strangers, sendeth his messengers by all the waies they best might, to intreat for peace: who at length through their industrie, and by the mediation of good men, and by Gods goodnesse who prospered the same, obtained the same, and which was concluded in this order. That Dermot Mac Morogh should haue and enioy all Leinster in peace and quietnesse, to him and to his heires, acknowledging Rotherike to be the chiefe king and monarch of all Ireland, and yelding vnto him that seruice and dutie as vnto him therein appertained. And for the performance hereof, he deliuered his sonne Contharus in pledge and for an hostage. To whome Rotherike then promised, vpon condition, that the peace and certeine other points obserued, he would giue his daughter vnto him in marriage. These things being openlie published, each party swore the one to the other, for the performance and keeping of the same. And yet whatsoeuer the better shew, it was secretly agreed betwene them, that Dermot Mac Morogh, when and as soon as he had quietlie settled Leinster in good order, he should returne and send home all the English people, as also in the meane time should not procure anie more to come ouer.

Of the coming of Maurice Fitzgerald into Ireland: of the yelding vp of Dublin to Dermot Mac Morogh; and of the warres betwene the two princes of Connagh and of Limerike.

Chap. 11.

These things thus done & performed, and fortune smiling with a more fauorable countenance to smile vpon them, behold Maurice Fitzgerald, of whom we spake before, who was the halfe brother by the mothers side to Robert Fitzstephans, arrived at Waterford in two ships, hauing in his companie (which he brought) ten gentlemen of seruice, thirtie horsemen, and of archers and footmen about one hundred. A man he

he was both honest and wise, and for his truth and valiantnesse verie noble and famous. He was a man of his word, and constant of mind, and thereuntohall adozned with a certeine kind of womanlike shamesfastnesse. Mac Morogh being verie glad of this new repaire, as also much animated and incouraged therewith, beinnewith to thinke vpon old foies, and to call to remembrance the great iniuries and wrongs which the citizens of Dublin had in times past done both vnto his father and to himselfe; and minding to be reuenged thereof, vndereth his force, and marcheth with his whole armie to besiege the citie, but left Fitzstephans behind, who was then building a hold or castell vpon a certeine rockie hill called the (1) Caricke, about two miles from Wexford, which place although it were verie strong of it selfe, yet by industrie and labour it was made much stronger. Morice Fitzgerald, with all the force and companie of the Englishmen, accompanied and attended Mac Morogh, who was his guide, and conducted him vnto Dublin. Asone as they were entred within the borders and confines of the territozie of Dublin, they forthwith burned, spoiled, and wasted the same, and the whole countrie thereto adioining. The citizens of Dublin seeing and considering the same, began to quaille, and their hearts fainted, and doo sake and intreat for peace; and hauing obtained the same, did sweare fealtie, and gaue in hostages for the true and firme keeping of the same. In this meane time there fell a great enimitie and quarell betwene Rothorke of Connagh and Donald prince of Limerke. And asone as Rothorke was with all his force entred into the countrie of Limerke, Dermot Mac Morogh sent forthwith Robert Fitzstephans with all his power, to aid and helpe the said Donald: for he was Dermots sonne in law, by whose means he gat the victorie, and Rothorke with shame was driuen to retire out of the countrie, and to returne to his owne home: and left the chefferie which he demanded. In these and all other like seruises, Robert Barrie and Orellerius carried the best praise and commendations. At this time was sene a woman who had a great beard, and a man vpon his backe, as a horse; of whom I haue already spoken in my topographie.

(1) The said Caricke (as is written) is distant from the towne of Wexford about two English miles, and standeth vpon a high rocke, and is inuironed on two sides with the riuer which floweth to Wexford towne, and it is verie deepe and nauigable: the other two sides are vpon the maine land, which is a verie fertile soile, and in height almost equall with the castell. It was at the first made but of rods and turfes, according to the maner in those daies; but since builded with stone, and was the strongest fort then in those parts of the land: but being a place not altogether sufficient for a prince, and yet it was thought too good and strong for a subiect, it was pulled downe, defaced and rased, and so doth still remaine.

Dermot Mac Morogh sendeth for the earle Richard, who forthwith maketh great preparation for his comming.

Chap. 12.

Mac Morogh, being by meanes of his good successe well quieted and satisfied, beinnewith himselfe not of greater matters, and deniseth how and by what means he might recover his old and ancient rights; as also purchase all Connagh to his subiection. And herein

he used a secret conferrence with Fitzstephans and Fitzgerald, vnto whom he uttereth and discouereth all his whole mind and intent: who forthwith gaue him answer that his deulle was verie easilie to be compassed, if he could get a greater supplie and aid of Englishmen. Wherevpon he made most earnest requests vnto them, both for the procuring of the kinsmen and countriemen, as also for the furthering to effect his purpose and deulle. And that he might the better perswade them herevnto, he offereth to either one of them his daughter and heire in marriage with the inheritance of his kingdome: but the both being already married, refused the offer. And at length after much talke they thus concluded, that he should with all speed send his messengers with his letters vnto the earle Richard, of whom we spake before, and vnto whom he the said Mac Morogh at his being at or about Wexford, had promised his daughter to wife, which letters were as followeth.

20 Dermot Mac Morogh prince of Leinster, to Richard earle of Chepstone, and sonne of Gilbert the earle lendeth greeting. If you doo well consider and marke the time as we doo which are in distresse, then we doo not complaine without cause nor out of time: for we haue already sene the (1) strokes and swallowes, as also the summer birds are come, and with the westerlie winds are gone againe; we haue long looked and wished for your comming, and albeit the winds haue bene at east and easterlie, yet hitherto you are not come vnto vs: wherefore now linger no longer, but hasten your selfe hither with speed, that it may thereby appeare not want of gods will, nor forgetfulness of promise, but the iniurie of time hath bene hitherto the cause of your long staie. All Leinster is already wholely yelded vnto vs: and if you will speedilie come away with some strong companie and force, we doubt not but that the other foure portions will be recovered and adioined to this the first portion. Your comming therefore the more speedie it is, the more gratefull, the more hastie, the more sofull; and the sooner, the better welcome: and then our mislike of your long lingering shall be recompensed by your sone comming, for friendship & good will is recovered and nourished by mutuall offices, and by benefits it groweth to a more assurednesse. When earle Richard had read these letters, he taketh aduise with his friends, and taking some comfort and stomach of the good successe of Fitzstephans, whereof he was at the first both fearefull and doubtful, fullie determineth to bend his whole force and power to follow this seruice and holdings. This earle was a man of a verie noble parentage, and descended of verie honorable ancestors; but yet more famous in name, than rich in purse; more noble in blood, than endued with wit; and greater in hope of succession, than rich in possessions. Well, he thought long yer he could wend himselfe ouer into Ireland, and therefore to compass the same to gods effect, maketh his repaire to king Henrie the second, and most humbly praieeth and beseecheth him that he will either restore him to such possessions, as by inheritance did appertene vnto him; or else to grant him the libertie to trie and seeke fortune in some other foreign countrie and nation.

(1) The stroke and the swallow are named *Aues semestres*, or the halfe yeares birds: for they come at the spring, and depart againe atwaie at the autumn or fall of the lease, for in the winter they are not sene. And by this Mac Morogh alludeth and meaneth that he hath awaited that whole halfe yeare for the earles comming: whose promise was, that in the spring of the yeare past he would haue come.

Mac Morogh's letter to earle Richard.

Of the arriual of Reimond le grosse in-
to Ireland, and of the fight which he had
against the Waterford men at
Dundorogh.

Chap. 13.

The king hauing heard the earles request, be-
thought himsele a while thereof: but in
the end he allowed not of the one, nor gran-
ted the other, but sed him still with good spee-
ches, and nourished him with faire words, commen-
ding his noble mind, that he would aduenture so ho-
norable an enterprize. And in words the king se-
med to giue him leaue to follow his deuise, but to
saie the truth, it was rather in game than in earnest,
for the king minded nothing lesse. But the earle ta-
king the advantage of the kings words, and accep-
ting the same for a sufficient leaue and licence, retur-
ned home. And the same being the winter season &
verie bnst to trauell into foren nations in martiall
affaires, doth now make preparation of all things
fit to serue when time should requite. And as soon as
the winter was past, he sendeth ouer before him in-
to Ireland, a gentleman of his owne household and
familie named Reimond le grosse: who had with
him ten gentlemen of seruite, and thre score and ten
archers well appointed, and taking shipping about
the halends of Maie, then landed at the roche of (1)
Dundonolfe, which lieth south from Waterford, and
about foure miles east from Waterford: and there
they cast a trench, and builded a little castell of hold,
with turres and wattell. This Reimond was ne-
phew to Robert Fitzstephans and to Maurice Fitz-
gerald, being the sonne unto their elder brother
named William, and was verie valiant, of great
courage, and well expert in the warres and in all
martiall affaires. The citizens of Waterford, and
Dmolaghlin Oselin, being aduertised of this their
arriual, and nothing liking the neighborhood of such
strangers, take counsell together what were best to
be done: and finding it most necessarie and needfull
to withstand at the beginning, they do conclude and
determine to giue the onset vpon them; and being
about thre thousand men, they take botes, and rowe
downe the riuer of the Suire (which stéeth fast by the
walles of Waterford on the east, and divideth Leins-
ter from Mounster) and so came to the place where
Reimond and his companie were, where they lan-
ded and set their men in order for the assaults, and
marched boldlie to the ditch of Reimonds fortreffe
or castell: but then it appered how valiantnes can
neuer be hid, lustie courage be daunted, nor yet
prowesse or worthines be blemished. For Reimond and
his companie, although they were but few in num-
ber, and too weake to incounter with so great a com-
panie as their aduersaries were: yet being of cou-
ragious minds & lustie stomachs, went out to meet
with their enemies; but when they saw that their
small number was not sufficient nor able in the
plaines to abide and indure the force of so great a
multitude, they retired to their fort. The enemies
thinking then to discomfit and cleane to ouerthrow
them, followed and pursued them so shortly, that the
Englishmen were no sooner in at the gates, but
the Irishmen were also at their heles, and some of
them within the gate. Which thing when Reimond
saw, and considering also with himsele what a dis-
tresse and perill he and all his were in, suddenlie
turneth backe his face vpon his enemies; and the
first of them which entred, he ranne him thorough
with his sword (or as some saie claue his head at
under) and then with a loud voice cried out to his com-

panie to be of a good comfort. Who forthwith as they
turned and stood most manfully to their defense:
so their enemies also being dismayed and afraid at
the death of that one man, they all fled and ranne
awaie: and then they which in this doubtfull chance
of fight, were thought should be vanquished and
cleane ouerthrowne, suddenlie became to be the
victors and conquerors. And these sharpe then
pursued their enemies, who were scattered abroad
in the plaines and out of arrais; that in a verie short
time and space they slue aboue slue hundred per-
sons: and being wearie with killing, they cast a
great number of those whome they had taken pris-
oners headlong from the rocks into the sea, and so
drowned them. In this fight and seruite a gentle-
man named William Fierand did most valiantlie
acquit himsele. For albeit he were but of a weake
bodie, yet was he of a verie stout stomach & courage;
he was diseased and sicke of the leprosie, and there-
fore desirous rather to die valiantlie, than to liue
in miserie: and for that cause would and did ad-
uenture himsele in places where most perill and
danger was and seemed to be; thinking it good with
a glorious death to prevent the griefe and losse
of a grievous disease.

Thus fell the pride of Waterford, thus decayed
their strength and force, and thus began the ruine and
ouerthrow of that citie, which as it bred a great hope
and consolation to the Englishmen; so was it the
cause of a great desperation and terror to the eni-
mies. It was a strange matter and neuer heard of
before in those parties, that so great a slaughter
should be made by so small a number: neuertheless
by euill counsell and too much crueltie, the En-
glishmen abused their good successe and fortune. For
hauing gotten the victorie, they saued fewentie of
the best citizens, whom they kept prisoners; and for
the ransome or redemption of these, they might haue
had either the citie of Waterford yielded & surren-
dered vnto them, or such a masse of monie as they
would themselves. But Heruie of Mount Morris
(who came ouer with thre gentlemen of seruite, and
ioined with his countymen and Reimonds) being
both of contrarie minds, strined the one with the o-
ther, what were best to be done here in.

(1) Dundonolfe is a roche standing in the coun-
tie of Waterford vpon the sea side, lieng east from
the citie of Waterford about eight English miles,
and is from the towne of Waterford about twelue
miles, lieng southwards from the same: it is now
a strong castell, and appertaining to the ancient house
of the Powers of Kilmalthen, & called by the name
of Dundorogh.

(2) The citie of Waterford or Waterford, nam-
med sometimes (as Ptolomeus writeth) Manapia, is
a faire, ancient, and honorable citie, standing vpon
the south side of the riuer of Suire, which stéeth fast
by the walles thereof, and was first builded by one
named Sitaratus, one of the thre princes which
came out of the east parts to inhabit that land. It
was at the first but a small pile, lieng in forme of a
long triangle, but since & of late times enlarged by
the citizens & inhabitants of the same. It is the che-
fist emporium in a manner of all that land, and
standeth chiefe vpon the trade of merchandise, they
themselves being not onelie great travellers into
foren nations, but also great resort and ballie com-
courses of strangers are to it. Concerning the go-
uernement, order, state and seruite of this citie, and
of sundrie other things incident to the same, are at
large described in the later historie of this land.

The oration of Reimond for the
delinerie of the prisoners taken.

Chap. 14.

Reimond being verie desirous that the captiues taken might be deliuered, laboureth by all the waies he could how to compasse the same, & in presence of Herueie maketh these speeches, and bleseth these persuasions to all his companie. Be my noble and ballant companions and souldiers, for increase of whose honour, vertue and fortune seme to contend; let vs now consider what is best to be done with these our prisoners and captiues. For my part I do not thinke it good, nor yet allow that anye fauour or courtesie should be at all shewed to the enimie. But vnderstand you, these are no enimies now, but men; no rebels, but such as be vanquished and cleane ouerthrowen, and in standing in defense of their countrie, by euill fortune and a worse destinie they are subdued. Their aduentures were honest and their attempts commendable, and therefore they are not to be reputed for thēues, factious persons, traitors, nor yet murderers. They are now brought to that distresse and case, that rather mercie for examples sake is to be shewed, than cruel-
tie to the increasing of their miserie is to be minis-
tered. Suerlie our ancestors in times past (although in deed it be verie hard to be done) were wont in times of god successe and prosperitie, to temperat
their loose minds and vnrulie affections with some
one incommodie or other. Therefore let mercie and
pittie, which in a man is most commendable, worke
so in vs, that we who haue overcome others, may
also now subdue our owne minds, and conquer our
owne affections: for modestie, moderation, and dis-
cretion are wont to staie hastie motions, and to stop
rash deuises. How commendable and honorable is
it to a noble man, that in his greatest triumph and
glorie, he counteth it for a sufficient reuenge, that he
can reuenge and be weakened?

Julius Cesar, whose conquests were such, his vic-
toies so great, and his triumphs so manie, that the
whole world was nosed therewith; he had not so ma-
nie friends who reioiced for the same, but he had ma-
nie more enimies who maligned and cruied at him,
not onelie in slanderous words and euill reports; but
manie also secretlie conspired, deuised, and practised
his death and destruction: and yet he was so full of
pittie, mercie, and compassion, that he neuer com-
manded nor willed any to be put to death for the
same, sauing onelie one Domitius, whome he had of
more clemencie for his lewdnesse before pardoned,
for his wickednesse released, and for his trecherie ac-
quitted. And thus as his pittie did much increase his
honour, so did it nothing hinder his victories. How
beastlie then and impious is that crueltie, wherein vic-
tozie is not ioined with pittie: For it is the part of a
right noble and a ballant man, to count them eni-
mies which doe wage the battell, contend and fight
for the victorie; but such as be conquered, taken pris-
oners, and kept in bonds and captiuitie, to take and
repute them for men, that hereby fortitude and force
may diminish the battell and end the quarrell, as also
humanitie may increase loue & make peace. It is
therefore a great commendation and more praise-
worthy to a noble man in mercie to be bountious,
than in victorie to be cruell; for the one lieth onelie in
the course of fortune, but the other in vertue: and as
it had bene a great increase of our victorie, and an
augmentation of honour, if our enimies had bene
slaine in the field and ouerthrowen in the battell: so
they being now taken and saued, and as it were men
returned from rebels to the common societie and fel-

lowship of men; if we should now kill them, it shal-
be to our great shame, dishonour, and reproch for euer.
And for so much as by the killing and destroying of
them we shall be neuer the nearer to haue the coun-
trie, nor neuer sooner to be the lords of the land; and
yet the ransoming of them verie good for the mainte-
nance of the souldiers, the good fame of vs, and the
aduancement of our honour: we must needs thinke
it better to ransom them than to kill them. For as it
is requisite and meet, that a souldier in the field fight-
ing in armes, should then thirst for the blood of his
enimies, trie the force of his sword, and ballantlie
stand to his tackle for victorie: so when the fight is
ended, the wars are ceased, & the armes laid downe;
and all fiercerenes of hostilitie set apart; then in a no-
ble man must humanitie take place, pittie must be
shewed, and courtesie must be extended.

The oration or speech which

Herueie made.

Chap. 15.

When Reimond had ended his speech, &
the whole companie being in a muttering,
and as it were men well pleased and verie
well allowing his mind and opinion: then
Herueie stood vp and spake to them all in this ma-
ner. Reimond hath verie exquisitelie discoursed with
vs of pittie and mercie, and in set speeches uttering
his eloquence, hath shewed his mind and declared
his opinion; persuading and inducing vs to beleue,
that a strange land were to be conquered sooner by
mercie and fond pittie than by sword and fire. But I
praise you, can there be a worse waie than so to
thinke? Did Julius Cesar or Alexander of Macedo-
nie by such means or in such order conquer the whole
world? Did the nations from out of all places run
to submit themselves vnder their yoke and empire,
in respect of their pittie & mercie, & not rather com-
pelled so to doe for feare & perforce? For people, whiles
they are yet proud & rebellious, they are (all pittie
and mercie set apart) by all manner of waies and
means to be subdued: but when they are once brought
into subiedion and bondage, and redie to serue and
obey, then they are with all courtesie to be intreated
and dealt withall: so that the state of the govern-
ment may be in safetie and out of danger. Herein
and in this point must pittie be vsed, but in the other
seueritie or rather crueltie is more necessarie: here
clemencie is to be shewed, but in the other rigour
without fauour is to be exhibited and vsed. Reimond
persuadeth that mercie is to be extended, as vpon a
people already subdued and subiected; or as though
the enimies were so few and of so small a number,
as against whome no ballant seruice nor chualtrie
can be exploited, and yet they redie to ioine with vs:
whereby our force may be increased, and our power
augmented. But alas! Do not we see how that the
whole nation and people of Ireland are wholie bent,
and not without cause altogether conspired against
vs?

Suerlie me thinketh Reimond is contrarie vnto
himselfe; for why, his coming hither was not to dis-
spite of pittie, nor to reason of mercie; but to conquer
the nation and to subdue the people. What an ex-
ample of impious pittie were it then, to neglect our
owne safetie, and to haue remorse and compassion
vpon others distresses? Moreover, we haue here
in the fields, and in armour more enimies than
friends, we are in the middle of perils and dangers,
our enimies being round about vs in euerie place:
and shall we thinke this to be nothing, but that we
must be also in the like distresse and danger among
our

our selues. Round about vs our enemies are infinit, and within our selues some there be which practise our destruction. And if it should happen that our captiues and prisoners should escape and breake loose out of their bonds, which are but verie weak and slender; no doubt they will forthwith take our olone armours and weapons against vs. Well well, the mouse is in the cupboard, the fire is in the lap, and the serpent is in the bosome; the enimie is at hand ready to oppresse his aduersarie, and the gess is in place with small courttesie to requit his host. And I praise you doth not Keimond execute that in his facts and doings, which he denieth in his words: Are not his speeches contrarie to his deeds? Let him answer me to this. If our enemies when they come in god arraie and well appointed to giue the onfet, and to wage the battell against vs, if they should happen to haue the victorie and the ouerhand ouer vs, would they deale in pitie & mercie? Would they grant vs our liues? Would they put vs to ransom? Tush what need make words when the deeds are apparant: Our victorie is to be so used, that the destruction of this few may be a terror to manie; whereby all others and this wild and rebellious nation may take an example, and beware how they meddle and incounter with vs. Of two things we are to make choise of one; for either we must valiantlie and couragiously stand to persewme what we haue taken in hand; and all fond pitie set aside, bolalitie and stoutlie to ouerthrow and vanquish this rebellious and stubborne people: or (if we shall after the mind and opinion of Keimond altogether be pitifull and full of mercie) we must holse by our sailes and returne home, leauing both the countrie and our patrimonie to this miserable and wretched people. Hercules opinion was best liked, and the whole companie allowed his iudgement, whereupon the captiues (as men condemned) were brought to the rocks, and after their liues were broken, they were cast headlong into the seas, and so drowned.

The coming ouer of Richard Strang-
bow earle of Chepstow into Ireland, and
of the taking of the citie of Waterford.

Chap. 16.

In this meane time Richard the earle, hauing provided and made all things in readinesse fit for so great an enterprisse, took his iournie, and came through Wales to S. Dauts; and still as he went he took up all the best chosen and piket men that he could get. And hauing all things in place and in a readinesse meet and necessarie for such a voyage, he went to Milford haueu, and hauing a good wind took shipping and came to Waterford, in the kalends of September on the vigill of saint Bartholomew, and had with him about two hundred gentlemen of god seruice, and a thousand others. Then was fulfilled Celidons prophesie, which was; that A little firebrand shall go before a great fire; and as the sparkels inkindle the small wood, so shall the same set the great wood a fire. Like wise was fulfilled the saying of Merlin; A great forerunner of a greater follower shall come, and he shall tread downe the heads of Desmond and Keimond, and the waies before opened & made readie he shall enlarge. Keimond being aduertised of the earles arrivall, went the next morrow vnto him with great top, hauing with him in his companie fortie gentlemen of seruice. And on the morrow upon saint Bartholomewes daie, being tuesday, they displayed their banners, and in god arraie they marched to the wals of the citie, being fullie bent and determined to giue

Prophecies
of Celidon
and Merlin
fulfilled.

the assault: the citizens & such others as had escaped at Dundoogh manfully defending themselves, and giuing them two repulses. Keimond who by the consent and assent of the whole armie was chosen and made generall of the field, and tribune of the host, hauing espied a little house of timber standing halfe open vpon posts without the wals, called his men together, and encouraged them to giue a new assault at that place. And hauing helmed downe the posts whereupon the house stood, the same fell downe together with a peece of the towne wall; and then a waie being thus opened, they entred into the citie, and killed the people in the streets without pitie or mercie, leauing them lieng in great heaps; and thus with bloodie hands they obtained a bloodie victorie. In the tower called (2) Keimolds tower they took two murderers prisoners, whom they vnarmed and killed; also they took there Keimold, and Oghlachylen the Irish prince of the Decies: but these were saued by meanes of the comming and suite of Sparke Fitzgerrald, who was also come thither with Maurice Fitzgerrald and Robert Fitzstephans. And when they had set the citie and all other their things in good order, Sparke Fitzgerrald gaue his daughter Ena, whom he had then brought thither with him, to be married to the earle according to the first pact and covenant; and then the marriage solemnized and all things set in order, they displayed their banners & marched towards Dublin.

(1) In the verie place of the assault is now enclosed a strong fort and blockehouse, which is verie well furnished and appointed with ordinance and shot. It is in the verie east angle or point of the walles of the citie: and within on the south side the walles doth it appeere how the same was burned by the Englishmen at this their entrie.

(2) The Keimolds tower is a little tower in the wall of the old citie, and is next or verie nere adioining to a late monasterie or friers there: it is a verie slender thing, and not worthe of any report; sauing that the author doth alledge it as a fort in those daies used for a defense.

The besieging and taking of the
citie of Dublin.

Chap. 17.

Erimon being aduertised, and hauing perfect aduertisement that they of Dublin had procured & stocked all or the most part of the land to come to aid, helpe and to defend them; and that they had laid all the waies, passages and streets about the citie, whereby no man could passe that waie, he left all those waies; and passing through the mounteines of Glundoloch, he brought his whole armie safe to (1) Dublin. And such was his mortall hatred towards the Dublinians, that he could not forget the injuries don to himselfe, and the shamefull reproch done to his father. For his father being on a time at Dublin, and there sitting at the doore of a certein ancient man of the citie, they did not onelie there murder him; but for a further satisfieng of their malice, they cast him and buried him with a dog: and therefore about all others he most mortallie hated them. The citizens much mistrusting themselves, they send messengers to intreate for peace; and in the end by the mediation and meanes of Laurence then the archbishop of Dublin, a parle and a treatie was obtained: but whiles the old and ancient men were talking of peace, the younger sort were busie in weapons. For Keimond and Miles of Cogan, two Irish young gentlemen, but more desirous to fight vnder Spars in the fields than

Two strange
miracles.

to sit in counsell vnder Iupiter; and more willing to purchase honoz in the warres, than gaine in peace. They with a companie of lustie yong gentlemen suddenly ran to the walles, & giuing the assault, brake in, entred the citie, and obtained the victorie, making no small slaughter of their enimies: but yet the greater number of them, with Hasculphus their captein, escaped awaie with such riches & icwels as they had, and recouered themselves vnto certeine ships which laie there, & so sailed to the north Ilands. At this time there happened two strange miracles in the same citie, the one was of a crosse or a rod which the citizens minding to haue caried with them, was not nor would be remoued; the other was of a peece of monie, which was offered to the same rod twise, & euer it returned backe againe, as you may see more thereof in our topographie. When the earle had spent a few daies in the citie, about setting and settling the same in good order, he left the same to the charge and gouernance of Miles Cogan: but he himselfe by the perswasion of Mac Morogh (who sought by all the waies he could, how to be reuenged vpon Morike king of Metch) invaded the borders of Metch, and wasted, spoiled, and destroyed the same. All Metch being in the end wasted by the sword and fire; Rothorke king of Connagh thought with himself what might hereof befall vnto him, because his neighbors house being set on fire, his was next to the like perill: he sent his messengers vnto Dermot Mac Morogh with this message. Contrarie to the order of the peace, thou hast procured, called, and flocked into this land a great multitude and number of strangers, and as long as thou dost staie and keepe thy selfe within thy owne countrie of Leinster, we bare thee with, and were contented. But forsomuch as now not caring for thy oth, nor regarding the safetie of thy hostages, thou hast so fondlie & lewdlie passed thy bounds: I am to requite thee, that thou doe retire and withdraue these excurres of strangers; or else without faile I will cut off thy sonnes head, & send it thee. Mac Morogh when he heard this message, full stoutlie answered, and said he would not giue ouer that which he had begun, nor desist from his enterprise, vntill he subdued all Connagh his ancient inheritance, as also he had recouered the monarchie of all Ireland. Rothorke being aduertised of this answer, was somewhat warmed and offended therewith, & forthwith in his rage commanded Mac Moroghs sonne, who was his pledge, to be beheaded.

(1) Dublin is the oldest and ancientest citie in all Ireland, and was builded by one Amelaus, the eldest of three brethren named Oskimen or Casserlings: which came first out of Normandie, or (as some write) out of Normandie, and did inhabit the land. It was first named Aghalia, that is, the towne of hurdels; for it standeth somewhat low and in a marshy ground: and because when the same was first builded, the laborers were wont and did go vpon hurdels, it took the name thereof. It was also called Dolin, which is to saie blacke water, for of that name is a certeine brooke, flowing not farre out of the towne, but now is called Dublin or Duilin; it standeth vpon the river named Anelphus or the Liffey, and it is a port towne, being the chiefe citie and emporium of all that land. It is walled with stone round about, & at the east part thereof is a vertie old castle, builded first by Henrie Londers archbishop of Dublin, about the yere 1212, which is now the quenes castell, & wherein the lord deputie of that land most commonly lieth, as also wherein the courts for the common law at the vsuall terms are kept. The citie it selfe stands most on trade of merchandize, & is by that means of good wealth. The inhabitants are mere Englishmen, but

of Ireland birth. The gouernment thereof is vnder a maior and two shiriffes. And as concerning the order, gouernement, state, policies, and good seruices of the same, I shall more at large declare in my particular historie of this land.

The counsell or synod kept
at Armagh.

Chap. 18.

These things thus ended & complicated, there was a synod or counsell of all the clergie called and assembled at Armagh: there to treat and examine what should be the causes and reasons, why & wherefore the realme was thus plagued by the resort and repaire of strangers in among them. At length it was fullie agreed, and euerie mans opinion was, that it was Gods iust plague for the sinnes of the people, and especiallie because they vsed to buie Englishmen of merchants and pirats, and (contrarie to all equitie or reason) did make bondslaues of them: and God now to anenge and acquit this their iniquitie, plagued them with the like, and hath set these Englishmen & strangers to reduce them now into the like slaueerie and bondage. For the Englishmen, when their realme was at rest and peace, and their land in quiet estate, and they not in anie distresse, want, or penurie, their children and kinsmen were sold and made bondslaues in Ireland. And therefore it was most like, that God for the sin of the people would & did laie the like plague vpon the Irish people. It was therefore decreed by the said counsell, and concluded by that synod, that all the Englishmen within that land, where soeuer they were, in bondage or captiuitie, should be manumitted, set free and at libertie.

The proclamation of king Henrie
the second against the earle, and of
the sending of Reimond
to the king.

Chap. 19.

When tidings was caried abroad of the good successe which the Englishmen had in Ireland, & the news the further it went, the more it increased; and the king being aduertised that the earle had not onlie recouered Leinster, but had also conquered sundrie other territories, wherevnto he had no title by the right of his wife, did set forth his proclamation, forbidding and inhibiting that from thenceforth no ship from out of any place, vnder his dominion, should passe or traffike into Ireland: and that all manner of his subiects which were within that realme, should returne from thence into England before Easter then next following, vpon paine of forfeiture of all their lands, as also to be banished men for euer. The earle when he saw himselfe in this distres, being in perill to lose his friends, and in hazard to want his necessaries, taketh aduise and counsell what were best to be done. At length it was agreed and concluded, that Reimond should be sent ouer to the king then being in Aquitaine, with letters to this effect. My right honourable lord, I came into this land with your leave and fauour (as I remember) for the aiding and helping of your seruiant Dermot Mac Morogh. And what soeuer I haue gotten and purchased, either by him or by anie others, as I confesse and acknowledge the same from and by meanes of your gracious goodnesse: so shall the same still rest and remaine at your deuotion and commandement.

C. ij.

The

The départure of Reimond to the
king, and the death of Dermot
Mac Morogh.

Chap. 20.

Reimond (according to the order taken, and commandement given to him) made his repaire with all diligence to the king, & hauing deliuered his letters did await for his answer. But the king being in some dislike with the earle, and not fauourable allowing his successe, differred the time, and lingered to giue anie answer. About this time (1) Thomas the archbishop of Cantuarburie was murthured or slaine; and the yeare folloving about the kalends of Maie, Dermot Mac Morogh, being of a good age, and well stricken in yeeres died, and was buried at Fernes.

(1) The Romish or popish church make much ado about this man, affirming him to be a man of much vertue and holinesse, and that he was martyzed for the defending of the liberties of holie church, and for this cause the pope canonized him to be a saint. But who so list to peruse and examine the course of the English histories, shall find that he was a froward and obstinat traitor against his master & soueraigne king and prince: as amongst other writers it appeareth in the booke of the Acts and Monuments of John Fox. And forsomuch as the course of this chapter tendeth wholie in extolling of him, I haue omitted the same, and leaue to trouble the reader therewith.

The ouerthrow giuen to Hasculphus
and the Easterlings or Norwaie-
men at Dublin.

Chap. 21.

At this time about the feast of Pentecost or Whitsuntide, Hasculphus, who was sometime the chiefe ruler of Dublin, sought by all the waies he could how he might be reuenged for the reproch and shame which he had receiued when the citie of Dublin was taken, and he then bidden to flie to his ship, and to saue himselfe. This man had bene in Norwaie, and in the north Ilands to seeke for some helpe and aid; and hauing obtained the same he came with threescore ships well appointed, and full fraughted with lustie men of warre vnto the coasts of (1) Dublin, minding to assaile the citie, and hoping to recover the same. And without anie delaies he landed and vnsipped his men, who were guided and conducted vnder a capteine named John Wood or John Had, for so the word Wood meaneth. They were all mightie men of warre, and well appointed after the Danish maner, being harnessed with good bigandines, iacks, and shirts of male; their shields, bucklers, and targets were round, and coloured red, and bound about with iron: and as they were in armour, so in minds also they were as iron strong and mightie.

These men being set in battell arate, and in good order, did march on wards towards the east gate of the citie of Dublin, there minding to giue th' assault, and with force to make entrie. Miles Cogan then boarden of the citie, a man verie valiant and lustie, although his men and people were verie few, and as it were but a handfull in respect of the others: yet boldlie giueth the aduenture and onset vpon his enemies: but when he saw his owne small number not to be able to resist nor withstand so great force, and they still pressing & inforcing vpon him, he was dri-

men to retire backe with all his companie, and with the losse of manie of his men, and of the more being verie well armed, yet was his thigh cut off cleane at a stroke with a Galloglasse are. But Richard Cogan brother vnto Miles, understanding how hardlie the matter passed and had sped with his brother, suddenlie and secretlie with a few men issueth out at the south posterne or gate of the citie, and stealing vpon the backs of his enemies, maketh a great shout, and therewith tharpelie giueth the onset vpon them. At which sudden chance they were so dismaied, that albeit some fighting before, and some behind, the case was doubtfull, & the event vncertaine: yet at length they fled and ran awaie, and the most part of them were slaine, and namelie John Wood, whom with others John of Widenford toke and killed. Hasculphus fleeing to his ships was so tharpelie pursued, that vpon the sands he was taken, but saued; and for the greater honour of the victorie was caried backe aliuie into the citie as a captiue, where he was sometime the chiefe ruler and gouernour: and there he was kept till he should compound for his ransom. And then he being brought and presented to Miles Cogan, in the open sight and audience of all the people, and fretting much for his euill fortune and ouerthrow, suddenlie and in great rage brake out into these speeches, sayeng: We are come hither now but a small companie, and a few of vs, and these are but the beginnings of our aduentures; but if God send me life, you shall see greater matters insue and follow. Miles Cogan when he heard these words (for in the towne standeth both life and death, the lord abhorreth the proud heart, and verie badlie doth he ease his greafe which augmenteth his sorrow) commanded him to be beheaded. And so the life to him before courteously granted, he by his fondnesse did foolishlie lose it.

(1) The port or haven of Dublin is a barred haven, and no great ships doe come to the towne it selfe but at a spring or high water, and therefore they doe lie in a certaine rode without the barre, which is about foure or fve miles from the citie, and the same is called Kingwood; and from thence to Holie hes in Wales is counted the shortest cut betwene England and Ireland.

Rothorike prince of Connagh and
Gotred king of Man do be-
siege the citie of Dublin.

Chap. 22.

After this, the Irishmen perceiuing that by reason of the kings late proclamation, the earles men and vittells did wast, decaie, and consume for want of their wanted supplies from out of England: all their princes assembled themselves, and do agree with all their power and force to besiege the citie of Dublin, being procured thereto by Laurence then archbishop there; who for the zeale and loue of his countrie, did verie earnestlie trauell herein: and joining with Rothorike king of Connagh, they sent their letters to Gotred king of the Ile of Man, and to all others the princes of the Ilands, making earnest requests, vnto the persuasions, and promising liberall rewards, if they would come to helpe and aid them to besiege Dublin; they on the water, and the other at land: who were easilie to be persuaded therunto, and forthwith yeldeo to these requests, not onelie for the desire of gaines offered: but especiallie, because they doubted, and were afraid of the Englishmen, who hauing daile god successe they feared least they in time

time would give the onset on them, and make a conquest over their possessions. And therefore they forthwith made themselves ready, and prepared their ships accordingly. And as soon as the next good wind served, they came in thirtie ships of warre, verie well appointed, and arrived into the haven of Aneliffe, or port of Dublin: whose coming was verie thankfull and gratefull. For whie whose helpe are best liked when men in their affaires haue those to ioint with them which be of feare to be in the like perils and dangers. But the earle and his compagnie, who had bene shut by now two moneths within the citie, and whose vittels failed, and were almost consumed, by reason that upon the kings commandment a restraint was made (and therefore none could be brought into them out of England) were in a great dumpe and perplexitie, and in a manner were at their wits end, and wist not what to do. And in this their case see the course and nature of fortune, who when she frowne, sendeth not one euill alone, but heapeth mischance upon mischance, and trouble upon trouble. For behold Donald Mac Dermot came from out of the borders of Kencile, & brought news that the men of Wexford & of Kencile to the number of thre thousand persons had besieged Robert Fitzstephens and his few men in his castell of the Kerecke, and unless they did helpe and rescue him within thre daies it would be too late; for they should and would else be taken. At this time there was with the earle within the citie Maurice Fitzgerald, and his cosine Reimond; who was lately returned from the court; and these were not onelie now troubled in respect of their owne cause, but for the distress of others, and speciallie Maurice Fitzgerald, who tenderlie toke and was grieved with the distressed state of his brother Robert Fitzstephens, and of his wife and children, that they being in the middle of their enemies, should be in so weake a hold not able to keepe out such a companie: and so rising by much this speech to the earle, and to such as were about him, as followeth.

The oration of Maurice Fitzgerald.

Chap. 23.

Worthy men, we came not hither, nor were we called into this countrie to be idle, nor to live deliciouly: but to trie fortune, and to seeke adventures. We stood sometimes upon the top of the whele, and the game was on our side; but now the whele is turned, & we cast downe: and yet no doubt the will turne againe, and we shall be on the top. For such is the mutabilitie of fortune, & such is the vncertaine state & course of this world, that prosperitie and aduersitie do interchangeable, and by course the one follow the other. After daie commeth the night; and when the night is passed, the daie returneth againe. The sun riseth, and when he hath spred his beames all the daie time, then he cometh to his fall: and as soon as the night is past, he is againe come and returned to his rising againe. We who before this haue made great triumphs, & haue had fortune at will, are now shut up on euerie side by our enemies. We be destitute of vittels, and can haue no reliefe neither by land nor yet by sea: our friends cannot helpe us, and our enemies ready to deuoure us. Likewise Fitzstephens, whose valiantnesse and noble enterprize hath made waie into us into this Island, he now is also shut up in a weake hold and feeble place, too weake and slender to hold and keepe out so great a force. Whie then do we tarry? And wherefore do we so linger? Is there any hope of reliefe from home? No no, the matter

is other wise, and we in worse case. For as we be odious and hatefull to the Irishmen, euen so we now are reputed: for Irishmen are become hatefull to our owne nation and countrie, and so are we odious both to the one and to the other. Wherefore for so much as fortune fauoreth the forward, and helpeth the bold; let vs not longer delate the matter, nor like sluggards lie still: but whiles we are yet lustie, and our vittels not all spent, let vs giue the onset upon our enemies: for though we be but few in number in respect of them, yet if we will be of ballant minds and lustie courages, as we were wont to be, we may happilie haue the victorie and conquest of these naked wretches and unarmed people. These speeches he used as the sicke man is wont to do, who in hope of recouerie of his health, doth manie times beare out a good countenance, and dissemble his inward greife and heauntesse. When he had fullie ended his talke and spoken his mind, Reimond, who was also in the like anguish and heauntesse spake thus:

The oration of Reimond.

Chap. 24.

Renowned, and worthy, & noble men, whose fame for valiantnesse and chualtrie is carried and spread beyond and through the ocean seas: we are now to looke well vnto our selues, and to haue good regard to our honor and credit. You haue heard how grauely my vncle Maurice hath declared, how pittilie he hath aduised, and how prudentlie he hath counselled vs what we shall do in this our distresse and present necessitie: Wherefore we are well to consider thereof, & to determine and resolute our selues what we will do. The time is short, the perils thimminent, and the dangers great, and therefore no delaties are now to be used. It is no time now to sit in long counsels, nor to spend much time in speeches; but in present perils we must vse present remedies. We see the enemies both at sea and land round about vs, and no waie is there to escape, but we must either giue the aduenture upon them like men, or die here like beasts: for our vittels faile vs, and our prouision wareth scant & short, and we know not how to renew the same. And how little comfort we are to looke for out of England, and what small helpe we shall haue from the king, I haue already at large declared vnto you. I know his excellencie dispraiseth not our aduities, but yet he fauoreth not our successes: he discommendeth not our valiantnesse, but yet enuiech at our glorie: in words he reparaeth well of our seruices, but he yet secretlie hindereth the same: he feareth that which we meane not, and doubteth of that which we thinke not. To trust therefore vnto them, who care not for vs; to looke for helpe from them, who mind not anie; and to wait for reliefe where none is meant: it were but a mere follie, and a lost labor on our parts, and in the end like to returne to our owne shame, reproch, & confusion. Wherefore being out of all hope of anie further helpe or supplie; and out of all doubt of anie further comfort or reliefe: let vs as becommeth noble, lustie, and ballant men, trie the course of fortune, and proue the force of the enimie. Let it appeere vnto them as it is knowne vnto vs, of what race we came, and from whom we descended. Camber (as it is well knowne) the first particular king of Cambria our native countrie, was our ancesto; and he the forme of that noble Brutus, the first and sole monarch of all England, whose ancesto was Troie, and he descended from Dardanus the sonne of Iupiter; from whom is deriued vnto vs not onlie the kinne

of ancient nobilitie, but also a certaine naturall inclination of valiant minds, & courageous stomachs, bent to follow all exploits in prowesse and chivalrie, and therein all our ancestors haue bene vertie skilfull and expert. And shall we now like Suggards be generate from so noble a race, and like a sort of cowards be afraid of these naked and unarmed rascalls, in whom is no baloz of knowledge nor experience in armes? Shall such a rabble of savages pinne vs vp within the walles of this little Dublin, and make vs afraid of them; when in times past all the princes of Grèce kept warres for ten yeares & so moneths continuallie against our ancestors in the famous citie of Troie, and could not preuaile against them, untill they vsed treasons and practised treacheries, which bred vnto them a more infamous victorie than a glorious triumph: Shall the honoz of our ancestors be withered by our sluggishnesse, and the glorie of their prowesse be buried in our cowardnesse? Shall we be afraid of a few, and unarmed, when they withstood infinit multitudes of the most worthiest and valiantest personages then in all the world? Let it neuer be said, that the blood of the Troians shall be stained in our pusillanimitie, and receiue reproch in our follie.

And what though our enemies be neuer so mante, and we in respect of them but a handfull; shall we therefore be afraid; as though victorie stood in multitude, and conquest in great numbers? No no, kings be not so faued nor princes do so conquer: for a few men well disposed and a small number well incouraged, are sufficient to encounter with a greater number, being wretches and Suggards. For fortune though she be purtraied to be blind, as one void of right iudgement; and to stand vpon a rolling stone, as being alwaies flatering and moveable: yet for the most part she helpeth such as be of bold minds and of valiant stomachs. If time did serue as matter is full and plentious, I could hereof recite manie yea infinite examples. (1) Thomiris the Scythian quene, did not she with a few hundreds encounter with the great monarch Cypus, hauing manie thousands, and take him and slue him. Alexander with a few Macedonians, did not he overcome Darius the great monarch of the Persians, and take him, his wife, and daughters prisoners, & made a conquest of all Persia? (2) Leonides the Spartan, did not he with six hundred men bryake into the campes of the mightie Xerxes, and there slay six thousand of them? Let vs come a little nêrer euen to our selues, who haue had in our owne persons, and in this land the like successes, namelie you my right honourable earle at Waterford, and my vnckle Fitzstephans at Wexford; and I my selfe at Dundozogh: small were our companies, and little was our force in respect of theirs, and yet we few thorough our valiantnesse overcame and conquered them being manie.

What shall I trouble you with the recitall of examples, sith time shall sooner faile than matter want: and shall we then giue ouer and be white liued? Shall we like cowards couer our progenie, our nation, and our selues also, with perpetuall shame and infamie? God forbid. My mind then and opinion is, that we do issue out vpon them, as secretlie and as suddenlie as we mate, and boldlie giue the onset vpon them. And forsomuch as Rotherike of Connagh is the generall of the field, in whom lieth the chiefe force, and on whom all the rest do depend, it shall be best to begin with him, and then if we can giue the ouerthrow vnto him, all the residue will flie, and we shall obtaine a glorious victorie: but if we shall fall into their hands and be killed, yet shall we leaue an honourable report and an immortall fame to all our posteritie. When Keimond had ended his

speeches and finished his oration, euerie one so well liked therof, as with one consent they gave ouer, and yielded to his resolution and opinion.

(1) Cypus the sonne of Cambises the first monarch of Persia; after that he had subdued all Asia, he minding to do the like in Scythia did invade the same: Thomiris being then quene thereof. And on a certaine time hauing pitched his tents in a faire and pleasant soile, suddenlie as though he had bene afraid of his enemies he fled, and left his tents full of wines and bittels. Which when the quene heard, she sent hir onelie sonne a yong gentleman with the thirde part of hir host and armie to follow and pursue Cypus: who when he came to the forsaken tents, and finding there such abundance & plentie of wine and bittels, wherevnto the Scythians had not before bene accustomed, they felt so hungertie to their bittels, and dranke so liberallie of the wines, that they were ouerladen and overcome with surfeiting. Which when Cypus heard of, he suddenlie and secretlie in the night came vpon them, and finding them all asleep, killed them all. Thomiris hearing of this, was not so much grieved with sorrow for the death of hir sonne, as inflamed with the desire to be reuenged. And the likewise faining hir selfe to flie, Cypus by pursuing of hir was brought into certaine narrow streits, where she taking the advantage of him, took him, killed him, and slue all his companie, to the number of two thousand: insomuch that there was not one left to returne with message to declare the same?

(2) Leonides was king of Sparta or Lacedæmonia, who being aduertised that the mightie monarch Xerxes minding to continue the warres with his father Darius had appointed and begun against all Grèce, & that he had made preparation therefore six yeares together, doth also prepare himselfe to withstand the same. And notwithstanding that Xerxes had in his armie three hundred thousand of his owne subiects, and two hundred thousand of strangers: yet Leonides hauing gotten Xerxes within the streits of Thermopolis, and he hauing but foure thousand soldiers gaue the onset vpon the monarch, and fought the battels three daies together with him, and at length gaue him the ouerthrow.

How Rotherike of Connagh, and all his whole armie was discomfited.

Chap. 25.

Immediatlie vpon the foresaid persuasions, euerie man with all speed had made him selfe readie and got on his armes, thinking it too long per they did bicker with the enimie: and being all assembled and in good arraie, they blinde them into three wings or wards, though in number they were verie few. In the first was Keimond with twentie gentlemen and his few soldiers. In the second Miles Cogan with thirtie gentlemen and his other few soldiers. And in the third was the earle and Maurice Fitzgerald with forty gentlemen and all their soldiors. And in euerie ward were some of all the citizens, saving such as were appointed for the gard and safetie of the citie. Thus all things being set in an order, they suddenlie in the morning about nine of the clocke issued out, but not without some contention and controuersie: for they strided among themselves, who should haue the fore ward, and giue the onset vpon the enemies, who were in number about thirtie thousand: neuertheless they in the end agreed and appointed in order how all things should be done: and forthwith issued out and gaue the onset vpon

upon their enemies, who then were out of array and order, being unwarres of their coming. Helmond among the first being the first was foremost, & gave the first adventure, and striking two of his enemies through with his lance or staffe slew them both. Peterinus also and Gerald and Alexander the two sonnes of Maurice, although they were in the reerward: yet they were so hot upon the spurre, and followed in such lustie manner, that they were as forward as the foremost, and right ballantlie did overthrow and kill manie of the enemies.

The like ballant minds were in all the whole rest due, who now strived & served all for the best game: and so lustilie they acquitted themselves, that the enemies being afraid, were faine to take their heeles and to run awaie. But they still followed and pursued them even untill night, still murdering & spoiling them. Rotholike the king himselfe trusted so much in the great troops and multitudes of his people: that he thought nothing lesse, than that so small a number as were with him, would issue out and give the onset upon so manie as were without. And therefore taking his pleasure and passance, he was then a bathing: but when he heard how the game went, and how his men were discomfited & the most part fled or flying awaie, he neither tarried for his chamberleine to apparel him, nor for his page to help him: but with all the hast and post hast he could, he turneth a faire pace of heeles and runneth awaie: and albeit he were verie sharpe pursued, yet (though hardlie) he escaped. At night all the companie being returned, they recovered themselves into the citie againe: not onelie with the honor of the field, but also with great booties and preies of vittels, armor, and other trash. Immediatlie also were dispersed the other camps, namelie the archbishops, Macclaghlin, Macchelehn, Gillemeholocke and Mkenelos, who had all the force of Leinster, saving a few of Kencile and Wexford: and these were incamped on the south side. Like wise Rotholike of Meth, Oharrell of Triell, Macshaghline and Macdelle which were incamped on the north side raised their camps and shifted for themselves. On the morrow, all things being set in good order, and good watch appointed for the safe keeping and custodie of the citie, they march towards Wexford, and take the higher waie by Dzone.

The guilefull and treacherous taking of Robert Fitzstephans at the Karecke.

Cap. 26.

After this good successe, fortune who cannot continue firme in one staie, doth now change hir course, and interlineth aduersitie with prosperitie. For whie, there is neither faith firme, nor felicitie permanent vpon the earth. For the Wexford men and they of Kencile, forgetting their promise, and nothing regarding their faith which they had before made and assured unto Robert Fitzstephans, do now assemble themselves to the number of thre thousand, and do march toward the Karecke, there to besiege the same, where Robert Fitzstephans was then: who mistrusting & fearing nothing, had but five gentlemen and a few archers about him. The enemies give the assault, & not prevailing at the first, do renew the same againe and againe: but when they saw that all their labours were lost, because that Fitzstephans and his companie though they were but a few in number, yet they were verie nimble and verie readie to defend themselves, and especiallie one William Pott, who in this service did verie well and worthilie acquit himselfe: they now do seeke to practise their old subtil

ties and guiles. They leading therefore to use force and violence, do now under colour of peace come toward the Karecke and bring with them the bishop of Kilbare, the bishop of Wexford, & certeine other religious persons, who brought with them a masse booke, *Corpus Domini*, and certeine reliques: and after a few speeches of persuasion had with Fitzstephans, they to compass their matter, toke their corporall othes, and swoze vpon a booke, that the citie of Dublin was taken: and that the earle, Maurice, Helmond, and all the Englishmen were taken and killed: that Rotholike of Connagh & Leinster, was coming towards Wexford for the apprehension of him: but for his sake, and for the good will which they bare unto him, because they had alwaie found him a courteous and a liberall prince, they were come unto him to conuie him awaie in safetie, and all his over into Wales, before the coming of that great multitude, which were his extreme and mortall enemies. Fitzstephans giving credit to this their swearing and anozies, did forthwith yield himselfe, his people, & all that he had unto them and their custodie: but they forthwith most traitorouslie, of them that thus yielded into their hands some they killed, some they beat, some they wounded, and some they cast into prison. But asone as newes was brought that Dublin was false, and that the earle was marching towards them; these traitors set the towne on fire, and they themselves with bag and baggage and with their prisoners gat them into the Iland Begozie, which they call the holie Iland, and which lieth in the middle of the haven there.

The description of Robert Fitzstephans.

Chap. 27.

A noble man, the onelie pattern of vertue, and the example of true industrie and labours: who having tried the variableness of fortune, had tasted more aduersitie than prosperitie! A worthy man, who both in Ireland and in Wales had traced the whole compass of fortunes wheele, and had endured whatsoever good fortune or euill could give! Fitzstephans, the vertie second an other (1) *Parus*, for if you do consider his prosperitie, no man was more fortunate than he: and on the contrarie, if you marke his aduersitie, no man was or could be more miserable. He was of a large and full bodie, his countenance verie comelie: and in stature he was somewhat more meane: he was bountifull, liberall, and pleasant, but yet sometimes somewhat above modestie given to wine and women. The earle (as is aforesaid) marched with his armie towards Wexford, fast by Dzone, which was a place full of streets, palles, and bogs, and verie hardlie to be passed through: but yet the whole power, force, and strength of all Leinster came thither, and met him and gave him the battell, betwene whom there was a great fight, and manie of the enemies slaine. But the earle with the losse of one onelie youngman recovered himselfe in safetie to the plaines, and there amongst others, Peterinus shewed himselfe to be a right ballant man.

(1) This *Parus* was named Caius *Parus*, his father was borne in Arphum, & from thence came to Rome, and there dwelt, being a pore artificer and handicrafts man, but much relieved by Petellus a noble Roman, in whose house, and under whom, both the father and the sonne were servants: but being given

giuen altogether to martiall affaires, he became a verie valiant man, and did as good seruice to the citie of Rome as anie before or after him. Africa he conquered, and in his first triumph Jugurtha and his two sonnes were bound in chaines, and caried captiues to Rome before his chariot. The Cambyrians, Germans, and Tigurians wanting habittations, and thinking to settle themselves in Italie, trauelled thitherwards for the same purpose; but being denied by the Romans, they made most cruell warres vpon them, and slue of them at one time fourescore thousand souldiers, and threescore thousand of others, wherewith the state of Rome and of all Italie was so broken, and ouerthrowne, that the Romans much beuailled themselves, & did thinke verelie that they should be vtterlie destroyed. In this distresse Sparius took the matter in hand, and meeting first with the Germans, gaue them the battell, slue their king Tentobochas, and two hundred thousand men, besides fourescore thousand which were taken. After that he met with the Cambyrians, and slue their king Belcus, and an hundred and fortie thousand with him, as also took fortie thousand prisoners. For which victorie he triumphed the second time in Rome, and was named then the third founder of Rome. Againe in the ciuill wars which grew by the means of Drusus, all Italie was then in armes, and the Romans in euerie place had the worse side (for all Italie began to forsake them) and in this distresse Sparius hauing gotten but a small power in respect of the enemies, giueth the onset vpon the Spartans, and at two times he slue fouretene thousand of them: which so quailed the Italians, and encouraged the Romans, that the Romans recovered themselves and had the maistrise. As in the warres so otherwise was Sparius verie fortunate: for being but of a base stocke, yet he married Iulia, a noble woman of the familie of the Iulies, and aunt vnto Iulius Cesar: he passed thorough the most part of the offices in Rome: he was first *Legatus a senatu*, then *Præfectus equitum*: after that *Tribunus plebis*, *Prætor*, *Aedilis*, and seuen times was he consull. And as fortune seemed to fauour and countenance him aboue all other in Rome: so did she also checke him with great reproches, & burdened him with great miseries. For his pride was so excessive, and his ambition so intollerable, that the best and most part of the Romans deadlie hated and envied him: and therefore when he laboured to be *Aedilis*, *Prætor*, & *Tribunus*, he was reiected; he was accused for ambition, and proclaimed a traitor and an enemie to the common-wealth: he was enforced to forsake Rome and sie into Affrike. Also being at the seas, the mariners cast him on land among his enemies, and draue him to shift for himselfe. When he was pursued by his enemies, he was faine to hide himselfe in a bog, and couered himselfe with dirt & mire because he would not be knowne. Neuerthelesse he was taken and deliuered to a slaue to be killed. Sparius other sortimes of aduersitie and miserie did he abide and indure, and therefore it was said of him, that in miserie no man was more miserable, and in felicitie none more fortunate and happy than he.

The description of the earle

Strangbow.

Chap. 28.

The earle was somewhat ruddie and of sanguine complexion and freckle faced, his eyes greie, his face feminine, his voice small, and his necke little, but somewhat of a high stature: he was verie liberall, courteous and gentle: what he could not compass and bying to passe in

ded, he would win by good words and gentle speeches. In time of peace he was more ready to yeeld and obeye, than to rule and beare swaie. Out of the campe he was more like to a souldior companion than a capteine or ruler: but in the campe and in the warres he caried with him the state and countenance of a valiant capteine. Of himselfe he would not aduenture anie thing, but being aduised and set on, he refused no attempts: for of himselfe he would not rashlie aduenture, or presumptuously take anie thing in hand. In the fight and battell he was a most assured token and signe to the whole companie, either to stand valiantlie to the fight, or for policie to retire. In all chances of warre he was still one and the same manner of man, being neither dismayd with aduersitie, nor puffed up with prosperitie.

The earle leauing Wexford vpon the

newes that Fitzstephens was in hold, went to Waterford, and from thence sailed into England, & was reconciled to the king.

Chap. 29.

When the earle was marching towards Wexford, and was come to the borders thereof, certeine messengers met him, and shewed to him the mischance hapened vnto Robert Fitzstephens, and of the setting on fire the towne of Wexford: adding mozeouer, that the traitors were fullie determined if they trauelled anie further towards them, they would cut off all the heads of Fitzstephens and his companie, and send them vnto him. Wherevpon with heauie cheare & sorrowfull hearts they change their minds, and turne towards Waterford. Where when they were come, they found Herrie now latelie returned from the king with a message and letters from him vnto the earle, perswading and requirring him to come ouer into England vnto him. Wherevpon the earle prepared and made himselfe readie, and as soone as wind and weather serued he took shipping, and caried Herrie along with him. And being landed he rode towards the king, and met him at a towne called Aetham nere vnto Gloucester, where he was in readines with a great armie to saile ouer into Ireland. Where after sundrie & manie altercations passed betwene them, at length by means of Herrie the kings displeasure was appeased, and it was agreed that the earle should sweare allegiance to the king, and yeeld and surrender vnto him the citie of Dublin, with the castles therunto adioining, as also all such towne and forts as were bordering vpon the sea side. And as for the residue he should haue and retire to him and his heirs, holding the same of the king & of his heirs. These things thus concluded, the king with his armie marched along by Seuerne side, & the sea coasts of (1) Westwales, vnto the towne (2) of Penbroke, where he taried until he had assembled all his armie in (3) Spilford haue there to be shipped.

(1) Westwales in Latine is named *Demetia*, and is that which is now called Penbrokeshire. It reacheth from the seas on the north vnto the seas on the south. In the west part thereof is the bishops see of Denene named saint Dauid: and on the east side it bordereth vpon Southwales named Debenbart. In this part were the Flemmings placed first.

(2) Penbroke is the chiefe towne of all *Demetia*, and lieth on the east side of Spilford haue, wherein was sometimes a verie strong castell builded (as some write) by a noble man named Arnulph Spomer.

(3) Spilford

(3) *Wexford* is a famous and a goodlie harborough lying in *Downe* of *Wexford*. The *Welshmen* name it the mouth of two sworves. It hath two harboroughes of armes, the one flowing hard to *Wexford* west, and the other thorough the countrie named *Kossia*.

Ororike prince of Meth besieging Dublin, is driven off by Miles Cogan, and hath the worst side.

Chap. 30.

In the meane time *Ororike*, the one eie king of *Meth*, watching the absence of the earle as also of *Richmond*, the one being in England, and the other at *Waterford*, he mustered a great number of soldiors, and upon a sudden about the kalends of September, laetly sieged the cite of *Dublin*: within the which there were then but few men, but yet they were valiant and berie men indeed. And as the flame can not be suppressed, but that it will breake out: even so vertue and ballantnesse can not be shut vp, but that it will (when time and occasion serueneth) shew it selfe. For *Miles Cogan* and all his companie upon a sudden issue out upon the enimies, and withwares taking them napping, made a great slaughter of them: among whom there was the sonne of *Ororike*, a lustie pong gentleman, and he slaine also. And at this time the king of England, lying at *Penbrooke* in *Wales*, he fell out with the noblemen and gentlemen of the countrie: because they had suffered the earle *Richard* to take his passage among them from thence into *Ireland*. And remouing such as had anie charge of keeping of any forts there, he placed others therein: but at length his heat being cooled, & his displeasure quailed, they were reconciled againe to his good fauour and grace.

Whilest the king late there, he had great pleasure in hawkking, and as he was walking abroad with a gosshawke of *Flouwaie* upon his fist, he had espied a falcon sitting vpon a rocke; and as he went about the rocke to view and behold him, his gosshawke hauing also espied the falcon, bated vnto him, and therewith the king let him flie. The falcon seeing his selfe thus breake, taketh also wing: and albeit his flight was but slow at the first; yet at length he maketh wing and mounteth vp of a great height: and taking the advantage of the gosshawke his aduersarie, commeth downe with all his might, and striking him she claue his backe asunder, and fell downe dead at the kings foot: whereat the king and all they that were then present had great maruell. And the king hauing good liking, and being in loue with the falcon, did pearcelie at the breeding and discloding time send thither for them: for in all his land there was not a better and a more hardie halwke.

The comming of king Henrie into Ireland.

Chap. 31.

These things thus done, and all prepared in a readinesse fit for such a noble enterprise, and for which the king had staied a long time in *Wales*, he went to saint *Dauids* church, where when he had made his praier and done his deuotion, the wind and the wether well seruing, he took shipping and arriued vnto *Waterford* in the kalends of *November*, being saint *Lukes* daie: hauing in his retinue five hundred gentlemen of seruice, and of bowmen and horsemen a great

number. This was in the seuenteenth yeare of his reigne, the one & fortieth of his age, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred seauentie & two, Alexander the third then pope, Frederike then emperor, and *Almes* then French king. And now was fulfilled the prophesie of *Merlin*, that a fire globe shall come out of the east, and shall deuour and consume all *Ireland* round about: and likewise the prophesie of saint *Polin*, that out of the east shall come a mightie hurling wind, & rush thorough to the west, and shall run thorough and ouerthrow the force and strength of *Ireland*.

Prophesies of Merlin and Polin fulfilled.

The citizens of Wexford present vnto the king Robert Fitzstephans, and sundrie princes of Ireland come and submit themselves to the king.

Chap. 32.

The king being thus landed at *Waterford*, and there resting himselfe, the citizens of *Waterford*, vnder colour and pretense of great humblenesse and dutie, and in hope of some thanks, they brought *Robert Fitzstephans* bound as a captiue and a prisoner, and presented him to the king as one who deserued small fauor or courtesie, that he had without his consent & leaue entered into *Ireland*, & giuen thereby an occasion to others to offend and to do euill. The king not liking of him, fell out with him, and charged him verie depelle and sharplie for his rash and hastie aduentures, and that he would take vpon him to make a conquest of *Ireland* without his assent and leaue: and forthwith commanded him to be handlocked and fettered, with an other prisoner, and to be fastlie kept in *Kenold* towre. Then *Dermon Mac Arth* prince of (1) *Corke* came to the king of his owne free will, submitted himselfe, became tributarie, and toke his oath to be true and faithfull to the king of England. After this the king remoued his armie and marched toward (2) *Lismore*, and after that he had tarried about two daies, he went to (3) *Cashill*, and thither came vnto him at the riuer of (4) *Sure*, *Donold* prince of (5) *Limerike*: where when he had obtained peace, he became tributarie and swore fealtie. The king then set (of his men) rulers and keepers ouer the cities of *Corke* and *Limerike*.

Then also came in *Donold* prince of *Osioz*, and *Macleishlin* of *Felin* prince of the *Decies*, and all the best & chieffest men in all *Spounser*, & did submit themselves, became tributaries and swore fealtie. Whome when the king had verie liberallie rewarded, he sent them home againe: and he himselfe returned backe againe to *Waterford* through (6) *Tibrah*. When he came to *Waterford*, *Fitzstephans* was brought before him, & when he had well beheld him, and considered with himselfe the ballantnesse of the man, the good seruice he had done, & the perils & dangers he had bene in: he began to be moued with some pitie and compassion vpon him, and at the intercession & by the mediation of certaine noblemen, he heartilie forgane him, and released him from out of bonds, and restored him wholie to his former state and libertie, sauing that he reserued to himselfe the towne of *Waterford*, with the territories and lands thereunto adioining: & not long after some of those traitors, who thus had betrayed him, were themselves taken and put to death.

(1) *Corke*, in Latine named *Corcagium*, is an ancient citie in the prouince of *Spounser*, and builded (as it should appeare) by the *Casterlings* of *Flouwaies*. It standeth now in a marish of a bog, and builded

to it floreth an arme of the seas, in the which are ma-
nie goodlie receptacles or harborings for ships, &
much frequented as well for the goodlie commodities
of fishings therein, as also for the trade of merchan-
dise, by the which the citie is chieflie maintained : for
the inhabitants are not onlie merchants & great tra-
uellers themselves ; but also great stoe of strange
merchants do daillie resort & traffike with them. It
is walled round about, and well fortified for a suffi-
cient defense against the Irishie. In it is the bishops
see of that diocesse, being called by the name of the
bishop of Coxke . The citie is gouerned by a maior
and two bailiffes, who vsing the gouernement accord-
ing to the lawes of England, do keepe and main-
teine the same in verie good order. They are verie
much troubled with the enimie, and therefore they do
continuallie, as men lieng in a garison, keepe watch
and ward both daie and night . The prince of that
countrie did most commonlie keepe a state himselte
in all troubles within that citie, untill the time the
same was conquered by the Englishmen, who euer
since haue inhabited in the same.

II. Ilesmoze in times past was as faire a towne as it is ancient, and standeth vpon a goodlie river, which floweth into Poughall, and so into the maine seas. It was sometime a bishoppeke, but of late be-
nited to the bishoppeke of Waterford, and so it lieth in the countie and diocesse of Waterford, but the soile it selfe was within the countie of Cork.

(2) *Caſſil* is an old ruinous towne, but walled, and ſtandeth vpon the riuer *Sure*. In it is the ſee and cathedral church of the biſhop, bearing the name thereof, who is one of the ſoure archbiſhopps of that Iſand, and vnder him are the biſhops of *Waterford*, *Coſke*, and ſeuē others.

(4) The Sure is a goodlie and a notable river; and one of the chiefeest in that land. It hath his head or spring in a certeine hill called Blandina, but in Irish Sloghbblome, for the pleasantnesse thereof. Manye good towne are seated and builded vpon the same, & it is nauigable more than the one halfe. It fleetheth from the spring or head fast by the towne of Tholcis, wherof the earle of Dymond is baron: from thence to the holie crosse and so to Clomnell, & from thence to Carig Mac Criffath, where is an ancient house of the earles, sometime named the earles of the Carig, but now earles of Dymond; and from thence fleeth by Tibach, it cometh to Waterford; and fleeth by the iuals thereof, it runneth into the seas.

(5) Limerick is one of the first cities builded by the Hibernians or Casserlings, named sometimes Skomien: the founder whereof was the youngest of three brethren whose name was Phorus. It standeth upon the famous and noble river of Shenin, which goeth round about it, the same being as it were an Island. The seat of it is such, as none can be more faire or more statelie. It lieth in the maine land with in the prouince of Spounser, called the north Spounser, and is from the maine seas about forty miles, and yet at the waile euen the greatest ship at the seas may be discharged and vnladen, and yerelie so there are: for the citie it selfe is chieflie inhabited by merchants. It is gouerned by a maior and balliue: after and according to the English lawes and ord. It was in times past vnder a particular prince. It it self, but euer since the conquest it hath bene inhabited by the Englishmen, who doe so still continue therein.

(6) Tibzack is an old towne, which in times past was rich and verie well inhabited, it lieth vpon the north side of the Sure, and about two miles from Carig Mac Griffith. In it is a great stone standing, which is the bound betwene the countie of Killkenric and Desmond.

Rothorike OConnor the monarch and
all the princes in Vlster submit and yeeld
themselues vnto the king, as he pas-
seth towards Dublin.

Chap. 33.

10 **T**hese things thus don at Waterford, the king left Robert Fitzbarnard there with his household, and marched himselfe to Dublin through the countrie of Mozie: and traiesing somewhat by the wate in his tourne there came and resorted vnto him out of euerie place there the great men & princes, as nannelle Baghelan Mphelan prince of Mozie, Pache Talcwie, Dithwlie Gillemeholoch, Dehadese, M Carell of Thriell & Moziike of Speth: all which yelded & submitted them selues to the king in their owne persons, & became his vassals, & swooze fealtie. 20 But Mothorthe the monarch came no nether than to the riuer side of the (1) Shenin, which diuideth Connagh from Speth, & there Hugh de Lacie and William Fitzablene by the kings commandement met him, who desiring peace submitted himselfe, swooze allegiance, became tributarie, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland sauing Ulster brought in subiection, and euerie particular prince in his proper person did 30 yeld and submit himselfe, sauing onelie Mothorthe, the then monarch of all Ireland; and yet by him and in his submission all the residue of the whol land became the kings subiects, and submitted themselves. For indeed there was no one noz other within that land, who was of ante name oz countenance, but that he did present himselfe before the kings maiestie, and yelded vnto him subiection and due obedience.

And then was fulfilled the old and vulgar prophesie of S. Apollin; Before him all the princes shall fall downe, and vnder a dissembled submission shall obtaine fauor and grace. Likewise the prophesie of Aperrin; All the birds of that Island shall flie to his light, and the greater birds shall be taken & brought into captiuitie, and their wings shall be burned. Also the old prophesie of Aperrin Ambrose; faine portions shall be brought into one, & the firt shall breake and overthrow the walles of Ireland. That which Ambrose nameth here the firt, Celdionius nameth the fift, as appeareth in his booke of prophesies. Now when the feast of Christmasse did approach and draw nere, marie and the most part of the princes of that land resorted and made repaire vnto Dublin, to see the kings court; and when they saw the great abundance of vittels, and the noble seruices, as also the eating of cranes, which they much lothed, being not before accustomed thereunto, they much wondered and maruelled thereat; but in the end they being by the kings commandement set downe, did also there eat and drinke among them. At this time there were certeine soldiors, being boughten, leased at ftinglas, and they bewed and cut downe the trees which grew about the churchyard, which had bene there planted of old time by certeine good and holie men; and all these soldiors suddenly fell sicke of the pestilence and died all: as is moze at large declared in our topographie.

(1) The Shenin is the chiefeft and moft famous
river in that land, and doth in a manner inuirt
and inclofe all Connagh, & divideth it from the pro-
uinces of Spounner and Speth: by his head and spring
is in the hill named Therne, which bordereth vpon the
Connor, Slegos countrie, not farre from the river of

of the Banne in Ulster, and in length is supposed to be about a hundred and twentie English miles. It is increased with sundrie brooks, and diuerse rivers run into the same; the chiefeſt whereof is that which riseth and commeth out of the lough or lake Foile. In it are manie loughs or lakes of great quantitie or bignesse, which are maruelouslie replenished and stored with abundance of fish: the chiefeſt of which are the lough Rie, and the lough Derigid. It is navigable above thre score miles, and vpon it standeth the most famous citie of Limerike. There is onlie one brydge ouer it, builded of late yeares at Alone, by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie knight, then lord deputie of the realme.

The councell or synod kept at
Cashill.

Chap. 34.

The realme heeing now in good peace and quietnesse, and the king now hauing a care and a zeale to set forth Gods honoꝝ and true religion, summoned a synod of all the clergie vnto Cashill, where inquirie and examination was made of the wicked and loose life of the people of the land and nation: which was registred in writing, and sealed vnder the seale of the bishop of Lismore, who being then the popes legat was president of that councell. And then & there were made and decreed sundrie good and godlie constitutions, which are yet certant; as namelie, for contracting of marriage, for payment of tithes, for the reuerend and cleane keeping of the churches; and that the vniuersall church of Ireland should be reduced in all things to the order and forme of the church of England. Which constitutions were forthwith published throughout the realme, and doe here folloio.

Constitutions made at the councell of Cashill.

Chap. 35.

In the yere of Christs incarnation 1172, & in the first yere that the most noble king of England conquered Ireland, Christianus bishop of Lismore, and legat of the apostolicke see, Donat archbishop of Cashill, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholikus archbishop of Thomond with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, abbats, archdeacons, priors, deanes, & manie other prelates of the church of Ireland, by the commandement of the king did assemble themselves and kept a synod at Cashill: and there debating manie things concerning the wealth, estate, and reformation of the church, did prouide remedies for the same. At this councell were also for and in the behalfe of the king, whom he had sent thither, Kase abbat of Buldelwais, Kase archdeacon of (1) Landaffe, Nicholas the chapleine, and diuerse other good clearks. Sundrie good statutes and wholesome laws were there deuised, which were after subscribed and confirmed by the king himselfe, and vnder his authoritie, which were these that follow. First, it is decreed that all good faithfull and christian people, throughout Ireland, should forbear and thyn to marrie with their nere kinsfolke and cousins, & marrie with such as lawfullie they should doe. Secondarilye, that children shall be catechised without the church doore, and baptised in the font appointed in the churches for the same. Thirdlie, that euerie christian bodie doe faithfullie and trulie paie yecelie the tiths of his cattels, corne, and all other his increase and profits to the church &

parish where he is a parishoner. Fourthlie, that all the church lands and possessions, throughout all Ireland, shall be free from all secular exactions and impositions: and especiallie that no lords, earles, no noble men, no their children, no familie, shall extort or take anie coine and lucrie, coſheries, no cud-dies, no anie other like custome from thenseforth, in or vpon anie of the church lands and territories. And likewise that they no: no other person doe henceforth exact out of the said church lands, old, wicked, and detestable customes of coine and lucrie, which they were wont to extort vpon such tostones and villages of the churches, as were nere and next bozdering vpon them. Fifthlie, that when carike or composition is made among the laie people for anie murder, that no person of the cleargie, though he be kin to anie of the parties, shall contribute anie thing therevnto: but as they be guiltlesse from the murder, so shall they be free from payment of monie, for anie such carike or release for the same. Sixtly, that all and euerie god christian being sicke & weake, shall before the priest and his neigbboꝝ make his last will and testament; and his debts and seruants wages being paid, all his monables to be diuided (if he haue anie children) into thre parts: whereof one part to be to the children, another to his wife, and the third part to be for the performance of his will. And if so be that he haue no children, then the goods to be diuided into two parts, whereof the one moitie to his wife, and the other to the performance of his will and testament. And if he haue no wife, but onelie children, then the goods to be likewise diuided into two parts, whereof the one to himselfe, and the other to his children. Seuenthly, that euerie christian being dead, and dieng in the catholike faith, shall be reuerendlie brought to the church, and to be buried as apperteineth. Finallie, that all the diuine seruice in the church of Ireland shall be kept, vsed, & obserued in the like order and maner as it is in the church of England. For it is meet and right, that as by Gods prouidence and appointment Ireland is now become subiect, and vnder the king of England: so the same should take from thense the order, rule, and maner how to reforme themselves, and to liue in better order. For whatsoeuer god thing is befallen to the church & realme of Ireland, either concerning religion, or peaceable gouernement, they owe the same to the king of England, and are to be thankesfull vnto him for the same: for before his comming into the land of Ireland, manie and all sorts of wickednesses in times past flowed and reigned amongest them: all which now by his authoritie and goodness are abolished. The primate of Armagh, by reason of his weaknesse and great age, was not present at the synod: but afterwards he came to Dublin, and gaue his full consent to the same. This holie man as the common saieing was) had a white cow, and being fed onelie by his milke, he was alwaies carried with him wheresoeuer he went and trauelled from home.

The tempestuous and stormie
winter.

Chap. 36.

The seas, which a long time had bene calme, began now to swell, and to be full of continuall storms and tempests, which were so raging, and so great, that in all that winter there arised scarcelie anie one ship or barke from anie place into that land: neither was there anie newes heard from out of anie countrie during that winter. Wherevpon men began to be afraid, and thinke verelie that God in his anger would punish them.

The king returneth homewards
through Westwales, and of the speaking
stone at saint Davids.

Chap. 38.

them, and be reuenged for their wicked & unfaill life, and therefore had sent this plague vpon them. At this time in Southwales by reason of the extreme and continuall tempests, the sea sides and thores, which had manie yeares bene couered with great sand ridges, were now washed and carried awaie with the seas, and then there appeared the former fast and firme earth, and therein a great number of trees standing which vnto in times past grow there: and by reason they had bene so long couered, & as it were buried vnder the sands, they stood as trunked and polled trees, and were as blacke as is the Ebente. A maruelous alteration, that the place sometimes couered with seas, and a waie for ships to passe, is now become a soile of ground and drye land. But some suppose that this was so at the first, and that those trees were there growing before or thowle after the flood of Noah. The king remained at Waterford, still longing to heare news from beyond the seas: and thus lieng solitarie he practised by all the means and sleights he coulde, how he might sleepe and procure vnto him Keimond, Miles Cogart, William Spakerell, & other of the best gentlemen; that he being assured of them to be firme of his side, he might be the stronger, and the earle the weaker.

The conspiracie made against the king
by his sonnes, and the ambassage of the le-
gat from the pope vnto him.

Chap. 37.

After which the wind being easterlie, there came and arriued into Ireland certeine ships, as well from out of England, as also from out of Aquitaine in France, which brought him verie ill & bad newes. For there were come into Poymandie from pope Alexander the third two cardinals in an ambassage, the one of them being named Albertus, and the other Theodinus, to make inquirie of the death of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie. They were thought and taken to be iust and good men, and therefore were chosen of trust and of purpose for this matter: but yet for all that they were Romans, and who were fullie determined to haue interdicted, not onelie England, but also all the whole dominions subiect vnto the king, if he himselfe had not the soner come and met with them. Besides this, there was worse newes told him, and a worse mishap befell vnto him (for commonlie good lucke cometh alone, but ill haps come by heapes and by huddels) which was, that his eldest sonne whom he loued so deerie, and whom he had crowned king, as also his two yonger sonnes, with the consent and helpe of sundrie noble men, as well in England as beyond the seas, had confederated themselves, and conspired against the king in his absence. Which newes and secret conspiracie when he heard and vnderstood, he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and for verie angust and griefe of mind did sweat. First it grieued him that he should be suspected and infamed of the crime whereof he was guiltlesse. Also he feared of the great troubles which would grow and issue hereby to his kingdome, & all other his dominions. Next, and it grieued him verie much, that he being minded and determined the next summer then following to settle Ireland in some good state, and to fortifie the same with holds and castels, he should now be compelled and driven to leaue the same undone. Wherefore sending some before him into England, as well to aduertise his comming homewards, as also of the safetie he had taken for Ireland, he thought himselfe, as also toke good aduise and counsell, what was best to be done in these his weightie causes.

The king being minded and determined to returne into England, set his realme of Ireland in good order, and left Hugh de Lacie (vnto whom he had giuen in fee the countrie of Spech) with twentie gentlemen, & Fitzstephans & Maurice Fitzgerald with twentie other gentlemen, to be wardens and conestables of Dublin. Likewise he left Humfrey de Bohune, Robert Fitzbarnard, and Hugh de Cundenille, with twentie gentlemen, to keepe and gouerne Waterford. Also he left William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Hastings, and Philip de Buse, to be gouernors and rulers of Waterford: they hauing also twentie gentlemen of seruice appointed vnto them. And on the monday in the Easter weeke, earlie in the morning at the sunne rising, he toke shipping without the barre of Waterford; and the wind being westerie and blowing a good gale, he had a verie good passage, and arriued about the nonetide of the same daie vnto the baie of saint Davids: where he being set on land, he went on foot with a staffe in his hand in pilgrimage, and in great deuotion vnto the church of saint Davids; whom the cleargie in procession met at the gate called the white gate, and with great honour receiued him. And as they were going verie orderlie and solemnlie in procession, there came vnto him a Welsh or a Camber woman; and falling downe at his feet, she made a great complaint against the bishop of that place: which being by an interpreter declared vnto the king, albeit he vnderstood it well, yet he gaue hir no answer.

She thinking that hir sute was not regarded, did loyng hir fists, and cried out with a loud voice; Reuenge vs this day O Lechlanar, Reuenge vs I say, our kindred, and our nation, from this man. And being willed by the people of that countrie, who vnderstood hir speech, to hold hir peace, as also did thrust hir out of the companie; she cried the more, trusting and alluding to a certeine blind prophesie of Merlin, which was; that the king of England the conqueror of Ireland, should be wounded in Ireland by a man with a red hand, and in his returning homewards through Southwales should die vpon Lechlanar. This Lechlanar was the name of a certeine great stone which lay ouer a bryke, which stetheth or runneth on the north side of the churchyard, and was a brydge ouer the same: and by reason of the often and continuall going of the people ouer it, it was verie smooth and slipperie. In length it was of ten fot, in breadth six fot, and in thiknesse one fot. And this word Lechlanar, in the Camber or Welsh tongue, is to saie, The speaking stone. For it was an old blind fateng among the people in that countrie, that on a time there was a dead corps caried ouer that stone to be buried, and the said stone spake, and with his bryke and clauie asunder in the middle, and which clift so remaineth vnto this daie. And there vpon the people of that countrie, of a verie vaine and barbarous superstition, haue not since, nor yet will carie anie more dead bodies ouer the same.

The king being come to this stone, and hearing of this prophesie, paused and staid a little while; and then vpon a sudden, verie hastily he went ouer it: which done, he looked backe vpon the stone, and spake somewhat sharpelie, saying: Who is he that will beleeue that lieng Merlin anie more? A man of that place standing thereby, and seeing what had happened, he to excuse Merlin, said with a loud voice: When

A prophesie of Merlin.

A speaking stone.

art not be that shall conquer Ireland, neither doth sperlin meane it of the. The king then went into the cathedraill church which was dedicated to saint Andrew and to saint David: and hauing made his prayers, and heard diuine seruice, he went to supper, and rode after to Wauerford west to bed, which is about twelue miles from thence.

(1) The wytter hereof (of vertie purpose) in the yeaere 1575, went to the foresaid place to see the said stone, but there was no such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie, is now an archid bridge, vnder which flaketh the brouke aforesaid, which brouke doth not diuide the churchyard from the church, but the churchyard & church from the bishops and prebendaries houses, which houses in times past were verie faire and good hospitalitie kept therein. But as the most part of houses are fallen down, and altogether ruinous, so the hospitalitie is also therewith decayed. And for the veritie of the foresaid stone, there is no certainte affirmed, but a report is remaining amongst the common people of such a stone to haue bene there in times past.

The submission of king Henrie to the pope, and his reconciliation, as also the agreement betwene him and the French king.

Chap. 39.

The king then tooke his iourne from Wauerford homewards along by the sea side, euen the same waie as before he came thither; and forthwith in all hast he taketh shipping, and sailed into Normandie: and immediately vnderstanding where the popes legats were, he repaired vnto them, and presented himselfe in most humble maner before them. Where & before whom after sundrie altercations passed to and fro betwene them, he purged himselfe by his oath, that he was giltylesse of the death of the archbishop Thomas: neuertheless he was contented to do the penance imposed him. For although he did not kill, nor yet know, nor consent to the murdering of him, yet he denied not but that the same was done for his (1) sake. The ambassadors & legats hauing thus ended with the king, with much honour returned backe, and homewards to Rome. And then the king trauelled and went to the marches of France, there to talke and haue conference with Lewis the French king, betwene whom then was discord and debate. But after sundrie speeches past betwene them, at length by the meanes and intercession of sundrie good men, and especiallie of Philip earle of Flanders (who was but then returned from Compostella, where he had bene in pilgrimage vnto saint James) the same was ended; and the displeasure which he had conceived about and for the death of the archbishop of Canturburie was clerelie released. And by these meanes, the great malice and secret conspiracies of his sonnes and their confederats was for this time suppressed and quailed, and so continued vntill the yeaere following.

(1) They which do write and intreat of the life and death of this archbishop, do affirme that the king after the death of this man, did send his ambassadors to pope Alexander at Rome, to purge himselfe of this fact. And notwithstanding that he toke a corporall oath, that he neither did it nor caused it to be done, nor yet gave anie consent, or was priuie thereof, nor yet was gilty in anie respect, sauing that he confessed he did not so well fauour the bishop as he had done in times past: yet could not his ambassadors be admit-

ted to the presence and sight of the pope, vntill he had yielded himselfe to his arbitrement and iudgement: which was that he should do certeine penance, as also to performe certeine intunctions which were as followeth. That the king at his proper costs and charges should keepe and susteine two hundred souldiers for one whole yeaere, to defend the holie land against the Turke. That he should permit, and that it should be lawfull to all his subiects as often as them listeth to appeale to the see of Rome. That none should be accounted thenselworth to be lawfull king of England, vntill such time as he were confirmed by the Roman bishop. That he should restore to the church of Canturburie all such goods and possessions as were taken and detained from the same since the death of the archbishop. That he should suffer all such people as were fled or banished out of the realme for his sake, to returne home without delate or let, and to inioy and haue againe all such goods and lands whatsoever they had before. Other things this Romish antichrist did demand, and which the king was compelled to grant vnto before he could be released: whereby it doth appeare how much they do varie from the calling of Christs apostles; and how that (contrarie to the rule of the gospell) their onclie inducement was to make and haue princes and kingdoms subiect to their becke and tyrannite.

Intunctions by the pope to the king of England.

The vision which appeared vnto the king at his being at Cardiffe.

Chap. 40.

Before we do proceed anie further, it were not amisse to declare what happened and befell vnto the king in his returning through Wales, after his comming from Ireland. In his iourne he came to the towne of Cardiffe on the saturday in the Easter weeke, and lodged there all that night. On the morrow being sundaie, and commonlie called little Easter daie or Low sundaie, he went somewhat earlie to the chapel of saint Perian, and there heard diuine seruice, but he staid there in his secret prayers behind all his companie, somewhat longer than he was wont to do: at length he came out, and leaping to his horse, there stood before him one hauing before him a stake, or a post pttched in the ground. He was of colour somewhat yelloysh, his head rounded and a leane face, of stature somewhat high, and aged about forty yeaeres; his apparell was white, being close & downe to the ground, he was girded about the middle, and bare footed. This man spake to the king in Dutch, saing: God saue thee O king, and then said thus vnto him: Christ and his mother Marie, John baptist, and Peter the apostle do salute thee: and do stridlie charge and commaund thee, that thou do forbid, that thenselworth throughout all thy kingdome and dominions, there be no faires nor markets kept in anie place vpon the sundaies: and that vpon those daies no manner of person do anie bodilie worke, but onelie to serue God, sauing such as be appointed to dress the meat. If thou wilt thus do, all that thou shalt take in hand shall prosper, and thy selfe shalt haue a happie life. The king then spake in French to the gentleman, who held his horse by the bridle, and whose name was Philip Bertros, a man borne in those parts, and who told me this tale: Aske him whether he dreame or not. Which when he had so done, the man looking vpon the king said: Whether I dreame or not, marke well and remember what daie this is: for if thou do not this, and speedlie amend thy wicked life, thou shalt before the yeaere come about heare such euill news of those things which thou louest.

Dj.

lowest best, and thou shalt be so much inquieted therewith, that thou shalt not find anie ease or end untill thy dying daie. With this word the king put spur to the horse and rode awaite towards the towne gate, which was at hand: but thinking upon the words assigned his horse and said; Call me yonder fellow againe. Whereupon the foresaid gentleman as also one William, which two were onelie then attending upon him, first called and then sought him in the chappell, and finding him not there, sought him throughout the court, the towne, and in all the Iris, but could not find him. The king being verie sad and forie that he had not throughlie talked with the man, went abroad himselfe to seeke him, but finding him not, called for his horses and rode from thence by Kempinbodge to Jewberie. And as this man had before threatned and said, it so came to passe before the yeare was ended: for his eldest sonne Henrie, and his two yonger sonnes Richard earle of Aquitaine, and Gesteire erle of Britaine, in the Lent following forsooke and shooke from him, and went to Helwies the French king. Whereof grew and ensued unto him such vexation and inquietnesse, as he had neuer the like before, and which by one means and other neuer left him untill his dying daie. And suerlie it was thought the same by Gods iudgement so befell unto him: for as he had bene and was a disobedient sonne to his spirituall father, so his carnall sonnes should be disobedient and rebellious against their carnall father. Manie such forewarnings the king had by Gods mercie and godnesse sent unto him before his death, to the end he should repent and be converted, and not be condemned: which would to God that euerie prince and other man did not forwardlie and obstinatie condemne, but rather with an humble and a penitent heart they would (as they ought to do) receiue and embrace the same! And therefore I haue and mind to write more at large in my booke, concerning the instruction and instruction of a christian prince.

The treason and killing of Ororike prince of Meth.

Chap. 41.

In the meane time Ireland was in good rest and peace, under such as unto whom the charge thereof was committed. And now on a time it happened, that the one eied Ororike of Meth, being at Dublin, complained unto Hugh de Lacie of certeine injuries done unto him, praiseng redzesse: whereupon the date and a place of (1) parlee was betwene them appointed for the same. The night next before the date of this parlee, a yong gentleman named Griffith, the nephew of Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, being the sonne to their eldest brother named William, dreamed in his sleepe that he saw a great heard of wild hogs to rush and run upon Hugh de Lacie and his uncle Maurice; and that one of them being more horrible and greater than the rest, had with his tusks rent and killed them: if he had not with all his force and strength rescued them, and killed the boie. On the morrow according to appointment, they came to the place appointed for the parlee, which was a certeine hill called Morikes hill: but before they came to the verie hill it selfe, they sent messengers the one to the other, requiring assurance and safetie: and hauing swoorne on each part to keepe faith and truth, they came to the place appointed and there met, but yet a small compaignie on either side. For it was agreed upon on both parties, by con-

nant excepted, that on each part they should bring but a few and the like number, and they to be all unarmed; the swords on one side and the spars on the other side, and for all the residue of the people and compaignie to stand aloofe and a farre off. But Griffith, who came to the said parlee with his uncle Maurice, was verie pensife and much troubled, concerning the vision which he saw in his sleepe; and doubting of the worst, made choise of seven of the best gentlemen of his kindred, whom he knew to be valiant, and in whom he had a speciall trust and confidence. These he dreweth to the one side of the hill, but as nere to the place of parlee as he could, where euerie of them having his sword, spar and shield, leapt and mounted vp to their horses, and ranging the fields they made sundrie careers and lustie tournaments, vnder the pretense and colour of pleasures and pastime; but in verie deed to be in a readinesse if need should so require.

Hugh de Lacie and Maurice this meane while were talking and discourting of manie things, but concluded not of anie thing; neither did Maurice meane anie such thing. For hauing a traitorous mind, and watching his time when he might best poyze out his venem, fained himselfe to go out and abroad to make water, and vnder that colour beckened unto his men, with whom he had concluded and agreed before, that with all hast they should come awaite unto him; and they forthwith in all hast so did, and he also then with a pale, grim, and murderous countenance, hauing his axe or spar upon his shoulder, returned backe againe. Maurice Fitzgerald, which was before warned by his consine Griffith and aduertised of his dreame, gaue god eie and watched the matter verie narrowly; and therefore all the parlee time, he had his sword readie drawn about him; and espies the traitor to be fullie bent and about to strike Hugh de Lacie, he cried out unto him, willing him to looke unto himselfe, and to be at defence with himselfe; wherewith the traitor most violentlie strake unto him, thinking verelie to haue murdered and dispatched him. But the interpreter of the parlee stepping in betwene, saued Hugh de Lacie; but he himselfe was wounded to death, and his arme cleane cut off.

Then Maurice Fitzgerald with a loud voice cried out to his compaignie, who with all hast came awaite; and then began a hot and a sharpe bickering of the English swords against the Irish spars. In which skirmishing Hugh de Lacie was twice felled to the ground, and had suerlie bene killed, if Maurice had not valiantlie rescued him. Likewise the Irishmen who were manie in number, they hauing espied the becking of the traitor, they came running in all hast out of the ballies with their weapons, thinking verelie to haue made a cleane dispatch and a full end of Hugh de Lacie and of Maurice Fitzgerald. But Griffith and his compaignions, still watching for that which indeed did happen, were at the first call of Maurice in a readinesse, and being on horsebacke they came awaite with all speed: which thing when the traitor saw, he gan to distrust, and thought to shift himselfe awaite and so to escape. But as he was leaping to his horse, Griffith was come, and with his staffe or lance strake downe and ran through both horse and man: who being thus stricken downe and killed, as also three other of his men, who brought him his horse and were in this bickering, they cut off his head from the bodie, and sent it ouer into England to the king. The residue of the Irishmen fled forthwith and ranne awaite, but being hardlie pursued even to the verie woods, there was a great discomforture and slaughter made of them. Kase the sonne of Fitzstephans, being a lustie and a valiant yong

Griffith
died.

young gentleman, did well acquite himselfe, and deserved great commendation for his good service.

(1) The manner of the Irishie was ever, and yet is, that when so ever there is anie controuersie amongst them, they will oftentimes appoint places where to meet and assemble themselves for conference; which commonlie is upon some hill distant and farre from anie house, and this assemble is called among them a parlee or a parlement. And albeit the pretense hereof is of some quietnesse and redresse: yet experience teacheth that there is not a worse thing to be used among them. For lightlie and most commonlie there are most treacheries and treasons, most murders and robberies, and all wickednesse imagined, devised, and afterwards put in practise among them: and for the most part there is no parlee among them, whereof insueth not some mischæse.

(2) This hill lieth in the prouince of Metch, about fiftentie miles from Dublin, and is now called the Caragh: some thinke this to be the middle part or nauill of that prouince; it is a verie pleasant and a fertile soile, and also for the most part champion.

Sundrie examples concerning visions.

Chap. 42.

IF so much as there be sundrie opinions and iudgments concerning visions, it shall not be much amisse, or impertinent to our matter, to recite a few examples & true reports of the same. Valerius Maximus in his first booke and seauenth chapter writeth, that two men of Arcadia, iourning together in companie towards a towne named Megara, when they came thither, the one of them lodged himselfe with his friend, but the other at a common Inne. He who late in his friends house being in bed and asleepe, dreamed that his companion came vnto him, and requested him to helpe him, because his host did oppresse him; wherewith he awoke, but verie shortly he fell asleepe againe, and dreamed that his said companion came againe vnto him being verie sore wounded, and prayed him that although he should not at the first time come and helpe him, yet that he would now reuenge his death, declaring that his host had taken his head and corpes, and put it into a cart to be caried to the dunghill, and there to be buried. This man being awaked, and much troubled with this dreame, arose and sought for his fellow, and finding his dreame to be true, caried the host to be taken and apprehended, who for that his fact was executed and put to death. Aterius Rufus a gentleman of Rome likewise; being on a time at Stracusa, he dreamed that he was killed by a maister of sente, which came so to passe: for on the morrow after he was present at the plaie or game of swordplayes or maisters of defense, whereas a netcaster was brought in to fight with a swordplaye. Whereupon Aterius uttering his dreame to him that sat next by him, would haue gone and departed away; but being perswaded to the contrarie, did staie to his owne destruction. For the netcaster hauing ouerthrowne the swordplaye, and thinking to haue pearced him through with his sword, missed him and strooke Aterius, who sat in place next there vnto, and so was he slaine. Also Simonides the poet, being on a time set on land vpon the sea shore, he saw there a dead man lieng vnburied. The night following he dreamed that the said dead man did aduise and

admonish him, that he should not take ship the daie following: but his felowes minding not to lose anie time, and the weather seeming then to be faire, they went all aboard, and hoised vp their sailes; which Simonides refused to do, and tarried at land. It was not long after but that the weather wared to be fowle, and the seas to be high, and in the end both the ship and men to be all lost: but Simonides crediting his dreame, was saued. Porcouer Calpurnia, the wife vnto Iulius Cesar, the night before hir husband was slaine, dreamed that she saw him greatly wounded to lie in hir lap: wherewith she being afraid did awake, and told Iulius hir dreame, requesting him that he would forbeare to repaire to the senat house that daie: but he giuing small credit to a womans dreame, followed his mind, and was slaine by the senators. But to leaue these examples fetched from out of other nations, let vs come nere home to our felucs. A brother of mine named Walter Warrie, a lustie young gentleman, making himselfe ready on a time to serue in a certeine hosting against his enimie, the night before he should take his iournie, he dreamed that my mother who was dead on long before, did come vnto him, and aduise & warne him, that if he loued his life he should in anie wise refraine and forbeare that iournie. She in deed was not his naturall mother, but his mother in law, and yet loued him in hir life time as intirelie as hir owne child. When he had told this his dreame to his father and mine, for indeed we were both brothers by one father, though we had not one mother: he also gaue him the like aduise and counsell, but he of his presumptuous mind, not regarding the same, followed his owne mind, and the same daie was killed by his enimie.

(2) As dreames sometimes are god forewarnings to men to eschew evils which are towards, yet they are not alwaies to be so receiued, as prognostications infallible. For sometimes the same fall out to the contrarie, as both appere by Augustus the emperor; who hauing warres against Brutus and Cassius, and he by reason of his sicknesse carried in a litter, his physician Arterius dreamed that the goddesse Minerva did appeare vnto him, willing him to aduise and counsell the emperor, that he should not by reason of his sicknesse come into the field, nor be present in the battell, which he did. But the emperor notwithstanding entered into the field, being caried in his litter, and toke marvellous great pains. And albeit Brutus taking the emperors tents, seemed to haue the victorie; yet was he for all that vanquished, and the emperor had the conquest. Likewise in west Wales, of late yeares, it happened a certeine rich man dwelling on the north side of a certeine mounteine, he dreamed three nights together, that there was a chaine of gold hidden in the head stone, which couered and laie vpon a certeine well or founteine, named saint Bernaces well, and that he should go and fetch it. This man at length, somewhat believing the dreame, and minding to trie the same, went to the place, and did put his hand into the hole or place: but his hand was no sooner in, but that it was bitten, stung, and enuened with an adder. Wherefore a man may see hereby what credit is to be giuen to dreames, and I for my part do so credit of them as I do of rumors. But concerning such visions as God doth send by his angels to his prophets and holie men, we must otherwise thinke of them; because the effect of them is most vndoubted, certeine, and assured.

(1) The Romans had diuerse games, plaies, and exercises amongst themselves, and had for the same certeine amphitheatres and theaters made of purple,

pose, wherein the people might sit to view and behold the same. Of these plaies or games some were of cruell beasts the one fighting with the other, some of men fighting with beasts, and some of men fighting the one with the other, and these plaies were called *ludi gladiatorij*, games of sword plaies or fighting: for as in combates in England, so they being unharnessed, did fight with their swords or weapons in the open sight of the people, endeavouring each one to kill the other, which were spectacles of crueltie to harden the peoples hearts against killing in the warres. Of these some were called *Mirmillones*, which were such as chalenged the fight; some were called *Gladiatores*, and these were such as we do name masters of defenses, because they used onelie or cheslie the sword; and some were called *Retiarij*, and these besides their weapons did use a certeine kind of net, which in fighting they were wont to take and in trap their enemies, and such a one was this man, who fighting with a challenger, did by chance misse him and kill Alerius.

(2) In the old and first ages, men were much given to dreames and visions: and oftentimes great forewarnings and prognostications were given thereby, as doth appeare in the holie scriptures, as also in prophane histories. For Joseph the son of Jacob, king Pharaos, king Nabuchodonosor, Spardochus, Daniell, Judas Machabees, Hercules, Pyrrhus, Cicero, Cassius, Parmensis, & manie others dreamed dreames, and the same came to passe. But yet these being but particular examples, and which it pleased God for some secret cause to use: they are not to be draine for presidents and examples to be daily or in these daies used; but rather we must have a respect and a regard to Gods speciall commandment, who by the mouth of his prophets hath utterlie forbidden vs to listen to anie dreamer, or to give credit unto his words. Thou shalt not (saith he) hearken to the words of a dreamer of dreames, for dreames haue deceiued manie a man, and they haue failed them who haue put their trust in them: for whie, they are full of deceits and guiles, and inuented either for the maintenance of superstition and error, or for the increasing of some filthie lucre and gaine. Pharaos therefore inueighing against the Chalbeans, who were a people which were wont to relie much upon dreames, wilfully and aduiseeth that no dreamer or interpreter of dreames should be sought or dealt withall. For (saith he) if they tell thee of anie god thing, and in the end do deceiue thee, thou shalt be in miserie to hope in vaine for the same. If they tell thee of some misfortune, and yet do lie, yet shalt thou be in miserie, because thou shalt be still in feare lest it may happen. And likewise if they shew thee of euill haps, and the same do so follow, thou shalt be in miserie and troubled, that thy fortune and destinie is so euill. But if they tell thee of god things, and it be long yer the same do happen, thou shalt be much troubled to looke so long for it; and alwaies in feare lest thine expectation shall be frustrated: wherefore in no wise do thou seke anie such persons, nor give anie credit unto them.

The description of Maurice

Fitzgerald.

Chap. 43.

This Maurice was a man of much nobilitie and worthip, but somewhat shamefast and yet verie well coloured, and of a good countenance, of stature he was indifferent,

bring seemlie and well compact at all points, in bodie and mind he was of a like composition, being not too great in the one, nor proud in the other; of nature he was verie courteous and gentle, and desired rather so to be in deed, than to be thought or reputed so to be: he kept such a measure and a moderation in all his doings, that in his daies he was a patterne of all sobrietie and good behauiour; a man of few words, and his sentences more full of wit and reason than of words and speeches; he had more stomach than talke, more reason than speech, and more wisedome than eloquence. And when so euer anie matter was to be debated, as he would take good leisure, and be aduised before he would speake: so when he spake he did it verie wiselie and prudentlie. In martiall affaires also he was verie bold, stout, and balliant, and yet not hasty to run headlong in anie aduenture. And as he would be well aduised before he gaue the attempt and aduenture, so when the same was once taken in hand, he would stoutlie pursue and follow the same. He was sober, modest, and chaste, constant, trustie, and faithfull: a man not altogether without fault, and yet not spotted with anie notorious crime and fault.

The first dissention betwene the king and his sonnes.

Chap. 44.

In the moneth of Aprill then next following, the young king sonne to king Henrie the elder, being no longer able to conceale or suppress the wickednesse he had deuised against his father: he (I saie) and his two brethren the earls of Aquitaine and of Britaine suddenly stole auaile into France, vnto Lewis the French king his father in law: for he had married his daughter, that hauing his aid he might ouer-run his olone father, and shorten his old yeares. And for his further helpe he had procured vnto him and on his side manie noble men both French and English, who openly, but manie more, who secretly did soine with him to aid him. The elder king the father was verie much troubled and vniquieted for and about these and manie other sudden troubles, which on euerie side did grow vpon him; but yet he bare it out with a good face and countenance, dissembling that outwardlie which he conceiued inwardlie. And to stand firme and assured, he got and procured by all the meanes he could all such aid and helpe as was to be gotten and had. He sent into Ireland for his garrison, which he had left there; and being at Kione he committed the charge and government of all Ireland vnto the earle Richard; but ioined Keimond in commission with him, because the earle without him would not do anie thing, nor take the charge vpon him. And then the king of his liberalitie gaue also vnto him the towne of Waterford with the castell of Corkinile.

Of the victories of king Henrie the second.

Chap. 45.

The king hauing endured more than sixtill wars two whole years together aswell in England as in Aquitaine, in great troubles, much watchings, & painfull travels, yet at length most balliantlie he preuailed against his enemies; & surelie it was more of Gods goodnes, than by mans power, and (as it is to be thought) for the reuenge of the disobedience & wrongs done by the sons against

against the father. But forsomuch as a mans olone household are commonlie the worst enemies; and of all enemies, the household & familiar enemie is most dangerous: there was no one thing, which more troubled and grieved the king, than the gentlemen of his private chamber, and in whose hands in a manner late his life or death, would everie night secretly and with treacherous minds run and resort to his sonnes, and in the morning when they should do him service, they were not to be found. And albeit these warres in the beginning were verie doubtfull, and the king himselfe in great despaire: yet his hard beginning had a good ending, and he in the end had the victorie to his great honor and glorie. And God, who at the first seemed to be angry with him, and in his anger to putte upon him his wrath and indignation: yet now upon his amendment and conversion, he was become mercifull unto him, and well pleased. And at the castell of Sandwich, whereof Melville Glendevill was then gouvernor, who was a wise man, and alwaies most faithfull and trustie to the king, there was a generall peace proclaimed, and all England in rest and quietnesse.

In this warre the king had taken prisoners the king of Scots, the earles of Chester and of Leicester, besides so manie gentlemen and good servants both English and French, that he had scarce anie prisoners for so manie prisoners, nor so manie fetters for so manie captives. But forsomuch as in baine doth a man triumph of the conquests upon others, who cannot also triumph of the conquering of himselfe; and although the king had indured and abiden manie stormes, great inquietnesse, and much trouble; and at length having overcome both them and his enemies, he might the sooner have been weakened and avenged of them: yet setting apart those affections even in the middle of his triumphs upon others, he also triumphed over himselfe; using such kinds of courtesies & clemencies as before had not bene heard. For suppressing his malice and revenging mind, he gave honor to his adversaries, & life to his enemies. And the warres thus after two yeares ended, and all the great stormes overcome, he granted peace to all men, and forgave each man his offense and trespasses. And in the end also his sonnes repenting their follies, came and submitted themselves, with all humblenesse yielding themselves to his will and pleasure.

The description of king Henrie the second.

Chap. 46.

There were not now amisse, but verie requisite that we should (for a perpetuall remembrance of the king) describe and set forth as well the nature and conditions of his inward man as of his outward; that men which shall be desirous hereafter to learne and read his most noble acts in chivalrie, may also as it were before their eyes conceiue his verie nature and liuelie portraiture: for he being so noble an ornament to this time and our historie; we might not well, neither doth this historie permit vs to omit and passe him over in silence. Wherein we are to craue pardon that we may plainlie declare and tell the truth: for in all histories the perfect and full truth is to be alwaies opened, and without it the same wanteth both authority and credit: for art must follow nature. And the painter therefore, whose profession and art is to make his portraiture as liuelie as may be, if he swarne from the same, then both he and his worke lache and want their commendation. And albeit no man be

borne without his fault, yet is he most to be borne withall who is least spotted: & him must we account and thinke to be wise, who knowledgeth the same: for whie, in all worlde matters there is no certaintie; and vnder heauen is no perfect felicitie, but euill things are mixt with good things, and vices ioined with vertues. And therefore, as things spoken in commendation either of a mans good disposition, or of his good doings, do delight and like well the hearer: euen so let him not be offended, if things not to be well liked be also recited and written. And yet the philosophers are of the opinion, that we ought to reuerence so the higher powers in all manner of offices and duties, as that we should not pronounce nor moue them with anie sharpe speeches or disorderd languages. For (as Terence saith) false words and soothing speeches breed friendship, but plain telling of truth makes enemies. Wherefore it is a dangerous thing to speake euill against him, though the occasion be neuer so iust, as who can forthwith avenge the same. And it is a matter more dangerous, and he aduentured himselfe verie far, which will contend in manie words against him, who in one or few words can breake the same. It were suerlie a verie happy thing, and that which I confesse passeth my reach, if a man intreating of princes causes might tell the truth in euerie thing, and yet not offend them in anie thing. But to the purpose.

Henrie the second, king of England, was of a verie good colour, but somewhat red: his head great and round, his eyes were fierie, red, and grim, and his face verie high coloured; his voice or speech was shaking, quivering, or trembling; his necke short, his breast broad and big, strong armed, his bodie was grosse, and his bellie somewhat big, which came vnto him rather by nature than by anie grosse feeding or surfeiting. For his diet was very temperat, and to sale the truth, thought to be more spare than comelie, or for the state of a prince: and yet to abate his grossenesse, and to remedie this fault of nature, he did as it were punish his bodie with continuall exercise, and did as it were keepe a continuall warre with himselfe. For in the times of his warres, which were for the most part continuall to him, he had little or no rest at all; and in time of peace he would not grant vnto himselfe anie peace at all, nor take anie rest: for then did he giue himselfe wholly vnto hunting, and to follow the same he would verie erlie euerie morning be on horsebacke, and then into the woods, sometimes into the forrests, and sometimes into the hilles and fields, and so would he spend the whole daie vntill night. In the euening when he came home, he would neuer or verie seldome sit either before or after supper: for though he were neuer so wearie, yet still would he be walking and going. And forsomuch as it is verie profitable for euerie man in his life time, that he do not take too much of anie one thing; for the medicine it selfe which is appointed for a mans helpe & remedie, is not absolutelie perfect and good to be alwaies used: euen so it befell and happened to this prince; for partlie by his excessive trauels, and partlie by diuerse bruises in his bodie, his legs and feet were swollen and sore. And though he had no disease at all, yet age it selfe was a breaking sufficient vnto him. He was of a resonable stature, which happened to none of his sons; for his two eldest sons were somewhat higher, & his two yonger sons were somewhat lower and lesse than was he. If he were in a good mood, and not angry, then would he be verie pleasant and eloquent: he was also (which was a thing verie rare in those daies) verie well learned: he was also verie affable, gentle, and courteous; and besides so pitifull, that when he had overcome his enemy, yet would he be overcome with pittie towards him.

In warres he was most valiant, and in peace he was as proud and circumspect. And in the wars mistrusting and doubting of the end and event thereof, he would (as Terence writeth) trie all the waies and meanes he could deuise rather than wage the battell. If he lost anie of his men in the fight, he would maruellously lament his death, and seeme to pitie him more being dead than he did regard or account of him being alive, more bewailing the dead than fauouring the liuing. In times of distresse no man more courteous, and when all things were safe no man more hard or cruell. Against the stubborne & inuincible no man more sharpe, nor yet to the humble no man more gentle; hard toward his owne men and household, but liberrall to strangers, bountifull abroad, but sparing at home: whom he once hated, he would neuer or verie hardlie loue; and whom he once loued, he would not lightly be out with him, or forsake him: he had great pleasure and delight in hawking and hunting. Would God he had bene as well bent and disposed vnto god deuotion!

It was said that after the displeasure growne betwene the king and his sonnes, by the meanes and thorough the inticing of the queene their mother, he neuer accounted to keepe his word and promise, but without anie regard or care was a common breaker thereof. And true it is, that of a certaine naturall disposition he was light and inconstant of his word: and if the matter were brought to a narrow streit or pinch, he would not sicke rather to couer his word, than to denie his deed. And for this cause he in all his doings was verie proud and circumspect, and a verie bytight and a seuerer minister of iustice, although he did therein graue and make his friends to smart. His answers for the most part were peruerse and froward. Justice which is God himselfe is free and without rewards to be ministered. And albeit for profit and lucre all things are set to sale, and do bring great gaires as well to the clergie as to the laitie: yet they are no better to a mans heires or executors, than were the riches of (2) Gehazi the seruant to Elizeus, whose greedie takings turned himselfe to utter ruine and destruction.

He was a great peacemaker, and a carefull keeper thereof himselfe: a liberrall almes giuer, and a speciall benefactor to the holie land, he loued humilitie, abhorred pride, and much oppressed his nobilitie. The hungrie he refreshed, but the rich he regarded not. The humble he would exalt, but the mightie he disdaind. He vsurped much vpon the holie church, and of a certaine kind of zeale, but not according to knowledge; he did interminge and conioine the profane with holie things; for why, he would be all in all himselfe. He was the child of the holie church, and by hir advanced to the scepter of his kingdome, and yet he either dissembled or vtterlie forgot the same: for he was slacke alwaies in comming to the church vnto the diuine seruice, and at the time thereof he would be busied and occupied rather in counsels and in conference about the affaires of his commonwealth, than in deuotion and prayer. The likelihoods belonging to anie spirituall promotion, he would in time of vacation confit at to his owne treasure, and assume that to himselfe which was due vnto Christ. When anie new troubles or wars did grow or come vpon him, then would he lath & poyze all that euer he had in store or treasure; and liberrallie bestow that vpon a roisser or a seldier, which ought to haue bene giuen vnto the priest. He had a verie prudent & foresaking wit, and thereby foreseeing what things might or were like to issue, he would accordingly order & dispose either for the performance, or for the preventing thereof: notwithstanding manie times the

uent happened to the contrarie, and he disappointed of his expectation: and commonlie there happened no ill vnto him, but he would forgettell thereof to his friends and familiars.

He was a marvellous naturall father to his children, and loued them tenderlie in their childhood and yong yeares: but they being growne to some age and ripenesse, he was as a father in law, and could scarcelie brooke anie of them. And notwithstanding they were verie handsome, comelie, and noble gentlemen: yet whether it were that he would not haue them prosper to fall, or whether they had euill deserved of him, he hated them; it was full much against his will, that they should be his successors, or heires to anie part of his inheritance. And such is the prospectie of man; that as it can not be perpetuall, no more can it be perfect and assured: for why, such was the secret malice of fortune against this king, that where he should haue receiued much comfort, there had he most sorrow: where quietnesse & safetie, there inquietnesse and perill: where peace, there enuinitie: where courtlesse, there ingratitude: where rest, there trouble. And whether this happened by the meanes of the (3) marriages, or for the punishment of the fathers sinnes: certaine it is, there was no good agreement, neither betwene the father & the sonnes, nor yet among the sonnes themselves.

But at length, when all his enmities and the disturbers of the common peace were suppressed; and his brethren, his sonnes, and all others his aduersaries as well at home as abroad were reconciled: then all things happened and befell vnto him (though it were long first) after and according to his owne will and mind. And would to God he had likewise reconciled himselfe vnto God, and by amendment of his life had in the end also procured his fauour and mercie! Besides this, which I had almost forgotten, he was of such a (4) memoire, that if he had once seene and knowne a man, he would not forget him: neither yet whatsoeuer he had heard, would he be vnmindfull thereof. And hereof was it, that he had so readie a memoire of histories which he had read, as a knowledge and a manner of an experience in all things. To conclude, if he had bene chosen of God, and bene obsequious and carefull to liue in his feare and after his laws, he had excelled all the princes of the world: for in the gifts of nature no one man was to be compared vnto him. Thus much byedie, and yet not much besides the matter, I haue thought good to deliver, that hauing in few words made my entrie; whether writers maie haue the better occasion more at large to discourse and intreat of this so worthy an historie. And therefore leaving the same to others, let vs returne to our Ireland, from whence we departed.

(1) The words are *Oculus glaucus*: which some doe English to be greie eyes, like the colour of the skie, with specks in it: but some doe English it a bright red, as is the colour of a lions eye, which is commonly a signe or an argument of a man which will be some warmed & angrie: & so it is to be taken in this place: for the words, which follow, be: *Ad iram ventus*, which is to saie, grim looking eyes disposed to anger: which eyes were answerable to the complexion and disposition of this king.

(2) This historie is written in the first chapter of the second booke of the kings, & in effect is this. When the prophet Eliza or Elizeus had healed Naaman the Syrian of his leprosie, he would haue rewarded the prophet, & haue giuen great and rich gifts: but he refused the same and would none thereof, wherefore Naaman departed a waie. But Gehazi the seruant of the prophet, being touched with a greedie and a covetous

wetous mind, and angrie that his master had refused such rich presents, secretlie he ran after the Sy-
rian; and ouertaking him, did aske of him in his mas-
ters name a talent of siluer, & certein garments :
which he receiued doubled, and returned therewith.
But he was no longer come home, but that his coue-
tousnesse was rewarded, and he plagued with the le-
prosie of Naaman, which clove vnto him as white as
the snow.

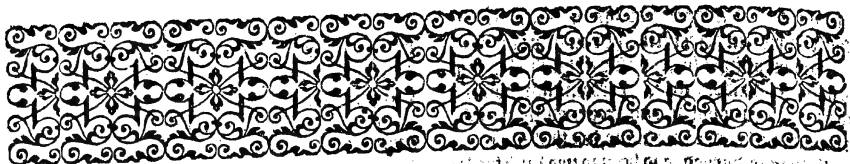
(3) The king married Cleonor the daughter and
heire to the erle of Poitiers (who before was married
to Lewes the eight and king of France, but diuor-
sed from him for merenesse of blood) and after that
he had continued with hir sundrie yeares, and recei-
ued by hir six sonnes and thre daughters, he fell in
loue with a young french named Mosamund; and
then wearied of his wife. And the to be appea-
sed, did not onelie in continuance of time and the
means to find out this Mosamund, who was kept se-
cret in a house builded like a labyrinth of purpose for
hir safe keeping at Woodstocke, where when the queen
had found hir, Mosamund liued not long after : but
also for a further reuenge, she by means of hir sonnes
who were noble & balliant gentlemen, caused warres
to be stirred and raised against the king to his great
vniquietnesse; and this is one of the mariages of
which this author meaneth. The other was of his son
named Henrie, whom he did not onelie make and
crown king in his life time, but also for a confirma-
tion of a peace to be had betwene him and Lewes
the eight then french king, he married his said sonne
to the ladie Margaret daughter to the said french
king. By reason whereof his said sonne being once
come to yeeres of age, and thinking it too long yet he
could haue the sole gouernment, as also being by the
quene his mother intised, and taking hir part, he
fled to the french king his father in law; and by his
aid, as also of sundrie other noble men both English
and french, who joined with him, made warres vp-
on his said father : which byed vnto him no little trou-
ble and vniquietnesse.

(4) There is not a moze commendable & moze ne-

cessarie vertue in a king, than is the gift of a quicke
and good memorie: for by it knowledge doth increase
and experience is perfected. And therefore saith Ci-
cero, that memorie is the treasure of all good things,
and most necessarie to the life of man : wherein the
more the gouernor excelleth, the more prouident is
his gouernment. For why, as Plutarch writeth, the
remembrance of things past are speciall presidents
and examples of things to come. Diuers and sundrie
men haue bene famous, and much commended for
their excellencie in this vertue. Epithides king of
Pontus in Asia had vnder his dominion two and
thientie nationes, and he was of such singular memo-
rie, that he did not onelie vnderstand their seuerall
languages, but also spake them perfectly; and in
iudgements would heare each man to speake in his
owne language, and answer them in the same. Cy-
rus king of Persia, the sonne of Cambises, so excel-
led in memorie, that hauing an exceeding great mul-
titude of men in his host, he would call euerie man
by his proper name and surname. Cincas an ambas-
sador from king Pyrrhus to the Romanes, was not
in Rome aboue one whole daie, before he could sa-
lute euerie of the senators, and euerie noble man of
Rome by his particular name. Likewise Iulius
Cesar and Adrianus the emperors of Rome were
of such excellent memories, that euerie of them at
one instant could both read and write, as also speake
and heare. The like also is said of the famous and
most excellent learned man Erasmus Roteroda-
mus, who hauing alwaies or for the most part sundrie
and diuers clearkes writing at one time and instant,
of sundrie matters, would walke vp and downe a-
mong them, and indite to euerie one what he should
write. And this thing is so necessarie in all princes,
that in the old ages they were ever wont to haue a-
bout them such men as were of a speciall memorie;
to put them in mind of all such things as to them
should be meet and requisite, and these were called
Notenclatores. Whether this king had any such at-
tending vpon him or not, it is certaine that he him-
selfe was of an excellent god memorie.

Thus far the first booke of the Conquest of Ireland.





SYLVESTER GIRAL-

dus Cambrensis, his second

booke of the vaticinall historie of

the Conquest of Ireland.

The Proheme of the author.



*W*E haue thus farre continued our historie, in as perfect and full order as we could, hauing omitted nothing worthie the memorie, as farre as the matter seemed to require: but being occupied and busied with the generall and necessarie causes in religion, although we had not sufficient leasure and time to follow and prosecute this our enterprise and matter begun, yet did not we thinke it meet to giue the same ouer, and to leaue it halfe vndoone. We haue therefore, and yet doo continue the historie but breiefelie, not in anie high or eloquent stile; but in a common phrase and plaine speeches, giuing rather thereby an occasion to our posteritie for them to set forth this historie, than to doo it our selues. For indeed our leasure is verie small, and such as it is, it is turned to troubles and vnquietnesse, our loue and zeale into hatred, our ioy into sorrow, and our rest to molestations.

For now flourish not the honest exercises of studies, but the busie policies of warres: now the good studies of the mind are contemned, and the lusts of the bodie imbraced: now we haue no leasure to serue the Muses, but to be hammering with weapons: quiet minds are not now at leasure, but glistering weapons and armors are in euerie mans hands. Wherefore let not the reader looke now at our hands for anie good order, eloquence, or pleasantnesse in this our writing: for place must be giuen of necessitie vnto time. And as the same is now verie troublesome, so can the same bring forth but troublesome matters. In these troubled times, and wanting conuenient leasure and quietnesse, I haue trauelled with the more paines to absolue and end this my worke: not after the maner of a student, but as a traueller; whose nature and condition is, that when he dooth set forth on his iournie verie slacklie and slowlie, then dooth he make the more hast, and trauell the more speedilie. How soeuer it shall please God to deale with vs in the seruices now in hand, I haue as diligentlie as I can compiled this my historie as also my topographie, leauing the same as a monument of our will, to remaine to our countrie and posteritie for euer.





THE SECOND BOOKE

of the Conquest of Ireland.

The earle is sent backe againe into Ireland, and is made generall of the land, and Reimond is ioined in commission with him.

Chap. 1.



Richard, being now returned into Ireland, the people there being aduertised of the great troubles which were beyond the seas, they being a people constant onlie in inconstancie, firme in waivering and faithfull in vntrusts; these (I say) 20
and all the princes of that land, the earle at his coming found to be reuolted and to become rebels. For the recouerie and suppressing of whom, the earle then wholie bestirred himselfe; and at length hauing spent and consumed all his treasure, which he had brought ouer with him, his soldiors who were vnder the guiding of Herueie being then constable, lacked their wages and were vnpaid: and by reason of the emulation betwene Herueie and Reimond, the seruice and exploits to be don against the Irishie was 30
verie slacke and slender; and by that meanes they wanted such prizes and spoiles of neat and cattell as they were wont to haue for their vittells. The souldiors in this distresse, wanting both monie for their wages and vittells for their food, assembled themselves and went vnto the earle, vnto whom with one voice they exclaimed and said; that vnlesse he would make and appoint Reimond to be their capitaine againe, they would without all doubt forsake him, and would either returne home againe, or 40
(that which is worse) would go and serue vnder the enimies.

In this distresse was Reimond appointed the capitaine, & forthwith hauing mustered his souldiers, he made a rode or iourneie into Dhalga vpon the rebels there, where he toke great prizes, and were well recovered as well in houlle as in armes. From thence they marched to Lismore, where when they had spoiled both the towne and countrie, they returned with great booties, taking the waie vnto Waterford by the sea side: and being come to the sea shores, where they found thirteene botes latelie come from Waterford, as also others of other places; all these they laded with their prizes, minding to haue passed by water vnto Waterford. But sarieng there for a wind, the men of Cozke, who had heard of their doings, and being but firtene miles from them, did pre-

pare two and thirtie barks of their owne towne, and did well man and furnish them, being wholie determined to set vpon Reimond, and if they can to giue him the ouerthrow; which they did: betwene whom was a cruell fight, the one part giuing a fierce onset with stones and spaths, & the other defending themselves with bowes and weapons. In the end the men of Cozke were ouercome, and their capitaine named Gilbert Mac Turger was there slaine by a lustie young gentleman named Philip Melly. And then Adam Herford, who was the generall or admerall of that nauie, being well increased and laden with great prizes, sailed with great triumph to the citie of Waterford.

But Reimond himselfe was not present at this fight vpon the water, and yet hearing thereof, he came in all hast and marched towards them, taking his waie by the sea side, hauing in his companie twentie gentlemen, and thre score horsemen. And by the waie in his iourneie he met with Dermond Mac Artie prince of Desmond, who was coming with a great band of men to helpe and rescue the men of Cozke where they fought together: but in the end Mac Artie had the worse side, and was ouerthrowne; and then Reimond hauing preyed and taken about foure thousand head of neat, he marched and came to Waterford. About this time also as they marched homewards, certeine Irishmen in those parties lieng skulking & lurking in the woods, when the prizes and cattell passed by, they issued out, toke and carried awaie certeine of the cattell into the woods, where vpon the crie was vp, and came as farre as Waterford. Wherevpon the souldiers and most part of the garison issued out, among whom Spellerius was the best and most forward. For he being come to the woods, and hauing in his companie then onelie one souldier, put spur to the horse, and aduentured in the woods, following the Irishmen (by the abetting of the souldier who was with him) euen to the furthest & thickest part of the woods: where he was so farre entered, that he was in danger of the enimie: and the souldier being not able to retire was there taken, killed and hewed in peeces. Spellerius then seeing himselfe to be intromitted round about with the enimies, and he in the like perill as the other was, because he alone against a thousand was neither able to rescue his man, nor helpe himselfe, but in danger to be taken as was the other, like a valiant gentleman drawing his sword, and with a lustie courage, euen in despite of their teeth maketh waie through them. And such as set vp on him he spared not, but cut off an arme of this man, a hand of that man, a head of one, and a shoulder of another, & he escaped throughout them without anie harme or hurt to his owne bodie, sauing that he brought two darts in his shield, and thre in his horse.

The

The ouerthrow giuen by the Irishmen against the souldiers which came from Dublin; and what the Orishmen were, of whom mention is made here and elsewhere.

Chap. 2.

When these things were thus done, the souldiers well refreshed by the booties and preies taken vpon the water and the land, Reimond being aduertised that his father William Fitzgerald was dead, he toke shipping and passed ouer into Wales, there to take seisen, and to enter into the land descended vnto him. And in his absence Heruie was againe made lieutenant of the armie: who in the absence of Reimond, thinking to do some seruice and notable exploit, byingeth the earle vnto Cathill; and for their better strength and further helpe, sent his commandement vnto Dublin, that the souldiers there should come and meet them: who according came forth; and in the tourneie they passed thorough Droghda, where on a certeine night they lodged themselves. Donald then prince of Limerike, a man verie wise in his nation, hauing vnderstanding by his priuite espials of their coming, suddenly and vnwares berie earle in the morning with a great force and companie scale vpon them, and slue of them foure gentlemen which were captiues, and foure hundred of the Orishmen in this soze discomfiture.

The earle as soone as he heard hereof, with great sorrow & heauinesse returned vnto Waterford. By means of this mishap, the Irishmen in euerie place toke such a heart and comfort, that the whole nation with one consent and agreement rose vp against the Englishmen, and the earle as it were a man besieged, kept himselfe within the wals and citie of Waterford, and from thence he moued not. But Rothorike Donogh prince of Connagh, comming and passing ouer the riuer of Shenin, thinking now to recover all Aeth, inuadeth the same with sword and fire, and spoileth, burneth, and destroiethe the same, & all the whole countrie euen to the hard walles of Dublin, leaving no castell standing or vnderstroied.

(1) These Orishmen were not Irishmen, but yet of long continuance in Ireland. Some saie they came first out of Romaniae, and were called Orishmen, that is to saie Easterlings, or Easterne men, because that countrie lieth East in respect of England and Ireland. Some thinke they were Saxons and Romanians; but whatsoeuer they were, they were merchants and vsed the trade of merchandise, and in peaceable maner they came into Ireland; and there being landed they found such fauour with the Irishrie, that they licenced them to build haueu towne wher euen they might dwell, & vse their traffike. These men builded the ancientest and most part of the cities and towne vpon or nere the sea side within that land; as namely Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limerike, and others. And albeit they in processe of time grew to be mightie and strong, and for their safetie did build towne and castels: yet they durst not to dwell among the Irish people, but still continued and kept themselves within their owne towne and forts, and thereof they are and were called since towne men. And of them were these, being the inhabitants of Dublin, which came to meet

the earle, and were thus slaine.

The returning of Reimond into Ireland, and how he married Basilia the sister vnto the earle.

Chap. 3.

The earle then seeing himselfe to be now in great distresse, and in a narrow strait, taketh aduise with his frends and counsellors that were best to be done. At length, as vnto his last refuge, he sendeth his letters to Reimond being yet in Wales, to this effect. As soone as you haue read these our letters, make all the hast you can to come awaie, and bying with you all the helpe and force that you can make: and then according to your owne will and desire, you shall assuredly and immediatlie vpon your comming haue and marrie my sister Basilia. Reimond, as soone as he had read these letters, he was forthwith in hast to be gone, and thought it long yer he could be gone; not onlie in respect of the faire ladie, whom he had long loued, and desired; but also that he might helpe and succour his lord and maister in this distresse and necessitie. Wherefore he maketh preparation accordingly, and by means of friendship and otherwaie, he had gotten thirtie lustie yong gentlemen of his owne cosins and kindred, and one hundred horsemen; as also three hundred footmen and botomen of the best and chosen men in all Wales: all which were in a readinesse to go with him. And as soone as the shipping for the m was readie, and the wind seruing, he and his cousin Spellerins, with all the said companie toke the seas, and shortly after arriued in twentie barks vnto (1) Waterford.

At the verie same time the towne men of Waterford, being in a verie great rage and furie against the Englishmen there, were fullie minded and determined to haue killed them all wheresoener they could find them. But when they saw these barks comming in with their flags, hanging to their top masts, which to them were vnknoone, they were astonied at their so sudden comming, and their deuises were dashed. Reimond forthwith entered the towne with all his companie; and when all things were quieted and appeased, he & the earle went from thence vnto Waterford, with all their force and strength, leaving behind one (2) Purcell or Purcell his lieutenant at Waterford. But he verie hostile minding to follow after the earle, toke a boat, and as he passed ouer the riuer of the Suer, the maister of the boat and his companie which were towne men of Waterford, slue this Purcell, and those few whom he had then attending vpon him. Which murder when they had thus done, they returned to the citie, and there without all pittie or mercie, spared neither man, nor woman, nor child; but slue as manie as they could find in the streets, houses, or any other places. Howbeit the citie it selfe was safelie kept by such as were then in Reimonds tower, who drave the traitors out of the citie, as also in the end compelled them to yield and submit themselves, and to intreat for peace, which they hardlie obtained, both with an euill credit and harder conditions.

But Reimond still mindfull of the promise made vnto him, and he languishing untill the same were performed, would not depart from out of Waterford, untill messengers were sent to (3) Dublin to fetch and bying his loner Basilia to (4) Waterford to be married vnto him. Which being done, and he married, they spent all that daie and night in feastings & pastimes. And as they were in their most solitarie, newes was brought vnto them, how that Rothorike prince of Connagh had destroied, wasted, & spoiled all Aeth, and was entered into the borders of Dublin. Whereupon

upon Keimond on the next morrow, setting apart
and giuing ouer all wedding pastimes, mustereth
all his souldoyers, and without anie delaing mar-
cheth towards the enemies. But Kothorike who had
before tried his valiantnesse, and experimented his
force, hearing of his coming, and not minding to
trie or abide the same, retreateth backe, and getteth him
to his owne home and countrie. Then Keimond re-
couereth againe all those countreies, and forthwith
causeth all the forts and castels then before pulled
downe and defaced, to be now reedified and repaired,
as also the castels of Trim, and of Dunlences in
ppeth, of which Hugh Trell was before the con-
stable, and for want of rescue and helpe compelled to
leauie and forsake them. And thus by the means of
Keimond, all things being recovered and restored to
their former and pristine estate, the whole land for
feare of him continued a good time in peace and rest.

(1) There is great varietie in such booke and ex-
amples as I haue, and which I do follow in this
point: some writing that Keimond did not land at
Waterford, but at Wexford; and the tumult there
being appeased, he went from thence unto Water-
ford, and brought the earle unto Wexford. Some
write againe (as is aforesaid) that he landed at Wa-
terford, and not at Wexford: but having saluted the
earle, appeased the tumult, and set all things in or-
der, he conducted the earle and the whole armie ouer
land unto Wexford. Although there be some vari-
ance in the exemplars, yet concerning the substance
of the historie it is not materiall.

(2) There is also a varietie in the exemplars of
this name; some write Fricellus, and some write
Pircellus, and some Pircellus, or Purcell; it is like
to be Purcell, for they of that name were seruitors
in this conquest, and for their good seruice they were
rewarded with lands and territories, and who are yet
remaining about or nere the citie, and in the countie
of Waterford.

(3) It is certaine that this Basilia abode at Du-
blin, but whether she were there married or at Wex-
ford it is doubted. Some hold opinion, that Keimond
after that he had met and also saluted the earle, they
forthwith hearing the countreies in Leinster, and es-
peciallie about Dublin to be in an vprore, marched
thither straightwaie without anie staie. And there Kei-
mond as a lustie soldior in his armor married the la-
die Basilia, and they issued with aduantage vpon the
enemie. But the writer of best credit saith that the
marriage was at Wexford.

The secret practife of Herucie a- gainst Reimond.

Chap. 4.

When Herucie seeing the honor and credit
of Reimond daylie to increase more & more,
and he much grieved therewith, deuiseeth all
the means he can how to stop and hinder the
same: and forsomuch as he could not compasse the
same by anie open attempt, he practiseth it secretly,
and by secret deuises. Wherefore he is now a suter to
marrie the ladie Nesta, daughter to Maurice Fitz-
gerald, and consue germane to Keimond; that vnder
the colour of this new affinitie, alliance, and vn-
fained friendship he might take Keimond in a trip.
Well, his secret deuises being to himselfe, and no
such thing suspected nor mistrusted as he meant; he
by his earnest sute obtineth this gentlewoman, and
marrieth hir. And Keimond also to make friendship
on all sides to be the more firme, procured that Aline
the earls daughter was married to William eldest

son of William Fitzgerald. And to Maurice Fitz-
gerald himselfe, who was latlie come out of Wales,
there was giuen the halfe cantred of Mphelan, which
he had before of the kings gift, as also the castell of
Quindoloke: and Apellerius because he was the bet-
ter marcher had the other halfe cantred. But the can-
tred of land which was next towards Dublin, and
which the king had once giuen vnto Fitzstephans,
was now bestowed vpon the two Herfords.

The obtaining of the priuilege at Rome.

Chap. 5.

In this meane time the king, though he
were in great troubles, & much binquied
with the wars, yet was he not vnmindfull of
his realme of Ireland, as also of the orders
made and deuised at the counsell of Calhill, for the
redresse and reformation of the filthie and loose life of
the Irishie. And therevpon sent his ambassadoys
vnto Rome to pope Alexander the third, of and from
whom he obtained certayne priuileges, and vnder his
authoritie; namelie, that he should be lord ouer all
the realme of Ireland; and by his power and autho-
ritie they to be reduced and brought to the christian
faith, after the maner and order of the church of En-
gland. This priuilege the king sent ouer into Ire-
land by one Nicholas Wallingford then prior, but
afterwards abbat of Palmsburie, and William
Fitzabelme. And then being at Waterford, they
caused an assemblie and a synod to be had of all the
bishops and clergie within that land; and then in the
open audience of them, the said grant and priuilege
was openly read and published: as also one other
priuilege before giuen and granted by pope Adrian
an Englishman borne, at the sute of one John of
Salisbury, who was made bishop of Barnocens at
Rome. And by this man also he sent vnto the king
for a token, and in signe of a possession thereof, one
gold ring, which together with the priuilege was laid
vp in the kings treasure at Winchester. The tenure
of both which priuileges it shall not be amisse here to
insert. And concerning the first, these are the words
thereof.

Adrian the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of
God, to his most deere sonne in Christ the noble king
of England sendeth greeting, and the apostolike be-
nediction. Your excellencie hath bene verie care-
full and studious how you might enlarge the church
of God here in earth, and increase the number of his
saints and elects in heauen: in that as a god catho-
like king, you haue and do by all meanes labo-
r and trauell to enlarge and increase Gods church, by teach-
ing the ignorant people the true and christian religi-
on, and in abolishing and rooting vp the weeds of sin
and wickednesse: and therein you haue and do craue
for your better aid and furtherance the helpe of the a-
postolike see, wherein the more speedilie and discret-
lie you do proceed, the better successe we hope God
will send. For all they which of a seruent zeale, and
loue in religion, do begin and enterpise anie such
thing, shall no doubt in the end haue a good and pro-
perous successe. And as for Ireland and all other Is-
lands where Christ is knowen, and the christian reli-
gion receiued, it is out of all doubt, and your excel-
lencie well knoweth, they do all apperseine and be-
long to the right of saint Peter, and of the church of
Rome. And we are so much the more redie, desirous,
& willing to folow the acceptable seed of Gods word,
because we know the same in the latter date will be
most seuerelie required at our hands. You haue
(our bebeloued in Christ) aduertised and signified
vnto

Two priuile-
ges sent from
Rome to the
king of Eng-
land.

unto vs, that you will enter into the land and realme of Ireland, to the end to bring them obedient unto law, and vnder your subiection, and to root out from among them their foule sins and wickednesse, as also to yeld and paie pærelie out of euerie house a yearelie pension of one penie vnto saint Peter: and besides also will defend & keepe the rites of those churches whole and inviolate. We therefore well allowing and fauouring this your goodlie disposition & commendable affection, do accept, ratifie, and assent vnto this your petition: and do grant that you for the dilating of Gods church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of maners, planting of vertue, and the increasing of christian religion, you do enter to possess that land, and there to execute according to your wisdom whatsoeuer shall be for the honor of God, and the safetie of the realme. And further also we do straitlie charge and require that all the people of that land do with all humblenesse, dutifulnesse, and honor receiue and accept you as their liege lord and soveraigne, reseruing and excepting the right of the holie church, which we will be inviolably preferred; as also the pærelie pension of the Peter pence out of euerie house, which we require to be tralie answered to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome. If therefore you do mind to bring your goodlie purpose to effect, in due order to trauell to reforme the people to some better order and trade of life: and that also by your selfe, and by such others as you shall thinke meet, true, and honest, in their life, maners and conuersation, the church of God may be beautified, the true christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things to be done, that by anie meanes shall or may be to Gods honor, and the saluation of mens soules: whereby you may in the end receiue at Gods hands the reward of an everlastig life, as also in the meane time, and in this life carrie a glorious fame, and an honorable report among all nations. The tenure and effect of the second priuilege is thus.

¶ Peter pence.

¶ The second priuilege.

Alexander the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his dærelie beloued son the noble king of England sendeth greeting, grace, and the apostolike benediction. Forso much as things giuen and granted vpon good reasons by our predecessors, are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed; we well considering and pondering the grant and priuilege, for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to vs appertaining, and latelie giuen by Adrian our predecessor; we following his steps do in like manner confirme, ratifie, and allow the same: reseruing and saving to saint Peter and to the church of Rome the pærelie pension of one penie out of euerie house as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland by your meanes be reformed and recovered from their filthy life and abominable conuersation; that as in name so in maners and conuersation they may be christians: that as that rude and disorderd church by you being reformed, the whole nation also may with the profession of the name be in acts and life followers of the same.

The titles of the kings of England vnto Ireland.

Chap. 6.

Let then the enuious & ignorant cease and giue ouer to quarrell, and anouch that the kings of England haue no right nor title to the realme of Ireland. But let them well vnderstand that by fine manner of waies, that is to saie, by two ancient titles, and thre latter they haue to anouch and defend the same, as in our to

graphie is declared. First it is euidet and agerent by the histories of England, that Gurguntius the sonne of Belin king of Britaine, as he returned with great triumph from out of Denmarke, he met at the Isles of the Orkades a nauie (1) of a certeine nation of people, named Balenises, now Balones, and those he sent into Ireland, appointing vnto them certeine guides and leaders to conduct & direct them thither.

Likewise the same histories do plainlie witnesse, that king Arthur, the famous king of Britaine, had manie of the Irish kings tributarie to him: & he on a time holding & keeping his court at Westchester, Gillomarus king or monarch of Ireland, with other the princes thereof, came & presented themselves before him. Also the Irishmen came out of (2) Balon, the chiefe citie in Wilsaie. And forso much as men, be they neuer so free, yet they maie renounce their right and libertie, and bring themselves into subiection: so it is apparet that the princes of Ireland did sell, and of their owne accord, submit & yeld themselves to king Henrie of England, & sware vnto him faith and loialtie. And albeit such men of a kind of a natural lightnesse and inconstancie, be not ashamed nor afrayed to denie and renounce their faith: yet that can not so release and discharge them. Euerie man is his owne chiefe and libertie how to contract and bargain with anie one, but the same once made he can not flat nor swaue from it. And finally the holie pope, in whom is the effect of perfection, and who by a certeine prerogative and title requirith & claimeth all Islands, because by him and by him and by his meanes they were first reduced and recovered to the christian faith; he hath ratified and confirmed this title.

(1) The historie is this, that Gurguntius the son of king Belin made a voyage into Denmarke, there to appease the people, who were then by in rebellion against him: and hauing persuaded and overcome them, he in his returning home wards by the Isles of the Orkades, there met him a fleet of a nauie of shiptie or (as some saie) thre score sailes of men and women latelie come and exiled from out of that part of Spaine, called then Balensia, whereof Balon was the chiefe citie, but now it is a part of the countrie of Gascoigne, whose capteine named (as some write) Bartholomew, did present himselfe before Gurguntius, and discoursing vnto him the cause of their trauels, besought him to consider of their distresse, and to grant vnto them some dwelling place, and they would become his subiects. Which their request the king granted, and taking their oath of allegiance sent and caused them to be conducted into Ireland, where as his subiects they remained and continued.

(2) These people were named Iberi, & before that they came to seeke vnto Gurguntius for a land to dwell in, they dwelled in that part of Spaine, whereof Balon is the metropole, which is now part of Wilsaie, and this countrie before and long after the time of Gurguntius, was still subiect to the kings of Britaine, now called England.

The rebellion of Donald prince of Limerike, and of the taking of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 7.

In the meane while, Donald D Whin prince of Limerike waxed verie insolent, and nothing regarding his former promise and oath made to the king, began & did with his power his fealtie and seruice. Whereupon Keimorth

mustered his armie, gathered and picked out the best and lustiest men which he had. And hauing twentie and six gentlemen, three hundred horsemen, and three hundred bowmen and footmen in readinesse and well appointed, about the kalends of October marched towards Limerike to assaile the same. When they came thither, the ruler of the shentyn, which murthered and runneth round about the citie, they found the same to be so deepe and stikle, that they could not passe ouer the same. But the lustie yong gentlemen who were greedy to haue the pzeie, but more desirous to haue the honor, were in a great agonie and greife, that they were thus abarred from approaching to assaile the citie. Whereupon one (1) Dauid Welsh so named of his familie and kindred, although otherwise a Camber or a Welshman bozne, and nephue unto Reimond, who was a lustie and ballant yong soldior, and a vertie tall man aboue all the rest, was verie hot and impatient, that they so long lingered the time about nothing. Whereupon hauing a greater regard to win fame and honor, than fearing of anye perill or death, taking his horse and putting his spurs to his sides aduentured the water, which being verie stikle and full of stonies and rocks was the more dangerous: but yet he so wisely marked the course of the streame, and so aduised and guided his horse, that he passed the river, and safely recovered the further side: and then he cried out aloud to his companie, that he had found a ford: but for all that there was neuer a one that would follow, saving one Giffreie.

But they both returning backe againe to conduct ouer the whole companie, the said Giffreie, his horse being caried awaie with the violence of the streame, they were both drowned. Which when Meilerius (who was also come thither) did see, he began to fret with himselfe, partly for that his consue and kinsman of so noble an enterpryse had so bad a successe: partly also disdainning that anye should atchieue to honor but himselfe. Whereupon being mounted upon a lustie strong horse, setteth spurs to his side, and being neither dismayed with the stiklenesse and danger of the water, nor afrated with the mishap fallen to the gentleman, who was then drowned, more rashlye than wisely aduentured the river & recovered the further side & bankes. The citizens some of them watching and meeting him at the waters side, and some standing upon the towne wals fast by the river side, minding and meaning to haue dizen him backe againe, or to haue killed him in the place, hurled stonies a good pace vnto him. But this noble and lustie gentleman, being thus sharpelie and hardlie beset in the middle of perills and dangers, his enemies on the one side hardlie assailing, and the river on the other side stopping and closing him vp from all rescue, standeth to his tackle, and as well as he could couering his head with his shield, defendeth and saueth himselfe from his enemies. Whilist they were thus bickering there was great shototing and noise on both sides of the water. But Reimond being then the generall of the field, and in the reuerward, knowing nothing hereof, as sone as he heard of it, came in all hast through the campe vnto the waters side. Where when he saw his nephue on the other side, to be in the middle of his enemies, and like to be utterly cast awaie and destroyed unlesse he had some speedie helpe and succour, was in a marvellous grieue & agonie, & verie sharply crieth and calleth out to his men, as followeth.

(1) This Welsh was so called, the same being the name of his familie and kindred, and not of the countrie of Wales, wherein he was bozne. He was a worthy gentleman, and of his race there are yet remaining manie good and worthy gentlemen, who

are chieflie abiding in the prouince and citie of Waterford: for there were they first planted.

The oration and speech of Reimond vnto his companie, and of the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 8.

Worthy men, of nature valiant, and whose prowesse we haue well tried, come ye awaie. The waie heretofore not knowne, and the river hitherto though not passable, by our aduentures a ford is now found therein: let vs therefore follow him that is gone before, and helpe him being now in distresse. Let vs not suffer, nor see so worthy a gentleman, thus for our common cause and honor oppressed, to perish and be cast awaie before our eyes and in our sights for want of our helpe, and by means of our sluggishnesse. It is no time now to vse manie words, nor let sure serueth to make manie speeches. The shortnesse of the time, the present necessitie of this noble gentleman, & the state of our owne honors together expedition, & requirereth hast. And euen with these words he put spurs to the horse, and aduentured the river: after whome followed the whole companie, euerie one striving who might be foremost. And as God would they passed all safe ouer, saving two soldiors and one gentleman named Guido, who were drowned. They were no soner come to land, but that their enemies all fled and ran awaie, whome they pursued, and in the chase slew a number of them, as also entered and toke the towne. And hauing thus gotten both the citie and the victorie, they recovered their small losse with great spoiles & riches, as also reaped great honor and fame.

Now reader, which of these three thinkest thou best valiant, and best worthy of honor? Him who first aduentured the river, and taught the way? Or him who seeing the losse of his companion, the perill of the river, and the multitude of the enemies, did yet (not fearing death nor perill) aduenture himselfe in the middle of his enemies? Or him who bravely setting all feare apart, did hazard himselfe and all his hoast to saue the friend, and to aduenture upon the enemy? And this one thing by the waie is to be noted, that on a tuesdaie Limerike was first conquered, on a tuesdaie it was againe recovered, on a tuesdaie Waterford was taken, on a tuesdaie Dublin was wonne. And these things came not thus to passe, as it were by a set match, but euen of a common course of fortune, or by Gods so appointment. And it is not altogether against reason, that marshall affaires should haue good successe upon spars his daie.

I note concerning tuesday or the daie of spars.

The description of Reimond.

Chap. 9.

Reimond was big bodied and brode set, of stature somewhat more than meane, his haire yellow and curled, his eyes big, greie, and round; his nose somewhat high, his countenance well coloured, pleasant, and merie. And although he were somewhat grosse bellied, yet by reason of a certaine liuelinesse which was in him, he couered that fault: and so that which seemed to be a blemish in his bodie, he couered with the vertue of his mind. He had such a speciall care of his men and soldiors, that he would be a spie ouer his watchmen, and in his trauell that waie he watched manie whole nights, ranging and walking abroad in the campe. And in this he was verie happie & fortunate, that he

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would

would neuer or vertie seldome late violent hands
vpon anie, of whom he had charge or were vnder his
gouernement, although he had rashlie or vnadvised-
lie ouerthrowne himselfe, & traied out of the waie.

He was verie wise, modest, and warie, being no-
thing delicat in his fare, nor curious of his apparell.
He could atwaie with all weathers, both hot and cold;
and indure anie paines: he was also verie patient,
& could verie well rule his affections. He was more
desirous to do good to such as he gouerned, than to be
glorious of his gouernement: for he would shew
himselfe more like to be a seruant than a master. Fi-
nallie and to conclude, he was a verie liberall, wise,
gentle, and a circumspect man. And albeit he were
a verie balliant capteine, and a noble soldior: yet in
all martiall affaires, he passed and excelled in wise-
doine & prouidence. A man doubtles in both respects
much to be praised and commended: hauing in him
whatsoeuer appertained to a balliant soldior, but ex-
celling in all things belonging to a good capteine.

The description of Meilerius.

Chap. 10.

Meilerius was a man of a browne henn
and complexion, his eyes blacke, his looke
grim, and his countenance fowre & sharpe,
and of a meane stature; his bodie for the
bignesse verie strong, broad breasted, & he was small
belied. His armes and other lims more fine & wis-
than fleshie, a stout and a balliant gentleman he was
and emulous. He neuer refused anie aduerture or
enterpryse which were either to be done by one alone,
or by mo; he would be the first that would enter the
field, and the last that would depart from the same.
In all seruices he would either haue the garland or
die in the place, and so impatient he was in all ex-
ploits, that he would either haue his purpose, or lie in
the dust: and so ambitious and desirous he was to
haue honor, that to attaine thereunto, there was no
means nor mild thing but that he would suerlie haue
the same either in death or in life: for if he could not
haue it and liue, he would suerlie haue it by dieng.
And verclie both he and Keimond haue ben worthie
of too much praise and commendation, if they had
bene lesse ambitious of worldlie honors, and more
carefull of Christs church, and deuout in christian
religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might
haue bene preserved and kept safe and sound: and
also in consideration of their so manie conquests
and bloodie victories, and of the spilling of so much
innocent blood, and murdering of so manie christian
people, they had bene thankfull to God, and liberal-
lie contributed some good portion for the furtherance
of his church and religion. But what shall I saie? It
is not so strange but much more to be lamented, that
this vnthankfulness euen from our first comming
into this land, vntill these presents, this hath bene
the generall and common fault of all our men.

The commendation and praise of Robert Fitzstephans, and of his cousins.

Chap. 11.

What shall we speake or saie, how well
Robert Fitzstephans and his sonnes haue
deserued: What of Maurice Fitzgerald?
What shall I saie of Robert of Barrie, a
man verie honest and balliant, whose worthie com-
mendations by the premisses are to be knowne:
What shall be said of Miles of Cogan, the nephew vnto
Fitzstephans and Maurice, who as he came ouer
with the first, so in commendation and for his seruice
deserueth, to be the chiefe and first: What shall we

saie of Robert Fitzhenrie, & the brother vnto Spelle-
rius, who if he had not so sone bene dead and cut, he
would doubtlesse haue bene nothing behind his bro-
ther: What shall we speake of Keimond of Bantune
& of Robert Barrie the younger, they both were verie
worthie, tall, handsome, and worthie men: What also
shall be said of Keimond Fitzburgh, who although he
were but of a little stature, yet for his honestie & prou-
idence not to be forgotten: These three lastlie spoken
of for their balliantnesse and prouesse done in the
parties of Desmond, deserue great honor and com-
mendation, and great is the pittie that through too
much hardnesse their daies were so shortened, and
their time so cut off: What did also a number of our
gentlemen of the same their kindred & couenage de-
serue, whose noble acts were such, and deserued such
a perpetuall fame and memorie, that if I had a hun-
dred twings, a hundred mouthes, and so manie vo-
ces of yron; yet could I not vtter and at full de-
clare their worthinesse and deserts. A kindred, a
nation, which in double respects art noble! for of the
Trotans by a naturall disposition thou art balliant,
of the French nation thou art most expert and skill-
full of armes and chualrie. A worthie nation and
kindred! which of thy selfe art sufficient and able to
haue conquered anie nation, if enuie and malice had
not misaligned at thy worthinesse. Well then Kei-
mond had taken order for the keeping of the citie,
and had well bittelled the same, he left therein a ga-
rison of his owne men, fiftie gentlemen, two hun-
dred horsemen, and two hundred bowmen; ouer
whome he appointed Miles of S. Davids his cosine
to be lieutenant: and so as a noble conqueror he
safelie returned into the borders of Leinster. But sa-
the nature of enuie, who neuer ceaseth to persecute
vertue. For Henrie of Mount Maurice, notwithstanding
by meanes of the late affliction he were
thought to be a good friend, yet could he not forget
his old malicious mind and wicked deuises: for still
he secretlie from time to time sent his messengers
and letters to the king of England, and full vntrulie
did aduertise the state, euent, and successe of all
things, affirming that Keimond contrarie to the
kings honor and his owne allegiance, had determi-
ned to haue assumed and chalenged vnto himselfe
not onelie the citie of Limerike, but also the whole
land of Ireland. And to make this the more proba-
ble, and himselfe of more credit, he aduertised that
Keimond had placed and appointed garrisons for the
purpose, and had sworne the whole armie to obserue
certeine articles by him prescribed, to the great pre-
iudice of the king. Which his aduertisement being in-
terlined with manie good words, the king so credited
the same, that he belaued it to be most true: for as it
is well sene, a little suspicion of an iniurie done or
offered to be done vnto a prince, doth more sticke
in his mind, than manie benefits and good seruices
before done. The king therefore after the winter fol-
lowing, sent ouer foure of his seruants in message
to Ireland, namelie Robert Pooye, Robert of Her-
ford, William Bendeger, and Adam of Cernemie: of which two of them to come awaie and
to bring Keimond with them, and the other to tarrie
and remaine behind with the earle.

The description of Henrie.

Chap. 12.

We haue of others, so let vs also note
make and set forth the description of Henrie.
He was of stature a tall and a comelie man,
his eyes grate and some what big, amiable of
face and pleasant of countenance, an eloquent man,
hauing a long and a ropnd necke. his shoulders
some

so neath at loth, his armes and hands somthing long, he was broad breasted, but small in waiste, though the same being big in others is thought to be commendable, his bellie was somewhat big and round, his thighes, legs, and feet being well proportionated and answerable to his bodie; of stature he was indifferent. But as in bodie he was well beset & compact, so on the contrarie, his mind, life, and conversation were corrupt & disordered. For euen from his childhood he was giuen to lecherie, being readie and forward to performe in wanton & filthy actions, whatsoeuer liked him or anie others, who were of the like disposition: and therefore he forbore neither incest nor adulteries, nor anie other such like filthinesse. Besides, he was a pite and an enuious accuser, and a double man, vncertaine, haire, and altogether vnconstant, fauning in inconstancie; a verie subtil man and a deceitfull: vnder his tong he had both milke and honie, but both of them were mixed with poison. He was sometimes in great prosperitie, and all things fell out according to his owne desire; and suddenly fortune turning his wheele, he had such a fall, that he did neuer recover the same againe. He was sometimes a verie good soldior, and had good experience in the feats of wars, after the maner vsed in France; but he was so suddenly altered & changed, that he became more full in malice than valiant in prowesse, more full of deceit than renowned in honoꝛ, more puffed vp in pride than endowed with worthip, more hastie than happie, and more full of words than abounding in truth.

The succouring of the garrison at Limerike.

Chap. 13.

Donold hauing receiued the kings determination by the foresaid foure messengers, prepared all things in a readinesse for his passage ouer accordinglie, and nothing wanted thereunto but onelie a west wind. But before the same happened, messengers came from the garrison at Limerike, aduertising that Donold prince of Thomond had besieged the citie round about with a great armie, and that their vittels which they had in the towne, aswell that which they found at their comming thither, as also what so euer was else provided, were all spent and consumed; and therefore requested that they might with all speed be rescued and holpen. The earle, who was verie soꝛe & penesie for these nelues, and deuising all the waies he could to helpe them, caused a muster to be taken of all his souldiers; who were so greued for the going auaie and departure of Keimond, that they bitterly denied and refused to go and to serue that waie, vnles Keimond were their capteine and lieutenant. Whereupon they toke aduise with the kings messengers what were best to be done in this distresse. At length it was thought best, that Keimond should take the enterprise in hand; and he though verie loth, yet at the request of the earle and the foresaid gentlemen, yielded himselfe to that seruice, and marched forth toward Limerike, hauing with him foure score gentlemen of seruice, two hundred halismen, & three hundred archers, besides Morogh of Kencile, and Donold of Ossie, and certeine other Irishmen, who serued and attended him. And as he was marching and comming toward Cashill, tidings was brought him that the prince of Thomond had raised his siege, and was comming towards him to meet him, and was now come to the passe of Cashill: which passe although naturallie of it selfe it were verie strong, yet by means of new trenching, plashing of trees, and making of hedges, it was made so strong, that no

hoismen could either enter or passe through the same.

The oration of Donold to his soldiers, the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 14.

Donold being now almost come to the place where his enemies lay, diuided his host or armie into three parts or companies, and determined to giue the onset or aduantage. Whereupon Donold prince of Ossie, who was a mortall enemy to the prince of Thomond, and now verie desirous that some good exploit should be done; and beholding the Englishmen now also set in god araie, for though they were but few in number in respect of the others, yet they were piked men, valiant and couragious; he also to encourage them, to shew themselves like valiant men, vseth and maketh these speeches vnto them. *Ye worthy, noble, and valiant conquerors of this land, you are this daie valiantlie to giue the onset vpon your enemies, which if you doo after your old and accustomed maner, no doubt the victorie will be yours; for we with our spars, and you with your swords, will so sharplie them pursue, as they shall verie hardlie escape our hands, and avoid our force. But if it so fall out, which God forbid, that you be overthrowne and haue the worse side: be you assured that we will leaue you and turne to our enemies, and take part with them. Wherefore be of good courages, and looke well to your selues, and consider that you are now far from anie fort or place of refuge, and therefore if you should be beaten to fle, the same will be long and dangerous to you: as for vs we may not trust vnto vs, for we are determined to sticke to them who shall haue the victorie, and will pursue and be on the backs of them who shall fle and run auaie; and therefore be no longer assured of vs than whilst we be conquerors.* Heilertus who had the foreward, hearing these words, being warmed with the same, suddenly like a hurling and a blustering wind entered into the passe, pulled downe the fastnesse, and brake downe the hedges, and so made waie, with no small slaughter of the enemies, whereby the passe was recovered and the enemies overcome. And they then marched without perill vnto Limerike, where they entered the third daie in the Easter weeke, being on tuesday. And as the first conquest of Limerike was vpon a tuesday, so was the second also, where for a time they staid, and restored all things by the enemies before spoiled, & set the same in good order. The enemies finding themselves to be too weak, and that it was better to bowe than to breake, practised to haue a parle and a communication with Keimond: & in the end the messengers of Rothorike king of Connagh, and of Donold of Thomond, did obtaine the same; and a parle was appointed for them both, which was in one daie, but not in one place; for Rothorike of Connagh came by boates vpon the riuer of Shenin, as far as the great loch of Drigib, & there staid. And Donold not far from thence kept himselfe and his companie in a certeine wood. But Keimond chose a place not far from Killaloe, which is about seventene miles from Limerike, and in the midle betwene them both. The parle betwene these continued a pretty while, but in the end both kings submitted & yielded themselves, gaue hostages, made fealtie, and were sworn to be true from thenceforth for euer, to the king of England and to his heires.

These things thus done and concluded, Keimond returneth in great triumph and solitie vnto Limerike. And by and by there came messengers vnto him from Dermot Mac Artie prince of Desmond, praiering and requesting him to aid and helpe him, being

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being

being the king of Englands faithfull and leige man against his eldest sonne Cormon Mechan, who went about to dye and expell him out of his land and dominion: & promised him god intertainment both for himselfe and for his souldiours for the same. Keimond nothing refusing the offer, and verie desirous of honoz, taketh aduise of his frænds and companions; and by all their contents, the sojorne towards Cozke was liked. Whereupon Keimond displaieth his banner, and marcheth thitherwards, and taketh by the waie great preies and hotties of neat, cattell, and other things: of the cattels he sent a good portion backe vnto Limerike for vittelling of that citie; & in the end he conquered the whole countrie, subdued the rebellious sonne, and restored Dermont the prince to his estate and right. And thus by reason of Keimond spæc Artie, he was restored and recovered, who otherwise had bene in vtter despaire, and out of all remedie. And now to recompense his son Cormach, who before this, by waie of a peace and an intreatie, both vnjustlie & guilefullie had taken and imprisoned him, he to acquite guile with guile, and the like with the like, tooke his sonne and cast him into prison, and not long after smote off his head.

The death of the earle

Strangbow.

Chap. 15.

When these things were thus aduancing in Desmond, there came a messenger in all hast from Dublin, with letters to Keimond from his wife Basilia, the effect whereof the messenger knew not. These letters Keimond forthwith deliuered to a familiar frænd of his to read them vnto him secretlie, and apart from all others, the tenure of them was as followeth. To Keimond his most louing lord and husband, his owne Basilia wistheth health as to his selfe. Know ye my dære lord that my great sheketoth, which was wont to ake so much, is now fallen out; wherefore if ye haue anie care or regard of me, or of your selfe, come awaite with all speed. Keimond hauing considered of this letter, did by the falling of the tooth fullie coniecture the death of the earle, for he laie verie sicke at Dublin before his comming awaite from thence. But he being thus deceased, which was about the kalends of June, they at Dublin did what they could to keepe the same secret, for feare and in doubt of the Irishmen, vntill that Keimond were come with his band of souldiers vnto them. Keimond himselfe forthwith returned vnto Limerike: and notwithstanding he were verie forrie and much græued with this newes, yet dissembling the same, and bearing it out with a good countenance, would not nor did vtter or disclose it to anie bodie, sauing to a few wiue and discret men of his familiars and trustie counsellors. And then vpon good aduise and deliberation had among them, it was concluded and agreed vpon, that so much as the earle was dead, and that Keimond also was to depart awaite ouer into England; that the citie of Limerike which was so farre remoted and in the middle of manie eninies, should for the time be left, and the garrison to be conducted and brought from thence into Leinster, for the defense and safe keeping of the towne and forts vpon the sea coasts. Where Keimond full much against his will yeldded to this their aduise and counsell, being much græued that hauing taken paines to recover the citie of Limerike, he was now neither able to keepe it himselfe, nor yet had any to leaue behind him, who would take charge vpon him. But at length he sent for Donald prince

of Thomond, being the kings baron & sworne subject, and vnto him he committed the custodie and charge of the citie: who forthwith pretending all truth and fidelitie was contented therewith; and did not onelie put in hostages, but also tooke a corporall oath, and was solemne sworne for the safe keeping and the restitution of the same at the kings will and pleasure, as also in the meane time to keepe the peace.

Then Keimond and all his companie departed and went awaite: but they had not so long passed ouer the one end of the bidge, but that the other end was forthwith broken downe, enen at their heeles; and the citie which was well walled, defended and vittelled, was set on fire in foure sundrie parts, which they saw and beheld with no small græfe of mind. The false traitor then openlie shewing and teaching what credit was to be giuen thenceforth to the Irish nation, who so wickedlie, impudentlie, and perfidiously did perture themselves. The king of England not long after, being aduertised hereof, is said to haue thus said: Noble was the enterprise in the giuing of the first aduerture vpon the citie, but greater was the rescuing and recovering thereof againe: but it was onelie wisdom, when they left and forsooke it. Keimond then returned vnto Dublin with his whole garrison in safetie, and then the erle, whose corps by his commandement was reserved vntill Keimonds comming, was buried in the church of the Trinitie at Dublin, before the rood there, by the appointment of Laurence the archbishop, who did execute all the funerall seruices and obsequies.

The comming of William Fitzaldelme and others ouer into Ireland.

Chap. 16.

These things thus done, the kings messengers vpon these new changes and changes were to take new aduises; and hauing throughlie debated the state of the countrie, and the necessitie of the time, they thought it best and did conclude that Keimond should tarie behind, and keepe the countrie in good staie and order; but they themselves to returne backe to the king. Who accordingly prepared themselves, and at the next weatherlie wind then following, they took shipping and passed ouer into England; and being landed, did in post and with all the hast they could, make their repaire vnto the king; vnto whom they declared the death of the earle, & all other things concerning the state of that land. The king then vpon aduise and deliberation had in this matter, sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, with twentie gentlemen of his household, to be his lieutenant, & ioined John de Courcie in commission with him, who had attending vpon him ten men. Likewise Robert Fitzstephans and spiles Cogan, who had noble serued him in his wars two yeres, were also sent with them, hauing twentie men attending vpon them. These allone as they were arriued, and come to land, and Keimond hauing vnderstanding of the same, assembleth his companie and souldiours, which was a companie well belene, and marcheth towards Wexford, and there in the confines or marches of the same he met Fitzaldelme and the rest of his companie, whom he verie louinglie saluted and embraced: and forthwith according to the kings pleasure, he yeldded and deliuered vnto Fitzaldelme, then the kings lieutenant, all the citie and towne, as also all such hostages as he had within that land.

Fitzaldelme when he saw and beheld so little and little

The ladie
Basilia
letter to her husband
Keimond.

lustie a companie about Kilmord, and well marching also speilerus, and others the nephues of Kilmord, about the number of thirtie persons; mounted upon their horses, verie lustie and brave; and well besiene in like armor, with their shields about their necks, and their staves in their hands, coursing by & downe after their manner about the fields. He enioied thereat, and turning backe to his men, said secretlie vnto them; I will shortly cut off this pride, and quaille this brauerie. Which in the end it partlie so came to passe, for both he and all the rest which followed him in that office, did as it were by a secret conspiracie, enuie and maligne at Kilmord, speilerus, Fitzmaurice, sonnes to Fitzstephans, and all other of their race and kindred. For this was alwaies the lucke and fortune of this kindred and familie.

In all seruices of warres they were then the foremost, and had in best price, and in all martiall adventures they were the best and most valiant men: but when there was no such seruice in hand, and no need of them, then were they contemned and no account was made of them; but by a secret malice they were abused, relected and refused. And albeit great was their malice, yet was their nobilitie so honorable and great; that by no means, so that they could, was the same to be extirpated or rooted out. For euen at this date, such good successe hath their noble beginnings had, that their offspring hath euer since (1) continued in that land, in much honor, force and power. And to saie the truth, who persecuted the force of the enemies in that land? When the Geraldines. Who did best keepe & prefer the land in safetie? The Geraldines. Who made the enemies to go backe & be afraid? The Geraldines. Who be they which for their good defects are most maligned and enuied at? The Geraldines. Suerlie, if it had pleased the prince to haue considered of them, according to their defects and worthinesse; no doubt the whole state of Ireland long per this had bene quieted and established. But causelesse were they alwaies had in suspicion, & their worthinesse still had in gelousie: and they put in trust, as in whome was neither valiantnesse of seruice, nor assurednesse of trust. But yet ye worthy and noble men, who for to attaine to honor, haue not bene afraid of death; and for to obtaine fame and renowne, haue not esteemed your felues; be not dismayed, though ye be vncourteouslie considered, and without your defects disdained and maligned at; but go ye onwards, and proceed in your wonted steps of vertue. And if my pen can go according to worthinesse, I shall be happie, and receiue the guerdon of vertue & immortall fame: for vertue cannot faile nor die, but either in this life or in the life to come, or in both, shall haue his iust reward and desert. And albeit your valiant seruice and worthinesse, either by the slackenes of the king, or by means of other mens secret and enuious practises, haue not bene hitherto considered nor rewarded: yet shall not I faile, with my pen to publish, and in my writings to remember the same. And therefore thinke not now, neither do you giue ouer to labor; and trauell from date to date to grow and increase in honor, fame and renowne. For the memorie thereof farre surpassing all the treasures in the world for a time through malice maie be covered, but neuer suppressed nor extind: but as fire long hid, shall in the end breake out into great flames, and for euer remaine in perpetuall memorie.

About this time was borne in Swendelocke a monstrous man, begotten by a wicked man of that countrie vpon a colt, a vice then too common in that wicked nation. It had the bodie of a man, but all

the extreame parts of an ore, for from the ankles of the legs and the wrists of the armes, he had the hooves of an ore, his head was all bald, sauing a few small & thin beares here and there: his eyes great, round and blacke, like an ore; nose he had none but onelie two holes, speake he could not but onelie belowed like a colt. This monster did baillie resort vnto the house of Maurice Fitzgerald, about dinner times, and such theate as was giuen him he would take in his hooves, and put to his mouth, and so feed himselfe: it but to retorne to the matter. William Fitzaldeline, being now in high authoritie, and hauing the gouernement and charge of the land in his hands, marcheth along the sea coasts, and visiteth all the townes, forts and castles that waies: but for the inner countrie, the mountaines and hills vpon the maine land, and bordering vpon the Irishie, he neither cared nor passed for the same: but yet mistooked not the wealth and riches thereof. For being a verie greedie and a couetous man, and expectable hungrie to haue gold and treasure, whereof was good store in that land, he greedilie scraped and scratched together whatsoeuer was to be gotten.

About this time, Maurice (2) Fitzgerald in the kalends of September died at Wexford, whose death was lamented, & his departure bewailed of all the countrie. For whie, he was a verie graue & a valiant man, & who for his constancie, truth, courtesie & love left not his like behind. After his death, William Fitzaldeline sent for the sonnes of the said Maurice, and so dealt with them, that he neuer left them, until by one means or other he had craftilie gotten from them the castell of Guendoke. Howbeit afterwards he gaue them Fernes in exchange: which albeit it were in the middle of their enemies, yet like lustie and couragious gentlemen, they builded there a strong castell, which they kept & inhabited mangre all their enemies. Walter Almane, so called in name, and not for that he was ether in nature or stature an Almane, being nephue to William Fitzaldeline, was made seneschall of Wexford; who nothing degenerated from the maners & conditions of his uncle, but was one who was a corrupt man in all his actions & doings, being couetous, proud, malicious and enuious. And suerlie it is commonlie seene, that there is none lightlie worse, than when a beggerlie rascal from nothing, and from a base estate, is advanced to wealth, credit and estimation. For such a one alwaies doubting and mistrusting all things, suppresseth all things, & thinking all things to be lawfull for him to do, doeth all extremities at his will and pleasure. There cannot be (3) saie a worse beast, than when a cruell rascal and proud begger is raised to estate, and made a ruler over his betters.

This Walter entered into acquaintance with Morogh prince of Kencile, and by him being corrupted with great bribes, did that he could to procure the utter destruction of Kilmord, and all his foresaid cosins and kinsmen. And to begin the execution of their practises, the foresaid William first toke a waite from Kilmord all his lands about Dublin, and about Wexford. And whereas he receiued letters of commandement from the king, to restore vnto Fitzstephans a cantred of land which he had in Spelman, he being well bribed, detracted and lingered the execution thereof: but yet in the end appointed and assigned vnto them other places which were further off and remoted; and the same the more perillous, because they were in the middle of the enemies.

(1) It is verie true, that these Geraldines euen euer since haue continued in this land of Ireland, and did baillie grow and increase to much honour: there being at this instant two houses advanced to the

the titles of earledoms, and sundrie to the estates of barons. And so long as they continued in the steps of their ancestors, they were not so honourable as terrible to the Irish nation: but when they leaning English government, liked the loose life of that vicious nation, then they brought in coine and liuerie, and a number of manie other Irish and diueltish impositions, which hath bene the ruine of their honour, the losse of their credit, & in the end will be the overthrow of all their houses and families.

(2) This Fitzgerald was buried, and yet lieth in a monastrie of Greie friers without the walles of the towne of Wexford, which house is now dissolved, and the monument of his buriall almost destroyed: there wanting some good and worshipful man to restore the same againe. He deserued well of his prince and countrie: and therefore lamentable it is, that in so unkind a countrie no one good man is to be found, that of so worshipful a knight will not restore to worship this monument.

The description of William Fitzaldelme.

Chap. 17.

This Fitzaldelme was a grosse and corpulent man, as well in stature as in proportion, but of a reasonable height; he was verie liberall and courtlike. And albeit he were of great courtesie, and would giue to anie man much honour and reuerence, yet was the same altogether with wiles and guiles: for vnder honie he gaue venem, and his sugred wordes were mingled with poison. And as a venomous serpent covered with greene leaues, he with an outward shew of courtesie covered his mindfull trecherie. For to the outward shew he was liberall and courteous, but inwardlie full of rancoz and malice. In countenance pleasant, but in a sinking brest was hid a sinking vapoz: outwardlie as make as a lambe, but within as wilde as a fox: carteng vnder sweet honie most bitter venem. His wordes as smooth as oile, and yet indeed they were deadly strokes: whome he honoured and reuerenced this daie, he would either spoile or destroye the next daie. A cruell enimie against the weak and feeble, and a flatterer vnto the rebell and mightie: gentle to the wild and savage, and courteous to the enimie; but extreame to the god subiect, and cruell to the humble; and by that means he was not fearefull to the one, nor trustie to the other. A man full of flatterie, and yet altogether craftie and deceitfull. He was also much giuen vnto wine and to women. He was a greedy couetous man, and an ambitious flatterer, being altogether bent to the one and the other.

(1) This William was the sonne of Aldelme father to Burke erle of Kent (as some saie) and his son Richard was sent into Ireland, and there greatly advanced: and of him (being lord of Connagh) descended the burgesses called Clanricards, who were the best blood of the foresaid Richard, and these doe yet remaine in Connagh, of whom is the earle of Clanricke now liuing.

How Iohn de Courcie inuadeth Ulster.

Chap. 18.

Iohn Courcie, who (as is before said) was ioined in commission with William Fitzaldelme, when he saw the course and manner of his dealings, who as he was co-

uetous, and did nothing but for monie; so was he timorous, and did all things in craft and deceit: as also that the enimie feared him not, and the god subiect loved him not. And considering also that the souldiers and garrison at Dublin, by means of their captains couetousnesse were unpaid of their wages, and by reason of his sloth and sluggishnesse the vittels were scant, & none went & scouted anie more abrode as they were wont to get anie booties or preies, he

secretlie dealeth with some of them, and by his wise conference, and wittie persuasions, allured and inticeth vnto him even such as were the valiantest, honestest, and chosen men of them all: who were content and verie glad to accompanie and follow him. And hauing so gotten into his companie two and twentie gentlemen, and about thre hundred others, he boldlie entreth and inuadeth into the province of Ulster, a countrie which hitherto had not tried the force and strength of the English nation. And then was fulfilled the prophesie of Merlin Celodine (as is said, howbeit I will not so affirme it) A white knight sitting vpon a white horse, bearing birds in his shield, shall be the first which with force of armes shall enter and inuade Ulster.

This Iohn Courcie was somewhat of a byrbone colour, but therewith somewhat whitish, and at that time he rode vpon a white horse, as also did beare in his shield thre painted (1) birds. After that he had passed thre daies iourneie through the countrie of Uriell, he came the fourth daie (being the kalends of Februarie) to the citie of (2) Downe, without anie resistance of the inhabitants thereof: he being an enimie and a ghest vnto them. And (3) Odonell then the ruler of that countrie, being astonished and amazed at their so sudden coming, fled awaie. The souldiers which before their coming from Dublin were halfe pined with famine, and hunger starued, hauing now recouered great booties and preies of neat and cattels, were full and well refreshed.

At this verie present time, there was come thither out of Scotland a legat from Rome named Aluianus, & he toke great pains to intreat & make a peace betwene Odonell & Iohn de Courcie, vntill all the persuasions that he could, affirming that if he would depart and go awaie, there should be a yearly tribute paid to the king of England: but all his wordes auailed nothing. Odonell seeing that wordes could little auaille, assembleth all the forces of the countrie: and within eight daies hauing gotten about ten thousand souldiours, with force inuadeth, & with great courage cometh to enter & breake into the citie of Downe. For in Ireland, as it is commonlie also in all other lands, they which inhabit in the north, are more warlike and cruell than anie others in other parts. Iohn Courcie seeing the course and bent of the enimies, who not onelie vpon a hope and confidence of their great multitude against so few enimies; but also their valiant and courageous minds, who were fullie determined to inuade the citie: thought it better with his small companie (which though they were but few in respect of their aduersaries, yet they were souldiours valiant, courageous, and of good seruice) to issue out and adventure the fight with them, than to be pinned & shut vp in a beggarlie ward made with turckes in a corner of the citie, and there for want of vittels to be famished. Wherefore he issued out and ioined the battell with them, where the fight was hot, the bolues a farre off on the one side, and the darts on the other side: then lance against lance, and the bill against the spar, and the sword against the skeine: who buckled so lustilie the one against the other, that manie a man fell that daie to the dust. And in this terrible fight and buckling, he that had scene how valiantlie each man

shewed

shewed himselfe, and speciallie how John Courcie most valiantlie with the stroke of his sword mangled manie a man, killing some, but wounded and maimed manie, would and must needs haue commended him for a right worthy, noble, and right valiant warrior.

(1) He giueth three birds as this author saith, which by heralds are thus blazoned. Argent three griffes or geires gules crowned gold: this griff or geire is a kind of an eagle, but such as is rauenous, and seeth more vpon carrion than vpon anie soule of his owne prey: & for his cowardnesse carieth neither the name nor praise appertaining to the true eagle.

(2) Dowlane is a towne lieng in the Ards, which is in Ulster, a profitable and a fertile soile: it is the see of the bishop of that diocese, who beareth his name of the said towne, being called the bishop of Dowlane.

(3) The Latine word is *Dunlennus*, which I doe find to be Englished *Donnell*, which is the name of a great familie or nation in the prouince of Ulster; but whether this Latine be trulie so interpreted, I refer it to the reader, or such as be expert in such Irish names.

The commendation of Roger Power, and the victorie of John de Courcie, and of the propheties of Celodine.

Chap. 19.

In this fight there was manie a worthy man, which valiantlie acquitted himselfe: but if it might be said without offense, there was no one man who did more valiant acts than (1) Roger le Poyner, who albeitt he were but a young man and beardlesse, yet he shewed himselfe a lustie, valiant, & courageous gentleman; & who grew into such good credit, that after wards he had the gouernment of the countie about Leisghlin, as also in Dowlane. This fight was verie long & doubtful, each partie manfully defending themselves, and none yielding the one to the other. But as the common proverbe is, be the date neuer so long, yet at the length it ringeth at euensong: so likewise this fierce, long, and cruell fight had his end, and the victorie fell to John de Courcie, and a great multitude of the enemies were slaine in the field, as also vpon the woars of the seas as they were fleeing and running awaie. Then was fulfilled the old prophetie of Celodine the Irish prophet, who forespeaking of this battell said, that there should be such a great bloodshed therein of the Irish people, that the enemies perceiuing them should wade vp to the knees in blood. Which thing came so to passe, for the Englishmen perceiuing them and killing them vpon the woars, the same were so soft, that with the weight of their bodie they sunke downe by to the hard knees or knifels, and so the blood flowing and lieng vpon the woars, they were said to be therein by to the knees.

The same man also (as is said) did write that a poore stranger, and one come out from other countie, should with a small power come to the citie of Dowlane, and against the will of the gouernor thereof should take the same. Manie other things also he wrote of limbie battells to be waged, and of the euents thereof, which were all fulfilled in John de Courcie. This booke the said John had, and he so esteemed the same, that still he had it about him, and in his hands; and did manie times, yea and for the most part direct his doings by the same. It was also written in the same booke, that a young man with force and armes should breake and enter in through the wals of Waterford, and conquer the same with

the great slaughter of the townsmen: moreover, that the same man should come to Waterford, & from thence to Dublin, where he should enter in without anie great resistance; & all these things (as is apparent) were fulfilled in earle Richard. Likewise he wrote in the same booke, that the citie of Limericke should be twice left and forsaken by the Englishmen: but the third time it should be kept, which thing came so to passe. For first (as is before written) Kilmord had it and gaue it over: the second was, when the king had giuen the same to Philip de Buse, for he being brought thither by Fitzburghans, and Miles Cogan, to take and enter into the same, and being come to the riuer side of Shenin for the same purpose, was there utterly discouraged to proceed anie further, and so without anie thing done, leaueth the same as he found it, and came backe againe; as hereafter in his place it shall be shewed. And thus (according to this vaticine) twice it was left, but the third time it shall be kept.

But this is to be implied and meant of Hamon de Malogntes the iusticiarie there appointed; in whose time the said citie being vnder his gouernment, was by treacherie and treason destroyed, and so forsaken and left; but afterwards recovered by Meilerius: euer since which time it hath remained and bene kept in the possession of the Englishmen. Well then to the battells of John de Courcie, first he had the victorie in two notable battells or fights at Dublin; the one in Februarie, and the other in Iulie: in which he hauing but a small companie of men, fought against sixtene hundred of his enemies, of whom he slue and ouerthrew a great number, and had the victorie. The third was at Fellic about the taking of a preie, where by reason of the streit & narrow passages, he was too much and euerie rones ouerset by the enemies, and so had the worse; some of his men being killed, and some scattered and dispersed abroad in the woods and fields, so that he had scant eleuen persons left with him. And notwithstanding that he had thus lost his men and horses, yet was he of such a valiant mind and courage, that with those few which were left, he went through his enemies, and in spite of them all travelled two daies and two nights on foot in their armour without meat or drinke thirtie long miles, vntill he was past danger, & so came safelie vnto his owne castell againe. The fourth battell was at Triell, where manie of his men were killed and manie fled. The fifth was at the bridge of Phoz, after and vpon his coming from out of England, and yet therein he had the victorie and conquest. So in three battells he had the victorie, but in two he receiued both the losse and hurt; and yet in them did more annote the enemy, than was hurted himselfe.

(1) The race & issue of the Powers hath euer since and yet doth remaine in Ireland, who nothing degenerating from this their ancestor, haue for their part shewed themselves valiant and men of good seruice, for which they haue bene honorable rewarded, and are now barons and peeres of the realme. Their habitation and dwelling is in the prouince or countie of Waterford, and not far from the citie of Waterford.

The description of John de Courcie,

Chap. 20.

In this John de Courcie was white and pale of colour, but verie fierce and arrogant, he was sinowous and a verie strong made man, verie tall and mightie, and of a singular audacitie; and being from his verie youth bent

Prophecie
of Celodine
fulfilled.

brunt to the wars proude a verie valliant soulbior. He would be the first in the field and foremost in the fight; and so ambitious and desirous he was of hono^r, that were the enterprize neuer so perillous, and the seruice neuer so dangerous, yet he would giue the aduenture. And albeit he were the generall or capteine, yet setting the p^rio^ritie thereof apart, he would be as a common soulbior, and serue in the place of a priuat seruitor; and manie times being more rash than wise, and more hasty than circumspect, he had the worst side and lost the victorie. And although in seruice he were thus forward, earnest, and vehement; yet in time of peace and rest he was verie sober, modest, and altogether giuen and disposed to serue God, and hauing the victorie of his enemies and good successe in his affaires, he would ascribe the hono^r vnto God, and be thankfull for the same. But as Tullius writeth, nature neuer made anie thing perfect and absolute in all points. And so it appeared in this man, for through his too much p^riding and sparing, and by reason he was verie vn-certaine and vnconstant, his vertues (otherwise great, and deserving great praises and commendations) were much imperfited and blemished. He married the daughter of Gored king of Malme. And after that he had waged manie battels, and fought sundrie times with his enemies, he at length had the masterie and conquest ouer them: and then hauing brought the whole countrie to a good peace and rest, he builded sundrie and diuerse castles throughout Ulster, in such meete and conuenient places as he thought best. And by the way this one thing me thinketh is verie strange, that these three notable & the chiefest posts of Ireland, namelie Herueie, Kilmord, and this John de Courcie, by Gods secret (but not vnjust iudgement) neuer had anie lawfull issue. I might also say the like of Mellerius, who as yet hath no lawfull issue by his wife. Thus much hauing breuie and by the waie spoken of the noble acts of John de Courcie, and leauing the same vnto others to be more at large set forth and described, we will now retorne againe to Dublin.

The three
chief posts of
Ireland
without issue
lawfull.

The councill or synod kept at Dublin; of Viuan the popes legat, and of Miles Co- gans issuing into Connagh.

Chap. 21.

In this meane time, Viuanus the popes legat remained still in Ireland, and held a synod at Dublin of all the clergie, in which he openlie confirmed and published the right which the king of England hath to the realme of Ireland, as also the popes ratification and confirmation of the same; commanding and charging euerie person, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he were, that vpon paine of excommunication he should not denie his loialtie, nor breake his allegiance vnto him. And moreover (1) forsomuch as the manner and custome was among the Irishie, that whensoever anie gods, coine, or vittels, were put and kept in anie church, no man would medle or deale to carrie the same awaie; yet neuerthelesse, he gaue licence and libertie to all Englishmen, that whensoever they went, or were to go in anie ho^rsing, and could not elsewhere be prouided of anie vittels, that they might lawfullie take what they found in anie church: so that they left with the churchwardens, or such as had the charge thereof, the true and iust value of so much as they took awaie. These things thus done, Miles of Cogan, who was lieutenant of the bands of soltours vnder William Fitzaldelme, as also conestable of the citie of Dublin, he

with 40 gentlemen, whereof 20 were vnder the conduct of Ralph the son of Fitzstephans, as also his lieutenant, and they hauing with them 200 horsemen & 300 footmen, passed ouer the riuer of Shenin, & invaded Connagh, which hitherto no Englishman had aduentured. The Connagh men forthwith set on fire and burned all their towines, villages, and churches, as also all such come as they had in their baggards, and in their caues, and could not carrie with them. Likewise they took downe the images and crucifixes, and hurled them abroad in the fields. Neuerthelesse, the Englishmen marched on wards, till they came to the towne of Thomond, where they staied eight daies together; and finding the countrie forsaken of the people, and barren of vittels, they returned backe againe ouer the Shenin: and by the waie they met with Rothorke prince of Connagh, who laie in a wood nere the Shenin waiting for them, and he had three great troops and companies with him of the best fighting men of Connagh. Betwene them there was a long and a cruell fight, in which spiles lost but three of his owne companie, but manie of his enemies were slaine. Which done, he recourred ouer the riuer, & so came safelie to Dublin.

(1) This vsage and custome is yet at this present obserued, and euerie church in the countrie stuffed and filled with great chests full of coine, which the husbandmen do for safetie keepe therein: and this isch safe at all times, euen in the verie warres among themselves: howbeit the same is not so religiouslie kept and obserued in these daies as in times past.

How William Fitzaldelme is sent from
home into England, and Hugh de Lacie put in his
place: and how Miles Cogan and Robert Fitz-
stephans haue the kingdome of Corke
giuen vnto them.

Chap. 22.

William Fitzaldelme, who during his abode and being in this land, had done nothing worthie the commendation, faining that he caused the stasse called Johns stasse to be fetched from Armagh, and brought to Dublin; he (I saie) and Miles Cogan, with Robert Fitzstephans were sent for by the king to come home. In whose come the king sent ouer Hugh de Lacie, and made him his deputie ouer the whole land, iointing in commission with him Robert Potour then seneeschall of Wexford and Waterford. The king, after the retorne of the aforesaid Fitzaldelme and others, thinking and considering with himselfe the good seruice of Miles Cogan, Robert Fitzstephans, and others; as also how necessarie it were, that such noble seruitors and valliant men were placed among the Irish people, wherby to keepe them in good order and dutifull obedienc, he gaue to Robert Fitzstephans, and to Miles Cogan in fee for euer to be equallie diuided betwene them all south Mounster (1) that is to saie, the whole kingdome of Corke, from the west part of the riuer at Lismore vnto the seas, faining and reseruing the citie of Corke, and one cantred of land therevnto adioining. Also he gaue vnto Philip de Buse all the north Mounster, that is to saie, the kingdome of Limerike, faining and excepting the citie of Limerike it selfe with one cantred ther vnto adioining, to haue vnto him and to his heires for euer in fee. These men thus rewarded, confederated themselves together to iointe and helpe one another, and euerie of them maketh the best preparation that he can. Which being in readinesse they took shipping and arrived into Ireland in the moneth of Nouember, and landed at Waterford: from thence they re-
sided

sted along vnto Cozke, where they were receiued with much honor both by the citizens, and also by an English gentleman named Richard of London, who was deputie there vnder Fitzabdelme.

As soon as they had pacified and quieted Dermot (2) Mac Artie prince of Desmond, and the residue of the noble men and gentlemen in those parties, Fitzstephans and also Miles Cogan diuided betwene them the seauen cantreds, which were nearest to the towne: for these they kept and held in best peace and rest. Fitzstephans had the thre cantreds which laie in the east part, and Cogan had the foure which laie in the west, the one hauing the more be- cause they were the wooser, and the other had the bet- ter cantreds that were the better soile and ground. The citie it selfe remained in their ioint gouerne- ment, and the residue of the cantreds being foure and twentie remained in common, and the profits there- of growing they equallie diuided betwene them. A cantred both in English and in Irish is so much land as containeth one hundred villages, as is in our to- pographie declared, which is commonlie called an hundred. These things thus done, they bying and conduct Philip de Wuse vnto Limerike. Fitzste- phans had with him twentie gentlemen and fortye horsemen, Miles Cogan had twentie gentlemen & fiftye horsemen, Philip de Wuse had twentie gentle- men & thre score horsemen, besides a great number of bowmen & footmen, which they all had when they were come to Limerike, which was about fortye miles from Cozke, & onlie the riuer of Shenin was betwene them and the citie: the same at their com- ming was set on fire before their eyes by the citizens themselves. Wherefore these, Stephens and Miles of- fered to aduenture ouer the water, and to enter the towne: or if Philip thought it so good, they would there build a castell vpon the riuers side right ouer against the towne. But Philip albeit he were a valiant and a good man, yet considering with himselfe how dan- gerous the place was, being in the middle of the eni- mies, and farre remoted from all succors and helpe, without which he was not able with his small com- panie to defend and keepe the same, as also being partie perswaded by the counsell and aduise of his companie, thought it better to returne home in safe- tie, than to dwell in the middle of his enemies in con- tinuall perill and danger. And it is not to be much marvelled that in this iourneie he had so euill suc- cesse: for whie he had gathered & retained to him the notablest murderers, theues, & seditious persons that were in all Southwailes, and the marches of the same, and these were of best credit with him, and he most ruled by them.

About this time Amere duke Fitzstephans son, a lustie yong gentleman and a towardlie, died at Cozke in March, to the great sorrow and græfe of all his friends. There about this time was found and seene a great tode at Waterford, wherof was made much wondering, as is in our topographie declared. Also within the space of thre yeares there was seene thre eclipses of the sun, howbeit these were not uni- uersall, but particular eclipses seene onlie in the land. After that Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan had quietlie and peaceablie gouerned and ruled the king- dome of Desmond sine pæres togither, and by their prudence and modestie had restrained the hasty for- wardnesse, and rash disposition of their yong men, Miles and Kafe the sonne of Fitzstephans a lustie yong gentleman, and who had married Miles daugh- ter, went toward Lisemore, there to meet & to haue a parlie with Waterford men: as they sate in the fields waiting and looking for them, one Macature with whome they should and had appointed to haue lien at his house the next night following, suddenly

and vnwares came stealing vpon them, and thre traitorously slue them, and sine of their companie. By meanes wherof the whole countrie forthwith was in an uproare, insomuch that Dermot Mac Artie, and all the Irishie in those parties, as also the traitor Macature, were out: and denieng to be anie longer the kings loiall subiects, made wars against Fitzstephans, who now once againe felt the course of fortunes disposition. And these so much annoyed him, that he could neuer recouer himselfe againe, untill that his nephew Keimond, who succceeded him in the gouernement there, came and rescued him: yet that notwithstanding, he was neuer his owne man, neither could he be at a perfect peace and rest.

And by the waie this is to be noted and considered, that as the northerne men be warlike and valiant; so are the southerne men craftie and subtil, the one seeking honor, the other deliting in craft & deceit; the one valiant, the other willie; the one of great cou- rage, the other set all on treason and falshood. But to the matter. When Keimond hard how fortune strou- ned vpon his uncle Fitzstephans, and what distresse he was in, being shut vp in the citie of Cozke, and his enemies assailing him round about, forthwith assen- bleth his companie, and hauing in readinesse twen- tie gentlemen, and one hundred of footmen and bow- men, he taketh shipping at Waterford, and sailing a- long the coasts, maketh towards Cozke with all the hast he can, that he might relæue and comfort his friends, and be a terror vnto his enemies. And in the end hauing oftentimes incountered with the enemies, some he killed, some he drove out of the countrie, and some he compelled (which was the greater number) to submit themselves and to sue for peace: and thus in the end after great stormes and tempests followed a faire weather and a caline. Wherefore after Ri- chard of Cogan, brother vnto Miles, & nothing infe- rior vnto him in valiantnesse, or anie other respect: came into Ireland with a lustie picked companie and chosen men, being sent to the king to supplie his bro- thers roime. Also in the end of the same winter, and in the moneth of Februarie (3) Philip Barrie nephew to Fitzstephans, a vertie honest and a wise gentle- man, came ouer with a lustie companie of chosen men, as well for the aid of his uncle, as also for the recouerie of his land in Dethan, which was perforce taken auaie (4) from Fitzstephans, as also after- wards from Kafe Fitzstephans sonne. In the same passage also came Gerald an other nephew of Fitz- stephans, and brother vnto Philip Barrie, who with his good aduise and counsell did verie much pleasure and helpe both his uncle and brother: for he was lear- ned and a great traoueller, in searching to learne the site and nature of that land, as also the first origine of that nation, and whose name the title of the booke beareth. About this time Herrie of Mont Moris professed himselfe a monke in the monasterie of the Trinitie in Canturburie, and gaue to the same in franke and pure almes all his patronages and im- propriations of all his churches, lieng by the sea coasts betwene Waterford & Waterford, and so be- came a monke, & liued a solitarie life in a religious habit: who as he changed his habit, so would God he had changed his mind: & as he hath laid auaie his se- cular weards, had cast off his malicious disposition!

(1) The gift which the king gaue vnto these two gentlemen of this countrie is yet extant vnder his broad seale, and was giuen by the name of the king- dome of Cozke, being bounded from the riuer which flaketh by Lisemore towards the citie of Limerike, vnto Knocke Brendon vpon the seas on the west, to be holden of the king, and of his heires by thre score knights fees. The citie it selfe without cantred of land

what a cant- red is.

These eclips- es of the sun in thre yeares.

land was reserved to the king, saving that they two had the custodie thereof. This kingdome in course of time for want of heires male of them, came to two daughters. The one of them was married to Carew and the other to Courcie, & they in the right of their wivnes intoid the same during their lives; and after them their heires, untill such time as by a division growing amongst the Englishmen, the Irishrie expelled them, and recovered the countrie unto themselves.

(2) These Mac Arties are yet remaining in the said province of Cozke, and they be now dispersed into sundrie families, but the chiefest of them is named Mac Artie Poze, and he in the time of king Henrie the eight was advanced to the honor and degree of an earle, being called the earle Clan Artie, which in common speech by interposition of the letter C is pronounced Clancartie.

(3) In this point there is a varietie among the writers, some writing that Fitzstephans should take away the land from Philip Barrie, and give it to his son Kase; and to recover this out of their hands, the said Philip came over with such power and force as he could make. Some write againe that the land after that it was given to Philip Barrie, he departing into England left it in the custodie and charge of Robert Fitzstephans, who when he liked not or could not keepe it anie longer, delivered the custodie thereof to his sonne Kase: who as his father so was he weare to keepe the same. And for that cause Philip Barrie minding to intoid, and to make the best thereof, with such force and helpe as he had gotten, came over both to helpe his uncle, & also to fortifie & build holds & castels upon his said land, whereby he might be the better able to defend and keepe the same: and this sameth to be the truth of the historie.

(4) This Philip of Barrie, having seized upon lands and possessions in Ireland, his posteritie have ever since continued in that land; and nothing degenerating from their first ancestor, have from age and to age bene noble and valiant gentlemen, and who for their fidelitie and good services, were advanced to honour and made vicounts: and in that title of honor doe continue still. But would to God they were not so nuzled, rosted, and altogether seasoned in Irishrie! the name and honor being onelie English, all the rest for the most part Irish.

How Hugh de Lacie builded castels, and fortified in Leinster and Meith.

Chap. 23.

WHilst these things were thus a dooing in Desmond, Hugh de Lacie a good and a wise man builded sundrie castels both in Leinster and Meith, and fortified the same verie stronglie: and among others he builded one at (1) Leighlin upon the river of (2) Barrow betwixt Desmond, a place naturallie of it selfe verie strong, which place Robert Poize by the kings commandement had the charge of, untill he gave the same over and forsooke it. What worthie champions and fit marchmen were this Poize & Fitzabelline, to be sent to dwell and rule in a nation, which is destitute and wanteth noble and valiant men! But a man maie see the course of fortune, who when she is disposed to smile, how she advanceth and raiseth by men from base estate to high degrees: for why, these two had moze pleasure in chambering and plasing the wantons with young girls, and to plete upon a harpe than to beare a shield or staffe, or to weare armour. And trulie it was to be marvelled, that so noble a prince could send such cowards to beare rule, and have any

horritie in places of service. But to the matter. Hugh de Lacie being a verie wisse man, all his care was to bring all things to a peace and quietnesse: and therefore such as were expelled or driven out of their lands and territories, he restored them, and with such courteous behaviour and gentle speeches he dealt with all men, that in a verie short time he drew unto him the hearts of the people, who desirous to dwell under his government; manured the grounds; which being then wast and untilled, was in short space full sowed and fraighted both with coine and cattell. And then for the safetie of the people and defense of the countrie, he builded towines and erected castels in everie place, made orders & established lawes for the government of the people. And by this it came to passe, that every man intoid the labours of his owne hands, and everie man lived in peace one with the other, and everie bodie loved him, and he assured of all men. But having thus by his wisdom, policie, and good gouernement recovered that nation to good conformitie and obedience, behold ennie (which alwaies maligneth vertue) he was had in a jealousie and suspicion, that his wisse and policie was to appropriate the whole land to himselfe, and as the lawfull king and monarch would crowne himselfe king of Ireland. Which opinion was so received & false rumour so spread, that it was in a short time carried into England; which when it came to the kings eares, you maie not thinke that he at all liked thereof, or could

broke the same.

(1) This Leighlin standeth full upon the river of Barrow, and it is a verie old & ancient castell called by the name of the Blake castell, a fort in those daies verie strong: it standeth in the baronie of Dwyane, which is the ancient inheritance of the Carews, who being barons of Carew in Wales, one of them married the daughter and heire of the baron of this Dwyane, & so the Carews became & were for the course of sundrie yeares, untill in the troublesome times, in king Richard the seconds time they were expelled, as all others or the most part of the English were. But being dwelling there, some one of them builded a religious house of Greie friers nere adjoining to the said castell, which being since dissolved in king Henrie the eights time, the same fell into the kings hands, who made thereof a fort, and kept there a perpetuall garrison, and thus was it disennured from the baronie. There is also one other Leighlin distant from this about an English mile, where is the cathedrall church of that diocesse, and whereof the bishop taketh his name being called the bishop of Leighlin; but for difference sake the same is called old Leighlin, and this other Leighlin bridge, by reason of a bridge builded of stone over the river at that place, and whereof the one end butteth upon the foresaid Blake castell.

(2) The Barrow is a goodlie and a notable river, having his head or spring in the hill called Mons Blandina or Slogh Blome, in which also are the heads or springs of the two other notable rivers Sure and the other Coire. This Barrow keepeth & hath his course through the countie of Lex, and passeth by the market towne of Athie unto Carlow, and from thence unto Leighlin, and so to Koffe, a little above which towne it meeteth and joineth with the Coire, and they together keepe their course about five miles, untill they meet with the Sure, which is nere unto the late abbete of Dunbradie: and as they all doe spring and rise out of one mountaine, so after they have taken their severall courses, they meet together and take one waie into the seas. They are all navigable, and all a like replenished with sundrie sorts and kinds of fishes.

The

The description of Hugh
de Lacie.

Chap. 24.

If you will know what manner of man Hugh de Lacie was, you shall understand his eyes were blacke and deepe, and his nose somewhat flat, and the right side of his face from the chin upwards by a mischance was shetwolie skalled: his necke was short, and his bodie hairy, as also not fleshy but sinewy and strong compact; his stature was but small, and his proportion deformed, but in conditions he was verie sober, trustie, and modest. He was verie carefull in his owne privat matters, but in causes of gouernment and in all publicke affaires he was most vigilant and carefull. And albeit he were a verie good souldier, and one of great experience in martiall affaires; yet in his sundrie aduentures wherin he was sometimes rash and verie hasty, he sped not alwaies best nor had the best successe. After the death of his wife he was somewhat lose of life, being much giuen to women, of whom he made no great choise: he was verie greedy and covetous of wealth and possessions, but overmuch ambitious of honour and reputation. At this time in Leinster florished Robert Fitzhenrie brother unto (1) Mellerius, who in his youthfull yeares was verie lustie like the flower of the garden, which when the winter dyeth and is cold, doth fade and wither away. Like wise (2) Alexander and Geraldus the two sonnes of Maurice. And albeit Gerald were a man but of meane stature, yet verie wise, sober, and honest. Also Roger le Poivre constable of Leighlin, Hugh de Lacie, and William le Poivre seneschall of Waterford, Robert Barrie the younger sonne of Philip Barrie, and both the Keimonds were of best fame and credit in these daies. About this time befell and happened the two strange wonders at Fother in Metch, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie; namelie, of the woman violentlie and perforce abused in a mill by a souldier, and of the otes there stolen and caried away.

(1) Pessa the daughter of the great Rhefus had thre husbands, by the first named Henrie she had a sonne, who being named after his name, was named Fitzhenrie, who was father to Henrie, Robert, and this Mellerius.

(2) This same Pessa had to hir third husband one Gerald of Windsoze, and by him had issue hir fourth son named Maurice, who was father to William Gerald and this Alexander. This Gerald was a valiant and a noble gentleman, and who had wars against Rhefus the father of this Pessa, and kept the towne and castell of Penbroke against him and all his force: but in the end after a peace concluded betwene them, he married this ladie, and had withie issue by hir.

How Hugh de Lacie vpon a vaine suspicion was sent for into England, and of his returne againe from thence.

Chap. 25.

The suspicion conceiued of Hugh de Lacie daile increased more & more, and as is before said came to the kings eares, who as princes in such causes was verie gelous, and could not like thereof, and therefore forthwith sent for Hugh de Lacie by John constable of Chester and Richard Pet, whome he appointed to carrie and serue in his place, & to be the gouernors or lords

justices of the land. But before he should depart and go awaie, it was agreed by a common consent, that there should diuerse castels and sundrie fortz be builded in Leinster: for Metch was alreadie mettelie well and indifferently fortified & incastelled. First therefore they builded two castels in Fotheret of Dunelan, the one for (1) Keimond, and the other for Griffith his brother: the third was at (2) Treffeldermont nere to Mochoghs countrie for Walter of Kidenford: the fourth for John (3) Clauill vpon the riuer of Barrow not far from Leighlin: the fifth at Collach for John Herford. And as for Billaire, which with the countrie adioining was before by the earle in his life time giuen to Mellerius, was taken from him; & in exchange the countrie of (4) Ler was giuen to him, which was a wild and savage countrie, full of woods, pannes, and bogs, and in the middle of the enemies, as also from anie succour or rescue: howbeit not vnfit for this such a champion of Mars and so worthy a souldier.

These things being thus done in the summer time, Hugh de Lacie toke his passage ouer to England, and made his speedie repaire to the kings presence, where he so wisely and dutifullie behaued himselfe, that the king not onelie was resolved of his truth and fidelitie, but also putting especiall confidence in him, he sent him backe againe. And calling home the foresaid John de constable and Richard Pet, made him his generall and deputie of the land, and toke assistance of him for his truth in this behalfe: howbeit he ioined in commission with him one Robert of Salisbury, who should in the kings behalfe be a counsellor and a trustie assistant vnto him in all his doings. Now Hugh de Lacie being returned backe againe into Ireland, and there settled and placed, thinketh vpon his first deuises, how to fortifie the countrie and to keepe it in good order. And the more castels he builded, and the more Englishmen he did bestow and place therein, the sooner and better did he thinke to bring the same to passe and effect. Among manie castels therfore which he builded, he made one at Tachmeo in Ler, which he gaue to Mellerius, as also gaue him his nece to wife; also one castell nere to Abotwie which he gaue to Robert Bigaret, and not farre from thence an other castell which he deliuered to Thomas Fleming. And not farre from thence he builded one oher castell at the mouth on the riuer of the Barrow, which Robert Fitzrichard had: besides in Metch he builded the castels of Dunach and of Billaire, as also Adam Faceport and Gilbert Mogens castels, and manie others, which were now too long to be particularlie repeted and recited.

And about this time was that strange talke and communication in a wood in Metch, betwene a priest and a wolfe, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie: which thing though it may seme verie strange & most incredible, yet the same is not to be discredited. For as S. Jerome saith, you shall find in scripture manie strange things, & which to a mans iudgement shall seme to be nothing true at all: and yet neuertheless they are most true. For nature can not preuaile nor doe anie thing against the Lord of nature: neither ought anie creature to contemne or scoorne, but rather with great reuerence and honour to consider the workes of God his creator. Not long after this king Henrie the younger, the son of king Henrie the elder, being seduced & caried (the more was the pitie) by lewd and naughtie counsels, rebelled the second time against his father, and had gotten vnto him the most part of the best noble men in all Poitiers, & the lustiest gentlemen in all France: besides his brother Gesteire the earle of Britaine the chiefe author and cause of this rebellion, and manie others of his confederates. But in the end, by Gods

Talke betwene a priest and a wolfe.

Gods iust iudgement and vengeance for his unnatural ingratitude against his father, who though he were a verie valiant and a lustie gentleman, yet against death nothing can helpe, and so died about June at Harels to the great sorrow of manie. And verie shortly after also the foresaid Gesteire, a noble and a valiant gentleman, & who for his worthinesse and prowess might haue bene the sonne of Ulysses or Achilles, who now reuolting the third time from his father, and rebelling against him, was by Gods iust iudgement about the kalends of August taken out of his life, and so died.

(1) Nesta the daughter of the great Rhesus prince of Wales had thre husbands, the third of them was Gerald of Windsoze, and these had to their first sonne William Fitzgerald the father vnto this Keimond, and Griffith.

(2) Treseidermont is a castell about a fure milles from Catherlough, & sometimes a verie faire towne and walled round about, and bordering nere to the baronie of Mdone. The English writers doe saie that this castell was not builded in this Treseidermont, but at Kilken, a castell about thre milles from this, and both now belonging to the earle of Kildare. But the Latine booke, which are of eldest writing and credit, and whom I doe herein follow, doe write it by expresse words, Treseidermont.

(3) This castell of Clanill not far from Leighlin, is supposed to be that which is now called Carlough or Catherlough: howbeit the common name of the countrie doth attribute this castell of Carlough to Eua the earls wife, and the ladie and heire of Leinster, and that she should build the same. But there appeareth no such things of hir doings, for by the course of the historie it is plaine, that the castels builded in Leinster were done by the Englishmen onelie, and for their defense and safetie.

(4) The countrie of Lox is parcell of Leinster, & lieth in the marches and extreme confines of the same by the west: it is verie strong and fast, being full of woods and bogs, and therefore a safe receptacle for rebels and outlawes. It is within the diocesse of Leighlin, and before now of late no thire ground, but inhabited by the Hozes, who were alwaies rebels and traitors. But in hope to reforme the same it was made a countie of it selfe, by an act of parliament in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie, and named the Quenes countie.

The death of Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and of John Comin made arch- bishop in his place.

Chap. 26.

In this meane time Laurence archbishop of Dublin died at the castell of Angiers in Normandie, about the kalends of December 1180. He was a (1) iust and a good man, but somewhat in displeasure with the king, who had him in suspicion because he was at the council of (2) Laterane, and there inueighed much against the king of England and his honour; & for that cause in his returne homewards through Normandie was slaid, and in the end there died, where he was buried in the high church of our ladie. After him John Comin an Englishman borne, and a monke in the abbey of Euenham, was by the kings means elected orderlie by the clergie of Dublin archbishop, and afterwards confirmed by pope Lucius at Aterbe, where he was also made a cardinall. A man he was verie well learned and eloquent, and verie zealous in causes of the church, wherein he would

haue done verie much good, if that he had not bene too wozllye, & haue sought to haue pleased wozllye princes, and to haue bene in the kings fauour.

(1) This one thing is and was a common obseruation in the Romish church, that if anie one had received the charact thereof, that although he were neuer so rebellious, nor so great a traitor against his prince; yet the same was to be interpreted to be in defense of the holie church, and such a one was counted a goodie and a holie man, though by the scriptures he who resisteth his prince is said to resist God himselfe.

(2) The council of Laterane is said to be one of the greatest synods or generall councils that hath bin, it was kept at Rome vnder pope Innocent the third An. 1204. Spante decrees were there made for the aduancing of the Romish antichrist: but yet the council could not be brought to his full perfection by reason of the ciuill wars in Italie. But among other decrees this was concluded, that all controversies betwene kings and princes, the correction thereof should appertine to the pope: as also no man should be counted emperor, except the pope had admitted him and crowned him.

The coming of Iohn the kings sonne into Ireland.

Chap. 27.

The king to aduance his younger sonne named Iohn had giuen him the dominion ouer Ireland, and he thereupon had taken homage of sundrie persons for the same: and now minding to bring the same to a final end & perfect order, sendeth ouer into Ireland before his sonne Iohn the new archbishop of Dublin, who as a forerunner vnto his sonne should prepare all things in readinesse against his coming, who forthwith toke his iournie about the kalends of August, and sailed ouer into Ireland. Also in the moneth of September then next following, he sent ouer Philip of Worcester, a valiant soldier, a sumptuous and a liberall man, with fortie gentlemen, who was commanded to send ouer (1) Hugh de Lacie, and he to stae there as gouernour of the land vntill Iohn his sonne came ouer. This Philip being thus placed in authoritie, the first thing he did he resumed and toke into the kings vse the lands in Mchathesse, and diuerse other parcels which Hugh de Lacie had before sold, and these he appointed to serue for the kings provision and diet. And after the winter was past, he assembled and mustered all his men and companie, & began to trauell from place to place; and in March about the middle of Lent he came to (2) Armagh, where when he had extorted and perforce exacted from the cleargie there a great masse of monie and treasure, he returned vnto the citie of Downe, and from thence to Dublin in safetie: being well laden with gold, silver, and monie, which he had exacted in euerie place where he came: for other good he did none. In this iournie there happened two strange miracles, the one at Armagh concerning the great anguish and grieve of (3) Philip when he departed and went out of the towne, the other was of a (4) fornicie which Hugh Trell toke away from the poore priestes at Armagh, as moze at large is declared in our topographie.

(1) This Hugh de Lacie albeit he were thus sent for, yet he went not ouer, as it appeareth by the course of the histories of this time: he was about building of a castell at Deruagh, and there being among his labourers,

laborers, and seeing one not to frame berie well in his worke, taught him what he should do, taking his pickaxe in both his hands and brake the ground. This wicked Irishman when he saw his lord and master thus stopping and labouring, suddenlie came behind him, and with his axe or weapon strake him in the head and slue him, but his inheritance and possessions came & descended to his two sonnes Walter and Hugh.

(2) In Ireland there are foure archbishops, one at Dublin for the prouince of Leinster, another at Cashill for the prouince of Mounster, the third at Thomond for the prouince of Connagh, & the fourth at Armagh for the prouince of Ulster. The chiefest of them is the archbishop of this Armagh, for although euerie one of the others be named a primat of Ireland, yet this one alone is named primat of all Ireland; which title he hath partly because he is successour to S. Patrick, who first conuerted Ireland to the christian faith, and had his see and church at this Armagh; one other cause is because this archbishop was the first that receiued a pall from the pope, which pall is a certeine measure of cloth, which the pope haloweth and giueth or sendeth to euerie archbishop, who weareth the same hypermost upon his garment. The nature of this pall, of the first inuention thereof and the causes whie it is giuen to euerie archbishop, is not incident nor appertaining to the course and nature of this historie, and therefore I will omit it. This Armagh was sometimes a faire towne, and therein a faire cathedrall church, lieng farre and remote from all good neighbors, and in the middle of the Mene and other sauage people; the same hath bene and still is and lieth wast: and the archbishop remoued to a house of his named Terseham, which lieth nere the towne of Drogheba, being a place of better safetie.

(3) The historie is, that this Philip of Worcester being well landed with great riches exacted from the cleargie and departed, he was no sooner out of the towne, but that he was taken with a sudden pang, which for the time was so vehement, that it was supposed he would neuer haue recovered it.

(4) This Hugh Tirell among other the spoiles which he toke, he had a great brauing forname or pan which serued for the whole house, for which his doing the priests cursed him, and he caried this along with him untill he came to the citie of Downe. And on a night he being in his lodging, the same was entred with fire, and the houses which diew to the said pan, as also much goods which they brought with them, and a great part of the towne was burned. In the morning, when he saw the great spoile, and yet the said pan as nothing hurt nor perished, he began to repent and be forie, and so restored the pan againe.

The comming of Heraclius the patriarch into England.

Chap. 28.

While these things were doing in Ireland, Heraclius the reuerend patriarch of Jerusalem, hauing gone a long iourneie from the east to the west, came into England about the beginning of Februarie; who brought with him the keies of the holie citie and sepulchre, with the kings ensigne and martiall signe, in the behoufe of all the states of the holie land, as well of the brethren of the order of the temple as hospitall: and with the consent of all the cleargie and laitie, making supplication to king Henrie the second, falling at his feet with teares, and humble desiring him, that he would be pitifullie moued to the aid of

the holie land, and Christes patrimonie, desperatlie afflicted by the infidels: otherwise affirming (which within two yeares happened) that the whole kingdome would fall hostile into the hands of the Soldane of the Saracens and of Egypt. Wh what a glorie was it to this king and kingdome, that he passing so manie emperours, kings and princes, as though there were no helpe in the middle part of the world, should come into this corner of the earth, & as it were into an other world to requ're aid! How worthy, perpetuall and incomparable had the kings glorie bene, if he setting aside other businesse, and forsaking his kingdoms, had taken without delaie (at this calling of Christ) Christes crosse, and haue followed him! Verelie, he should haue receiued of him the euerlasting kingdome, if he had serued him in this necessitie of whom he receiued his kingdome, and so glorious a grace of gouernement on earth. Wh if he would haue defended here (for his abilitie) the patrimonie of so worthy a kingdome in this point of necessitie, and this trial of deuotion, he might haue bene worthy to be fortified in earth by such a patrone and tutor in all his affaires and necessities whatsoeuer.

The answer of the king to the patriarch.

Chap. 29.

Daie for answer herof being appointed at last by the king at London, manie as well knights as of common sort, by the admonishments of the patriarch, as the sermons of Baldwin the archbishop were croised to the seruice of Christ. At the last the patriarch receiued this answer of the king, that it was not good to leaue his realme without defense and gouernement, & leaue open his lands beyond sea to the rapacitie of the Frenchmen that hated him: but as concerning monie, he would giue both that which he sent thither, to be reserued for him, and moze also for the defense of the holie land. To whom the patriarch answered by following this aduise. King you do nothing: and by this meanes you shall neither saue your selfe, nor reserue Christes patrimonie. We come to seeke a prince, and not monie. Euerie part of the world almost sendeth vs monie, but none sendeth vs a prince. Therefore we desire a man that may want monie, and not monie that may want a man. But, when the patriarch could get no other answer of the king, he taketh an other deuise: he desired him to giue to their aid one of his sonnes, and if none other, yet his yongest sonne John, that the blood descending from the Anioles might in a new branch rasse vp the kingdome.

John himselfe, albeit he was readie to passe into Ireland giuen him by his father, with a great armie, (prostrating himselfe at his fathers feet) desired (as they saie) that he might be sent to Jerusalem, but he obtained it not. So the patriarch seeing he could do nothing, and draw no oile out of the hard stone, he spake thus against the king, in the audience of manie, with a threatfull and propheticall spirit. O glorious king, thou hast reigned hitherto among the princes of the world with incomparable glorie, and your princelie honour hath hitherto daile increased to the type of highnesse. But now doubtesse is this triall being forsaken of God, whom you forsake, and destitute of all heauenlie grace. From henceforth shall your glorie be turned into sorrow, and your honor to reproch so long as you liue. I would to God the king had auoided this threat by penance, like the king of Ninir, and had caused this sentence to be altered!

This was the saying of the hemistocles.

f. i. The

The holie man spake this thing thise, first at London, then at Dover, and lastlie at Gynon castell beyond the sea. And I would to God the patriarch had bene a man without that propheticall spirit, & had rather spoken a lesing, that we may for more euidence touch such things byelie as were befoze spoken by that true forspoke, which we saw thozlie to take effect. Whereas the king reigned thirtie and five yeres, thirtie yeres were granted him for wo:ldlie glozie, expectation of his conuersion, & triall of his deuotion; but the last five yeres fell vpon him, as vpon an vngatefull, repobate, and abiect seruant, in reuengement, forroze, & ignominie. For in the two and thirtith yere of his reigne, immediatlie after the coming of the patriarch, his first enterprize of sending his sonne John into Ireland, both the labour and cost was frustrate and lost. The thre and thirtith yere, whereas he neuer lost land befoze, he lost to king Whillp (being but a child) almost all Antou. The foure and thirtith yere he lost the castell Kaser, and wehnare all Berie. The five and thirtith yere of his reigne, and the fourth yere after the coming of the patriarch, not onelie king Whillp of France, but his son Richard of Poitiers rising against him, he lost the cities of Towres and Spaine, with manie castels, and himselfe also; according to that in saint Gregorie: Those that the Lord hath long forbozne, that they might be conuerted, if they do not conuert, he condemneth them the more greuoullie.

The croising of kings.

Chap. 30.

Wit perchance the king was referued by heauenlie disposition to the victorie of deserued loue. How much greater is it to repara things cast downe, than to vnderprop things likelie to fall: And who had knowne Hector, if Troie had continued in prosperitie? By so much as aduersitie is more instant and byged, by so much the glozie of valiantnesse will shine the brightter. For by the secret iudgement of God, within two yeres after the victorie was ginen to the pagans and Parthians, against the christians, either to reuenge the cold deuotion of the east church, or to trie the deuout obedience of the westerne men; the worthie Richard earle of Poitiers hearing this ouerthrow, toke deuoutlie the crosure vpon him at Towres, giuing an example to other princes in that matter. Wherevpon the king of England, the earles father, and Whillp king of France, who had bin befoze at variance (with Gods grace, and the archbishop of Towres perswasion) in that place and that houre, at their conference at Cuthoys were crosed, with manie other great men of the clergie and laitie. And as kings folowed the example of the erle, so after their example the emperour Frederike, through the perswasion of the duke of Alba, with manie states of Almane were crosed in the lords court at Benty. So as it is thought, the king of England being referued more than all other to the restozing of the decayed state of the holie land, if he had finished his life in this victorie; doubtlesse that famous prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius had bene berefied in him. His beginning (saith he) shall waue with wild affections, and his end shall mount to heauen.

A prophesie of Merlin touching the king

The discord of the kings.

Chap. 31.

Sudden discord rose betwene the kings and that (which was worse) betwene the father and the earle, through the working of the old enmie, & their sinnes deseruing the same,

to the great hinderance of their noble enterprize: as though they being vnited for it, the honoz thereof was referued for other; or perchance according to the sentence of Gregorie: Aduersitie, which is obiect of againt god bowes, is a triall of vertue, and not a signe of dispraise. Who is ignorant how hapie a thing it was that Paule was diuen into Italie, and yet he suffered shipwacke: But the ship of his heart was safe among the surges of the sea. Likewise therfore as vertue is perfected in infirmities, and gold tried in the fire: so the constancie of faith that cannot be crazed with tribulations, doth increafe more as sinapis; and the courage of the mind is more valiant againe than troublous assaults of fortune. How much rather would I, that these kings accompanied with a few men acceptable to God, had taken vpon them this laborious, but yet a glorious iourneie, than to war proud for the great wealth that they had gathered of manie people to this end. Read ouer the whole bible, and consider these latter times, and you shall find, that victorie hath bene gained, not with force and humane power, but with Gods grace and store of vertues. For as Cassiodorus saith: An armed people without the Lord is vnarmed. And as Seneca saith, Not the number of the people, but the vertue of a few get the victorie. Of the foure before named, the emperour Frederike, albeit he was the last crosed, yet in the execution thereof he was the first: whome therfore I account so much the more worthie of victorie in heauen, and glozie in earth, that he forsaking large kingdomes and his empire, belated not out the matter.

A vision and exposition thereof.

Chap. 32.

Therfore I thought it not inconuenient to set downe a vision, which he that hideth much from wisemen & reuealeth it to babes visited me withall, being a most simple and vile wretch. In the miserie of this time, in that ciuill and detestable discord betwene the king and the erle of Poitiers, I being with the king at Gynon castell the seventh ides of Maie: at night in my sleepe about the cocke crowing, me thought I saw a great multitude of men looking vp into heauen, and as it were wondering at some what. So I lifting by mine eyes to see what the same was, I saw a bright light breake out betwene the thicknesse of the clouds, and the clouds being incontinentlie seuered asunder, and the lower heauen as it were being opened, and the sight of mine eyes pearling through that window to the emperieall heauen, there appeared the court thereof in great multitude, wide open as it were to be spoiled, all kinds of munition being bent against it. You might haue seene there a head cut from one, an arme from another, and some stricken through with arrowes, some with lances, and some with swords. And when manie of the beholders either for the brightnes, or terroz, or pittie, had fallen flat on their faces: me thought that I (to see the end of the matter) did vlew it longer than the rest. So they hauing gotten the victorie ouer all the other, the blondie slaues fell vpon the prince of the heauenlie orders, sitting in his throne as he was wont to be pictured, and drawing him from the throne on the right hand, hauing his breast naked, they thrust him through the right side with their lances, and immediatlie there followed a terrible voice in this manner, Woch, woch, Wholi-ghost! What together it came from heauen, or was uttered by the people beneath, I can not tell; and so the terroz of this voice & the vision awakened me.

The meaning
of the foregoing
by him.

I call him here to witnesse, to whom all things are apparant and manifest, that immediatlie as I sat in my bed, & revolved these things in my mind, I was in so great an horroz both of bodie and mind, for halfe an houre and more, that I feared least I should haue fallen besides my selfe. But recourring deuoutlie to the onlie refuge of humane saluation, & blessing my forehead with the crosse effronies, & fortifying my mind thereby, I passed the rest of the night without sleepe, & so through Gods grace returned fullie to my selfe: yet to this daie I can neuer remember that vision without horroz. What may be more terrible to a creature than to see his creator smitten through with weapons: What man without græfe can abide to see the seruants of God, & patrons of men to be murdered: Who can behold the Lord of nature to suffer, & death not suffer there with: What this vision portendeth, without preiudice to anie I will shew briefly. He that suffered once in his owne person for all, giueth vs to vnderstand, that he now suffereth againe, but that in his flocke. And he that by triumphing ouer the crosse, and ascending to the right hand of his father, hath victoriouslie entered his kingdome; his enemies now go about to depriue him of his kingdome, and subuert his church, which he gathered vnto him by the shedding of his blood. Therefore, as I doe suppose, this passion did not appeare vpon the crosse, but his maiestie: as though the crosse now being taken auaie, his enemies go about to take that glorie from him, which he got on the crosse. Whelpe that his faithfull had suffered, not in the crosse, but with weapons in that holie land, which he after so manie miracles had consecrated with his blood. So likewise he declared this his passion which he for his susteined, not in the crosse, but in his maiestie: so he signified, that all the court of heauen suffered with the like compassion, mouing his to reuengement with the shewing of so great græfe. As concerning that voice beginning in a barbarous language and ending in Latine, what I thinke I will shew. Woch, woch, in the Germane tong, is a signe of græfe doubled. And where that wofull mourning voice began in the Germane tong, and ended in Latine, it maie be signified thereby, that onelie the Almans and the Italians take this the affliction of their Lord more grieuouslie than other nations, as their hasting declareth. God forbid that the passion or lamentation be here vnderstood by anie slaughter of the christians and people in this expedition.

The memorable euent of our time.

Chap. 33.

I thinke it not impertinent to set downe here (by occasion) the aduentures and notable euent in England: and first of all, the sudden death of the detainers of the kingdome of England against the lawfull heire, the nephew of Henrie by his daughter Matilda: as well the death of the worthy knight Eustachius the son of king Stephan, and son in law to Lewis the French king: as of his mother queene Matilda the countesse of Bullogne. When the concord adoption made betwene king Stephan, and Henrie duke of Normandie. And then after the death of king Stephan, the marriage of queene Elianor, and the translation from crowne to crowne. Immediatlie, the aduancement of the duke to the kingdome, and the coronation of king Henrie the second. The affliction of the castell of Widdgenorth vpon Seuerne, and the compulsion of the worthy knight Hugh Spottimer to sedition, to the terrible example of all. What ne-

deeth manie words: To confound the mightie, and to make euen the rugged, there were prosperous successes. And as destruction fell vpon the detainers of the kingdome, so likewise it fell vpon the peacebreakers of the same, as well of the brechren, as also of the sons.

The subduing of prince Dene at Colshull in Northwales in a wooddie streit, not without the losse of manie knights. A sumptuous expedition to Tholouse, albeit it was vnprofitable. An altercation & warre betwene the king of England and Lewis of France, through the dotting of both parts. The yielding vp of prince Rhesel by the means of his vncle Dene at Pencador in Southwales, the king of England comming thither. The vntwilling & twisted confession onelie by word & by writing (as some say) of Thomas of Canturburie, and his suffragans at Clarendon, as concerning armates: when that prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius seemed to be fulfilled; The buls tongues shall be cut out. The inturion crying out of all the court at Northampton against the father, bearing the crosse, & maintaining the rights of the crucifix, and the priue departure of him to exile that night. The ambassage of Reinold archbishop of Cullen, & chancelor to the emperor, from the said emperor to the king of England: who was an effectuous perswader of marriage to be had betwene Henrie the emperors nephew duke of Saronie and Bauler, and Matilda the kings eldest daughter: he moued also, but in vaine, to set cleare the Almans schisme. Not long after the publike persurie through out all the realme, by the kings proclamation against the fe of saint Peter, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And incontinentlie the countie Gunceline, and other states of Saronie came from the duke into England for the kings daughter.

The coronation of king Henrie the third, son to king Henrie, solemnized in London by the archbishop of Poike, to the preiudice of the church of Canturburie. Ambassadors came from Spaine, and obtained the kings daughter Elianor, to be married vnto Ansaldo, king of Toledo and Castile. The comming of Dernicus (being expelled) to the king, and the sailing ouer into Ireland of Fitzstephans, & earle Richard. The expedition of the lord of Orwalste in Powes, and his returne by occasion of raine: not without his hartfull dismembryng of the plegges, and great slaughter of his enemies. The martyrdome of Thomas. His often shewing miracles. The departure of the noble Henrie bishop of Winchester, descended of the kings blood at Winchester. The blage of the king into Ireland. The conspiracie of the states against their prince, and the children against their father. The comming of two cardinals into Normandie, to make inquirie of the death of the martyr. The sudden returne of the king out of Ireland into Wales, and so into England, thence into Normandie: with an appeasing of the said cardinals, and the French king. The first departure of the yong king with his two brethren from his father into France. The victorie of the ciuill and two yeares warre, and the kings mercie towards the vanquished, as we haue shewed before. The comming of Huguntio Petie Leon cardinall of the title of saint Angelo into England, and the celebration of a counsell vnder him of all the cleargie of England, at London, as concerning the contention of supremacie betwene Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and Roger of Poike: but the allegations on both sides with fitts and flauens brake it off. The bishop of Capua, and Diaferus elect of Crois, and earle Floxius, came from William king of Sicill, to haue marriage betwene him and Joane the kings yonger daughter.

A prophesie
of Merlin
filled.

*Albion
sterij.

f. ii.

The

The ambassadors of the kings of Spaine, Castile, and Navar, came into England: who as concerning lands and castles (whereof they contended) promised altogether to stand unto the king of England arbitrement. Wherefore the king assembling at London all the lawyers & wise men in the land of both orders; when the cause was proposed, and the allegations heard on both sides, by famous advocats; among whom, Peter of Cardon, that came in the behalfe of the king of Navar, excelled in eloquence: the king using wise counsell, and intending to end the contention by transaction, that giving somewhat from one, and keeping somewhat from an other, he would hurt neither partie much. But as he was appointed iudge by both, so he was carefull for the commoditie of both as much as could be. So making a transaction, and ingrossing it in writing, he writ the iudiciall examination for a proviso; That if either part refused to stand to his arbitrement, the definitive strife might be decreed by sentence. The comming of Lewis king of France into England, who went on pilgrimage to Canturburie, to the martyr Thomas, to require his helpe deuoutlie, whom he in the time of his exile had helped: and offering a cup precious both for matter & substance in the place where the holie bodie was buried, when he had declined a while prostrat on his face, and had laid his bare head a while in the right side hole of the marble stone that standeth thereby; at last, rising from his praier (that he might confirme the memoire of his pilgrimage with everlasting record) in the presence of the king of England, the earle of Flanders, the archbishop of the see, the prior of the couent, and other men of state, he gaue yearelie vnto Canturburie abbete an hundred tuns of wine.

The second defection of king Henrie the third, and earle Gesteire, with the sudden death of the yonger king at Barcel. The comming on pilgrimage of Godfrie archbishop of Cullen, and Philip earle of Flanders vnto Canturburie. The death of earle Gesteire. The comming of Heraclius the patriarch, and the sailing of earle John into Ireland. Almost all things as they be here set in order, chanced in our time, in no great distance betwene, in and about the space of thre and thirtie yeares. How glorious had all these things bene, if they had led to a good end! Which surely would haue hapned, if he setting other things aside, had followed Christ, when he was called, of whom he receiued all these benefits; and had spent the last five yeares reigne in his seruice. But these things being before rehearsed by the way, let vs returne to the historie.

The recapitulation of sundrie acts,
and of the comming of John the kings
sonne to Ireland, with his
successe there.

Chap. 34.

NOW omitting the building of thre castles, one at Tipozarie, the other at Archghin, & the third at Lismore, after the comming of earle John, & speaking nothing of the euill fortune of thre worthy yong men; Robert Barrie at Lismore, Reimond Fitzhugh at Dlethan, and Reimond Cantinensis at Djoona. Of part of the garrison of Archghin slaine in the wood there, by the prince of Limerike on Midsummer daie, & foure knights there killed, not without manfull defense. Of them of Limerike, and the noble man Ograine slaine at Tipozarie. Of them of Archghin slaine againe by those of Limerike in taking of a preie,

Of Dermucius Mac Arthe prince of Desmond, with others slaine in a parlie nere Corke by them of Corke, and the garrison of Theobald brother to Walter. Of the slaughter of them of Bencolon, with their prince inuading Meth by the men thereof, & William Little, and one hundred of their heads sent to Dublin. Of the finding out of the bodies of Patrike, Wigtd, & Columbe at Dundalke, & their translation from thence by the procurement of John de Curcie.

Of the heading of Hugh Lacie at Dornach, through the treason of his owne Irishmen. Of the killing of twelue noble knights vnder John de Curcie, in the returne from Connagh. Of the traitorous and lamentable slaughter of Roger Roboz, and manie others in Osserie: and thorough that occasion, the priue conspiracie of all Ireland against the Englishmen, manie castles being therewith destroyed. All which things are not vnworthie to be recorded, when the dominion was translated to the kings son. But assigning these doings to other writers, we will proceed to more profitable matters. How and wherefore this first enterprize of the kings son had no good successe I thought good to declare bytestie: that this finall addition (albeit it can not be a cure to that which is past) yet it may be a cauate for things to come. ¶ This recapitulation followeth in a more absolute forme; pag. 53. which being deliuered out of sundrie copies, doo perfect one another.]

When all things mete and necessarie for so great a iourne or volage were at the king his commandement and charges made readie; then John the kings yonger sonne a little before made lord of Ireland, was sent ouer; and in the Lent time (1) he toke leaue of his father, and as he trauelled towards saint Daulds to take shipping, he passed and rode along by the sea coasts of South Wales, and so came to (2) Penbroke. There brought and accompanied him vnto the ship a noble and a worthy man named Reimulfe Glanulle, one of the kings most priue counsell in all weightie matters, as also chiefe iustice of England. And on wednesday in the Easter weeke, the wind being at east and blowing a good gale, he toke ship in Spilford haven, but for hast he left to do his deuotion and oblation at saint Daulds, which was but an euill halloing: nevertheless on the next morrow about noontide he arrived in safetie vnto Waterford with all his company, which were about thre hundred gentlemen, and of bowmen, footmen, horsemen, and others a great number. Then was fulfilled the baticine or prophetic of old Merlin: A burning globe shall rise out of the east, & shall compass about the land of Ireland, and all the foules of that land shall see round about the fire. And hauing spoken these words of the father, he continueth his speech, and thus speaketh of his sonne: And of this fire shall rise a sparkle, for feare of which all the inhabitants of the land shall tremble and be afraid: and yet he that is absent shall be more esteemed than he that is present, and better shall be the successe of the first than of the second.

John at this his first arriuall into Ireland was of the age of 12 yeares, which was from the first arriuall of his father thirtene yeares, of the landing of the earle Strangbow foureteene yeares, and from the first entrance of Robert Fitzstephans fiftene yeares, and the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie and five; Lucius then Romaine bishop, Frederike the empero, and Philip the French king. There passed ouer with the king in the same fleet manie god clerks, among whom (3) one was speciallie commended vnto this yong lord by his father, for that he was a diligent searcher of naturall histories,

hystories, as also had bene before two yeres in the same land, and there collected sundrie notes, and sufficient matter as well for his hystorie, as for his topographie: and which after that he was returned home, and attending in the court, did (as leisure served him) digest and set in good order of a booke, the same being his labor of thre yeres. A trauell to him painefull, but to his posteritie profitable, although much misliked and enuied at by such as then were living: the one liked it well, but the other dispraised it; the one reaped a benefit and commoditie, but the other of a secret malice maligning the same, fretted in his humor, and was grauelled in his owne follie.

(1) The first voyage of the king his sonne, being then but a child of twelue yeres of age: the English chronicles doe make small mention thereof. But such as doe write thereof, doe report that the king brought his sonne as farre as Gloucester on this sojnie: and there dubbing and honoring him with the degree of knighthood, sent him on his iourney.

The ancient house of the Carews.

(2) Penbroke is an old and an ancient towne, builded by a noble man named Arnulph Spontgomerie the ancestor of the Carews, whose names are Spontgomeries, & lieth in Westwales named Demetia, but now of this towne is called Penbroke, shire. It standeth vpon a crake of Milford haue, about two miles from the castell Carew: of which castell the Spontgomeries builded, and there dwelling toke the name thereof, & were called Carews, which name that familie doth yet reteine. In this towne of Penbroke standeth a goodlie and a strong castell, which hath bene in times past the seat and house of manie a noble man bearing the name of the earles of Penbroke. In this was king Henrie the seuenth bozne. It is now in great ruine and in decaye.

(3) This man ment here is Giraldus Cambrensis the author of this booke, who (as it appeareth by this and other his works) was learned and much giuen to studie. He was archdeacon of saint Davids, and descended from Girald of Windsoze, and the lady Nesta his wife, for he was the son of Maurice, and the sonne of the foresaid Girald and Nesta: and so this Girald of Windsoze was his Proauus or great grandfather.

The praise and commendation as also the excuse of Robert Fitzstephans and the earle Strangbow.

Chap. 35.

Robert Fitzstephans was the first who taught and shewed the waie to the earle, the earle to the king, and the king to his sonne. Great praise-worthie was he that gaue the first aduenture, and much was he to be commended who next followed and increased the same: but above all others he deserved best, who fulfilled, absolued, and ended the same. And here is to be noted, that albeit both Fitzstephans and the earle did helpe Dermot Mac Mough to recover his countrie of Leinster, as also defended and kept the same from robbers, theues, & enemies: yet they did it in diuerse respects. The one in respect of his faith and promise, the other for loue of Gua, & of the (1) inheritance, which by his should grow and come vnto him. But as concerning the intruding vpon Waterford, and the conquest of sundrie territories as well in Desmond as in Meth, I can not excuse them. The earle, who in right of his wife was lord of Leinster, the first part or portion of Ireland, surrendered and yielded by all

his right and title there vnto the king himselfe, and toke it againe to hold of him. The like also did all the princes of the land. Whereby as also by other old and ancient records it is apparant, that the English nation entred not into this land by wrong and inturie, (as some men suppose and dreame) but vpon a good ground, right, and title.

(1) The course of this hystorie in the beginning doth plainelie declare, how that Dermot after his departure from the king came to the citie of Bristol, and there hauing conference with Richard Strangbow erle of Chesholme, did offer vnto him his onelie daughter and heire in marriage, with the inheritance of all Leinster: conditionallie that he would passe ouer into Ireland, and to helpe him to recouer his land, which conditions were accepted and afterwards performed. Afterwards he lieng at saint Davids for passage, there he met with Robert Fitzstephans, & did condition with him, that if he would passe ouer into Ireland to helpe him, he would giue him the towne of Waterford with certeine cantreds thereunto adioining, which conditions were then accepted and afterwards performed. Thus it appeareth that the one for loue of the gentlewoman, and the other in respect of his promise did passe ouer into that land and realme.

The causes of lets whie this conquest could not nor had his full perfection.

Chap. 36.

Happie and for euer happie had Ireland bene, which being ballantlie conquered, well replenished with townes, and fortified with castles from sea to sea of the first (1) aduenturers, who were then minded to haue established a good order and gouernment, had not they through the secret malice and treacherie of some men bene called awaie and sent from home. Pea happie had it bene, if the first conquerors (being noble and ballant men) might according to their deserts haue had the charge of gouernment committed vnto them. For whie, a nation which at the first comming ouer of our men, when they were galled with our arrows, and afraid of our force, they were then easie to be reclaimed. But partlie by meanes of trifling and delating of time, which is alwaies dangerous, and partlie by reason that the best seruitors being called home from thence, new rulers toke too much ease, and liued in too much securitie; nothing was done to anie purpose: and there vpon the people of that countrie toke hart of grace, and practised our manners in thowing and the vse of our weapons: and by little and little they became so well expert and skillfull therein, that whereas at the first they were easie to be overcome, were now strong and hardie, and not onlie able to resist, but also readie to put vs in danger and hazard. And the causes herof whose listeth to search, shall easilie find out the same: for if you will read ouer the booke of the kings & prophets, examine the course of the old testament, and well consider the examples of these our latter daies; you shall find it most certeine and true, that no nation, no state, no citie, no common-wealth was euer overthrowne by the enimie, nor overcome by the aduersarie but onelie for sinne and wickednesse. And albeit the Irish people and nation for their sinfull and abhominable life doe well deserue to be overthrowne and ouerrun by strangers; yet was it not Gods will and pleasure that they should utterlie be brought into subiection: neither was it his god will & pleasure that the Englishmen, though they had brought some of them into subiection.

In the cause of ouerthrowing by the enimie.

F. 14. on,

The foure
Irish pro-
phets.

on, yet they should not therefore haue the whole em-
pire and entire souerainty ouer them: for both were
sinfull people and merited not anie fauour at Gods
hand, but deserued to be seuerely punished, and ther-
fore neither the one (albeit he were a conqueror, and
had the ouer hand) could yet obtaine a seat (2) in Pal-
las castell, nor yet the other be fullie subdued & brought
into perfect subiection. The Irish people are said to
haue the foure men whome they account to be great
prophets, and whome they haue in great veneration
and credit (3) Merlin, Bracton, Patrike, and Col-
lumkill, whose books and prophesies they haue among
themselves in their owne language, and all they in-
treating and speaking of the conquest of this land,
do affirm that the same shall be assailed with often
warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaugh-
ters great. But yet they do not assure nor warrant
anie perfect or full conquest vnto the English nation
(4) not much before dooms daie. And albeit the whole
land of Ireland, from sea to sea, haue for the most
part bene in the power of the Englishmen, and by
them fortified and replenished with sundrie and ma-
nie castles, though sometimes to their perilles and
smartes: yet Bracton saith, that the king who shall
make the absolute and final conquest, shall come
from out of the deserts and mounteins of saint Pa-
trike, and vpon a sunbaie at night shall with force
breake into a castell builded in the fastnesse of Opha-
lie: and vntill that time the English nation shall
from time to time be in continuall troubles with the
Irishie, sauing that they shall hold and inioie the
whole land bordering vpon the east coasts of the
seas.

(1) The course of this historie doth at full de-
clare in particulars, how the first aduenturers were
maligne, & as much as might be discredit. First
Robert Fitzstephens, whose seruice was counted no-
table, and his fidelitie to his pince and king trustie
and assured: yet fell he into the kings displeasure,
was cast into prison, and albeit deliuered out againe,
yet the king conceiuing some gelousie of him, had
him ouer into Normandie, where he serued two
yeares in his warres: and although he were againe
afterward sent ouer into Ireland, yet was he not
in anie authoritie or office. The earle Strangbow
although he came ouer with the king his special li-
cence, yet his good successe was so enuid at, that the
king made proclamation, that all his subiects be-
ing in Ireland with the earle, should returne & come
home: and that no vittels, no munition, nor anie re-
leefe should be transported out of anie of his domini-
ons into Ireland. And albeit the earle afterwards
were reconciled to the king, yet was he faine to yeld
vnto him all his land and dominion of Leinster vn-
to the kings denotion, & to receiue the same againe
to be holden of the king. Keimond who could not be
charged, nor spotted with anie vntreuth: yet the trea-
cherous Heruie with his false informations so in-
ueigled and falselie informed the king against him,
that he was sent for home, and not trusted with anie
gouernement. Hugh de Lacie, who (as the historie
saith) was the first that made waie into Ulster, who
fortified the prouince of Leinster and Meth with ma-
nie strong holds & castles, and brought all the coun-
trie to a peaccable state; he was suspected to haue
meant the impozzation of the whole land to his
owne vse, and was dismissed of his charge and go-
uernement, and sent for home: and in place and lieu
of these were sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, Phi-
lip of Chester, and others, in whome was no value at
all, but onelie to pill and poll the people, and to heape
vp treasure and riches.

(2) Pallas was the daughter of Jupiter, who for

his excellent gift in inuention, is said and fained by
the poets to be borne of the braine of Jupiter with-
out anie mother, she inuented the order of warres,
and deuised the maner of fightings, she maketh men
to be bold, and giueth the victorie. And because Eng-
lishmen could not obtaine a full and a perfect victo-
rie: therefore they were said not to sit in Pallas
castell.

(3) There were two Merlin, and both were pro-
phesiers: the one was named *Merlinus Calidonius*, or
Syluester, because his dwelling and habitation was
nere or by a wood called *Calidonia*, he was borne in
the marches of Scotland, but a man verie excellen-
tie well learned in philosophie, and in knowledg of
all naturall causes; and by diligent obseruations he
would gesse maruellouslie at the euents of manie
things. Wherevpon he was taken for a prophet, and
reputed for a magician or a diuino. He was in
the time of king Arthur, about the yeare five hun-
dred and threescore, and of this Merlin it is spoken
in this historie. The other Merlin was before this
man and in the time of Mortiger: about the yeare of
our Lord foure hundred and threescore, and he was
named *Ambrosius Merlinus*, who was also excellentlie
well learned, both in philosophie and the art magike;
but his sentences were so darkelie couched, that no-
thing could be conceiued nor vnderstood by them be-
fore the euent.

(4) Much adoe there hath bene, and manie books
written, concerning the full conquest of this land: so
manie heads, so manie reasons. But if men would
haue the truth plainelie told, it is some to be seene
how the verie cause proceedeth and is continued for
want of a generall reformation. But Plato hath so
blinded mens eyes, that seeing they can not nor will
not see: but hereof I shall moue at large tope in an
other place.

A breefe repetition of certaine things
done within the course of the historie
that are omitted.

Chap. 37.

BEfore by the waie it were not amisse brief-
lie to touch & declare of certaine things which
happened, & which for certaine causes are not
at full discoursed in this storie, as we wished
that we might haue had the opportunitie so to haue
done. First therefore you shall vnderstand, that John
the kings sonne at his first coming ouer builded
thre castles, one at Tibjagh, an other at Arphe-
phinan, and the third at Lisemoze. At Tibjagh thre
worthie gentlemen were lost and killed: namely,
Robert Barrie at Lisemoze, Keimond Fitzbough at
Dithan, and Keimond Kantune at Dhozie. Also
how Donald the pince of Limerike secretlie stole
vpon the earles armie in Dhozie, as they were com-
ming from Dublin towards Limerike, and slue
four hundred Irishmen, and four noble gentle-
men, which were their capteines; among whom was
Ogranie an Irishman. And also Dermond Mac
Artie pince of Desmond, being at parlee with cer-
teine men of Corke not farre from the said towne,
was there set vpon by the said Corke men (1) Theo-
bold Fitzwalter, and there was he and the most part
of his companie slaine. The like happened in Meth,
where they of Kencole & their capteine made a rode,
and being set vpon by one William the iustice of
that countrie, they were all slaine and a hundred of
their heads sent vnto Dublin. Moreover John de
Courcie found the bodie of saint Patrike, saint
Bridgid, and saint Colome at Downe, and removed
them from thence. Hugh de Lacie builded his castell
at

at Deruach, was there traitorouslie slain. John de Courcie at his returne from out of Connagh lost striene of his best gentlemen. Roger le Poivre a valiant and a lustie yong gentleman, was by treason taken and murdered in Droghda, whereupon the Irishmen forthwith brake out from their due obedience to the king of England, and rebelled against the Englishmen, destroyed manie castles, and set the whole realme in a great strere and inquietnesse. Other sundrie things happened which were too long to recite: and therefore leaving the same, we will returne to our historie.

(1) This Theobald Fitzwalter, who by his nation was named Becket but by his office Butler, was the sonne of Walter the sonne of Gilbert: & was the first Butler that came into Ireland, who being a wise and an expert man, was first sent with William Fitzalbelme. Afterwards he was sent over by king John to view and seerch the countrie; and in the end he grew into such credit, that he was infeofed with great livings there, as also advanced (and his posteritie after him) to great honors & promotions, which now are named earles of Desmond and Deslize.

The causes why England could not
make the full and finall conquest
of Ireland.

Chap. 38.

IT were not amisse, that we now did consider the causes, and declare the impediments, why the kings sonne had not the best successe in this his so honourable a tourne; and therefore his so famous attempt toke not effect: that albeit the same can not reuoke and remedie that which is past and done, yet that it maie be a forewarning to that which maie followe and insue: The principall and chiefe cause I suppose and thinke to be, because that whereas the patriarch of Jerusalem named Heraclius came in an ambassage unto him, in the name and behalfe of all the whole land of Palestine called the holie land, requesting that he would take upon him to be their helpe, and defending the same against the Saladine then king of Egypt and of Damasco: who having bent his whole force against them, was like within two yeares following utterly to be overrun, the said holie land, unless some rescue in the meane time and with expedition were provided: he utterly denied and refused the same. And being further brged to send one of his sonnes, although it were the yongest: he denied that also: making no account neither of the cause it selfe, which was Christ; nor of the people, which were Christians: neither yet of the person, which was a reuerend and honourable personage.

And yet neuertheless he sent forth his yonger sonne in a tourne of holling, more sumptuous than are needfull or profitable: And whether I praise you, was it into the east and against the Saracens and miscreants: No, no, it was into the west, & against his euen Christian, nothing seeking the advancing of Gods glorie, nor promoting of his cause, but onelie for his owne priuat lucre and singular commoditie. An other cause was this. At the first landing and entrie of the kings sonne at Waterford, a great manie of the chiefe of the Irishmen in those parties, and who since their first submission to king Henrie had continued faithfull and true, they being aduertised of this his arrivall did come and resort unto him in peaceable manner, and after their best order to salute him, and congratulate his comming. But

our new men & Romans, who had not before bene in those parties making small account of them, did not onelie mocke them, and laugh them to scorn for the manner of their apparell, as also for their long beards and great gills, which they did then weare and vse according to the vse of their countrie: but also they did hardlie deale and ill intreat manie of them. These men nothing liking such intertainment shifted themselves out of the towne, & with all hast sped themselves home: euerie one into his owne house; & from thence they with their wiues, children, and household, departed and went some to the prince of Limerike, some to the prince of Corke, some to Morthorke prince of Connagh, and some to one lord, and some to an other: and to these they declared orderlie how they had bene at Waterford, and what they had seene there, and how they were intreated; and how that a yong man was come thither garbed with yong men, and guided by the counsels of yong men: in whom there was no faile, no sobrietie, no stedfastnesse, no assurednesse, whereby they and their countrie might be assured of anie safetie.

These princes and namelie they three of Connagh, Corke, and Limerike, who were the chiefe, and who were then preparing themselves in a readinesse to haue come and saluted the kings sonne, and to haue yielded vnto him the dutifull obedience of faithfull subiects: when they heard these newes, they began straightwaies to imagine, that of such euill beginnings worse endings would insue: and reasoning the matter among themselves, did conclude, that if they thus at the first did deale so discourteouslie with the humble, quiet, and peaceable men: that would they do to such as were mightie and stout, and who would be loth to receiue such discourtesies at their hands: Wherefore with one consent they concluded to stand and loine together against the English nation, and to their uttermost to aduenture their liues, and to stand to the defense of their countrie and libertie. And for the performance thereof, they enter into a new league among themselves, and swore each one to the other, and by that means enemies before are now made friends and reconciled. This we know to be true, and therefore we speake it, and that which we saw we doe boldlie witnesse. And for so much as we thus fondlie and in our pride did abuse them, who in humblenesse came vnto vs: therefore did we well deserue by Gods iust iudgement (who hateth the proud and high minded) to lose the others, for by this example they were utterly discouraged to like of vs. And this people and nation though it be barbarous and rude, not knowing what apertineth vnto honour: yet most and aboue all others do they desire to be exalted and honoured. And although they be not ashamed to be found false of their word, and vniust in their dealings: yet will they greatlie commend keeping and commending truth, louing that in others, which is not to be found in themselves. But to the matter. What great euils and inconueniencies doe grow by such follies and insolencies, a wise man may some by learne the example of Rehobdam the sonne of Salomon, & so by an other mans harme to learne to beware of his owne: (2) for he being leas and carried by yong mens counsels, gaue a yong mans answer vnto his people, saieing vnto them; My finger is greater than was my fathers loins, and whereas he beat you with rods, I will scourge you with scorpions, by reason whereof ten tribes forsooke him for euer, and followed after Jerobdam. Another cause is this, when Robert Fitzstephans came first over, and also the earle; there were certaine Irishmen which toke part with them, and faithfullie serued vnder them: and these were rewarded and had giuen vnto them for recompense certaine lands

The inconveniences following enill government.

lands, which they quietly held and inioied, untill this time of the coming ouer of the king his sonne: for now the same were taken from them, and giuen to such as were new come ouer, contrarie to the promise & grant to them before made: Whereupon they forsooke vs and fled to our enemies, and became not onlie spies vpon vs, but were also guides and conductors of them against vs: they being so much the more able to hurt and annoie vs, because they were before our familiars, and knew all our orders and secrets. Besides this, the cities and towncs vpon and nere the seacoasts, with all such lands, revenues, tributes, and commodities as to the same did belong and appertene, and which before was imploied and spent for the defense of the commonwealth & country, and in the seruice against the enemies, were now all assigned and bestowed vpon such as were giuen to pilling and polling, and who late still with in the towncs, spending their whole time, and all that they had in drunkenness and luffetting, to the losse and damage of the good citizens and inhabitants, and not to the annoiance of the enemies. And besides sundrie other commodities, this was one, and a speciall one; that at the very first entrie of the king his sonne into this barulie and rebellious land, the people being barbarous, and not knowing what it was to be a subiect, nor what appertained to government, such men were appointed to haue the charge, rule and gouernement, as who were more meet to talke in a parlor than to fight in the fields, better skill to be clad in a warme gowne than to be shodded in armor, and who knew better how to pill and poll the good subjects than to resist and encounter the enemy: yea for their valiantnesse and prowesse they might well be resembled vnto William Fitzaldelme, vnder whose gouernement both Ireland and Wales were almost vtterlie destroyed & lost. For whie, they were neither faithfull to their owne people nor dreadfull to their enemies; yea they were vtterlie void of that affect, which is naturallie ingrafted in man, which is to be pittifull to the humble and prostrate, and to resist the proud and obstinat; but rather of the contrarie, they spoiled their owne citizens, and bincked at their enemies; for to resist and withstand them nothing was done, no castles nor fortresses builded, no passes for safetie made, no waies for seruice opened, but all things went to ruine, and the common state to wreckage. Moreover, the seruing men and the soldiers which were in garrison, they liking well of their capitaines and masters manners and loose life, gaue themselves to the like, spending their whole time in rioting, banqueting, whozesome, and all other dissolute and wanton orders, farrieng still within the towncs and places far off from the enemies. For as for the marches (so called because the same bordered vpon their enemies; or rather of spars, because in those places martiall affaires were and are wont to be most exercised) they would not come nere the sight thereof, and by that means the people there dwelling and seated, the soles there manured, the castles there builded, were altogether destroyed, wasted, spoiled, and burned. And thus the prowesse of the old capitaines, the good seruices of the veterans & well experimented soldiers by the insolent, dissimulat, and lewd life of these new comes was discredited: whereof was nothing else to be awaited for, but after such calmes must needs insue stormes and tempests. And albeit they thus lieng in the towncs in securitie and at rest, wallowing in lase and wanton life, euerie daie being a holie daie to Bacchus and Venus: yet the state of the land at large was most miserable and lamentable. For euerie where was howling and weeping, the manured fields became waste, the castles destroyed, and the people

murdered, and no netwes but that the better destruction of the whole land was at hand. And in this distresse and necessitie it had bene verie requisite and needfull that the souldiers should haue taken by their weapons, seruise against the enemy, and haue defended the common state: but it was farre otherwise, for there was such lawing & deration in the towncs, one battie laing and troubling another, that the veterane was more troubled with lawing with the towne, than he was in perill at large with the enemy. And thus our men, giuen ouer to this trade and kind of life, became fainthearted, and afraid to looke vpon the enemy: and on the contrarie the enemy most strong, stout, and bold. Thus was the land then gouerned, and thus the same posseed towards the destruction of the English nation and gouernment, which had doubtlesse verie hostile followed and insued, had not the king prouided a speciall remedie for the same. For the king being advertised how disorderlie things framed, and considering how himselfe in what perill the state of his realme and people stood, he with all speed sendeth for all these new come souldiers, in whom (other than the name of a souldier was nothing of ante value and commendation) and commandeth them to repaire and come home, and sendeth ouer in their places these old beaten and well tried souldiers, by whose seruice the land before had bene conquered and kept among whom one and the chiefe was John de Courie, who was made lord deputie, and had the gouernment of the land committed vnto him: who, according to his office and dutie, setteth in hand the reformation of all things meet and requisite to be redressed: who the more valiant and forward he was in his said affaires and seruices, the more the land grew to good order, and inioied peace & quietnesse. For whie, he would not be idle himselfe, neither would he suffer his souldiers to lie idle like loiterers and sluggards: but was alwaies labouring and traouelling abroad, and marching still towards the enemies, whom he followed and pursued euen through the whole land, to the vttermost parts thereof, as well in Conke, Whomond, Connagh, and elsewhere; and if by any means he could haue ante aduantage of them, he would suerlie giue the onfet and aduenture vpon them: which for the most part was to their ouerthrowe, though he and his sometimes were galled, and felt the smart. And would to God he had bene as prudent a capteine as he was a valiant souldier; and as prouident in the one as skillfull and hardie in the other! But to my former purpose. Among the manie and sundrie inconueniences happened by enill gouernment of these new officers (as is before said) there was none greater, nor more to be lamented than was this: that notwithstanding God of his goodness did giue the victorie, and send the happy successe in this noble conquest: yet was there nevertheless due thanks attributed vnto God, nor anie remembrance giuen vnto his church; but to increase a further ingratitude, they toke and spoiled alwaies from the same their lands and possessions, as also minded to abridge them of their old and ancient priuileges & liberties. A great a note of ingratitude, and an argument of too much vnthankfulness: whereof what vnquietnesse and troubles did insue, the sequelles therof (for the course of sundrie years) did shew and declare.

So manie outrages & disorders, which did craepe in by the disorderd gouernement vnder the king his sonne, were not so much to be imputed to his young and tender yeares, as vnto the enill counsels and directions of such as were about him, and had the speciall charge thereof: for such a sauage, rude, and barbarous nation was by god counsels, discret directions

Learning
to rule them
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and
about

ations and prudent gouernement to haue bene gouerned and reduced to good order and conformitie. For whie, if a realme which by wise and prudent gouernement is brought and reduced to a perfect state, yet being committed to the gouernement of a child is cursed and brought to manifold distresses, troubles and miseries (5) how much more then is it to be so thought of that land, which of it selfe being rude and barbarous, is committed to the gouernement of such as be not onelie rude and barbarous, but also leetod and euill disposed. And that this did so happen and come to passe in Ireland, all wise men doe knowe it; and the elder sort doe confesse it to be true, although young men to couer their folies, would reiect it to some other causes & impediments. For whie, such of them as had procured vnto themselves great linings, lordships and territories, they pretended at the first that they would be ready to serue the king his sonne, to defend the countrie, to resist the enemie, and that they would doe this and that with manie god morowes. But when they had gotten what they would, and had that they sought for, then it manifestlie appeared that it was singular gaine & priuat profit which they shot at: for hauing obtained that, they neuer remembred their oth to their lord, nor cared for the common state, nor passed for the safetie and defense of the countrie, which in dutie they ought chiefelie to haue considered.

(1) The Irish nation and people euen from the beginning haue bene alwaies of a hard bringing vp, & are not onelie rude in apparell but also rough & oughe in their bodie: their beards and heads they neuer wash, cleanse, nor cut, especiallie their heads; the haire whereof they suffer to grow, sauing that some doe vse to round it: and by reason the same is neuer kembered, it groweth fast together, and in procelle of time it macteth so thicke and fast together, that it is in stead of a hat, and keepeth the head verie warme, & also will beare off a great blow or stroke, and this head of haire they call a glibe, and therein they haue a great pleasure.

(2) The historie is written in the first booke of the kings the twelue chapter; and in the second of the chronicles the tenth chapter: the effect therof, is that after the death of Salomon the people of Israel requested Rehoboam his sonne, to ease them of the greivous burdens and heauie yoke which his father lated vpon them, who leaning the counsell of the old counsellors, gaue them answer by the aduise of young heads, as in this place is recited.

(3) What these Irishmen were, there are diuerse opinions. Some thinke that they were such as did inhabit about Wexford, some thinke that they were they of Kencelo, for they faithfullie serued the Englishmen vnder their capteine named Morogh at Limerike, when the earle of Desmond recovered the same. But I find it to be noted of the Irishmen, who are now dwelling within the baronie of Dvdon, and had a seat there by the gift of the Hauenaughs, but since resisting against them and denieng to paie there accusomable cheuerie, yelded themselves vnto the earle of Dymond, paing vnto him a certeine blacke rent to be their defendoz against the said Hauenaughs, but in right they are tenants to the barons of Dvdon.

(4) This is meant of that which is before spoken in the twentie chapter in the description of this John de Curcie, where his too much rashnes is noted to be a great fault in him.

(5) It is written by the preacher of Ecclesiastes; Who be vnto thee O thou land whose king is but a child. Which is not meant absolutlie of a child, but of such a one who (as a child) hath an euill affection, and

is bold of that grauitie, wisedome, and maiestie as is required in a prince and gouernour. For Josias when he was crowned king of Iehuda, was but eight yeares of age; and yet bicause he did that which was right in the sight of God, and ruled the land godlie and vprightlie, he is commended in the scriptures for the same.

Three sorts of people which came and serued in Ireland.

Chap. 39.

There were three sundrie sorts of seruitors which serued in the realme of Ireland, (1) Irishmen, Englishmen, and the Cambrians, which were the first conquerors of the land: the first were in most credit and estimation, the second were next, but the last were not accounted nor regarded of. The Irishmen were verie fine in their apparell, and delicate in their diets, they could not feed but vpon deinties, neither could their meat digest without wine at each meale; yet would they not serue in the marches, or anie remote place against the enemie, neither would they lie in garrison to keepe anie remote castell or fort, but would be still about their lordes side to serue and gard his person; they would be where they might be full and haue plentie, they could talke and brag, sweate and stare, and standing in their owne reputation, disdain all others. They receiued great interteinement and were liberallie rewarded, and lest no meanes vnsought how they might rule the roff, beare the sway, and be advanced vnto high estate and honour. In these things they were the first and foremost, but to serue in hosting, to encounter with the enemie, to defend the publike state, & to follow anie martiall affaires, they were the last and furthest off. And for asmuch as those noble and worthie seruitors, by whose seruice, trauels and industrie, the said land was first entred into and conquered, were thus had in contempt, disdain, and suspicion, and onelie the new comes called to counsell, and they onelie credited and honored: it came to passe that in all their doings they had small successe, & by whole and little their credit decayed, and nothing came to effect or perfection which they toke in hand.

(1) This king, besides England and Scotland, had in his rule and gouernement the duchie of Normandie, and the earledomes of Galcoine, Guien, Antou, & Poitiers, beside the losse of that which came to him by the right of his wife. And albeit he trusted the Englishmen well inough, yet being borne on the other side of the seas, he was more affectionated to the people of those prouinces there subiect vnto him: for of them he chose both them which were of his counsell in peaceable gouernment, as also his seruitors in martiall affaires. And albeit he had of euerie of these prouinces some, yet bicause Normandie was the chiefest, and he duke thereof, they went all vnder the name of Normans, and so called Normans.

How or by what manner the land of Ireland is throughlie to be conquered.

Chap. 40.

It is an old saying, that euerie man fit his owne art is best of credit & most to be believed: & so in this matter they are speciallie to be credited, who haue bene the chiefest traouellers and seruitors in and about the first reco-

The Irishmen fine in their apparell and delicat in their diet.

verie of this land, do know and can best discover the natures, manners, and conditions of these people and nation: for as the matter speciallie toucheth them, so none can do it better than they. For whie, by reason of their continuall warres with them being their most mortall enemies, none can better saie than they how they are either to be conquered or vanquished. And he by the wate hapie had Wales bin, I meane that Wales which the English people do inhabit, if the king therof in governing the same or when he incountred with his enemies had used this deuise & policie. But to the matter. These Frenchmans although they were verie good souldiers and well appointed, yet the manner of the warres in France far differeth from that which is used in Ireland and Wales; for the soile & countrie in France is plaine, open, & champaine; but in these parts it is rough, rockie, full of hils, woods, & bogs. In France they weare complet harnesse, and are armed at all points, not onelie for their honoz, but especiallie for their defense and safeties; but to these men the same are combersome & a great hinderance. In France they keepe standing fields & trie the battels, but these men are light horsemen & range alwaies at large. In France they keepe their prisoners and put them to ransomes, but these chop off their heads and put them to the sword. And therefore when the battell is to be waged in the plaine, open, & champaine countrie, it behoueth all men to be armed, some in complet harnesse, some in iackets, some in Almaine riuets, & some in brigandines & shirts of maille, according to their places of seruice. So on the contrarie, where the fight & trial is in narrow streits, rockie places, & where it is full of woods & bogs, & in which footmen are to serue and not horsemen, there light armor and slender harnesse will best serue. To fight therefore in such places and against such men, as be but naked and unarmed men, and whome at the first push and aduerture, either the victorie must be had or lost, light and easie armor is best and conuenient. And againe these people are verie nimble & quicke of bodie, and light of foot, and for their safetie and aduantage they seke waies through streits and bogs, and therefore it is not for anie man laden with much armor to follow and pursue them. Moreover, the Frenchmen and Frenchmans most commonlie are horsemen, and do serue on horsebacke, & these men haue their saddles so great and deepe, that they cannot at ease leape vp and downe; and being on foot by reason of their armor, they cannot serue nor trauell. And you shall farther vnderstand, that in all the seruices and hostings, both in Ireland & in Wales, the Welsh seruitors, and especiallie such as do dwell in the marches, by reason of their continuall wars, they are verie valiant, bold, and of great experiences, they can endure anie paines and trauels, they are used to watchings and wardings, they can abide hunger and thirst, and know how to take aduantage of their enimie; and their seruice by horse is such, that they are readie to take aduantage of the field, being quicke & readie to take and leape to the horse, as also to leaue the same, & to follow the enimie at their best aduantage, whether it be on horse or on foot. And such kind of seruitors and souldiers were they, which first gaue the aduerture and first preuailed in Ireland: and by such also in the end must the same be fullie conquered, that when the battell is to be fought & waged in the plaine and champaine countrie, and against such as be thoroughlie armed and appointed for the same, it is reason that the aduerser part be likewise armed and appointed. But when the matter is to be waged in steepe places, rough fields, rockie hils, or in marish and boggie grounds, and against such as be quicke of foot, and do seke others to

tops of hils, or to bogs, and woods: then men of the like exercise, and hauing light armour, are to be allowed. And in the Irish wars this one thing is to be considered, that you do in euertie thing toine your bowmen with your footmen and horsemen, that by them they may be defended from the kerns, whose nature and conditions are to run in and out, and with their darts are wont themselues to annoie their enemies, who by the bowmen are to be kept off. And moreover, that the hither part of the land lieng on the east side, or part of the Shenin which diuideth the three other parts from this, and this being the fourth part must be well fortified with castles and forts: but as for Connagh & Thomond, which lie in the further side of the Shenin, and all those parties (saue the citie of Limerike which must needs be recovered and kept in the English gouernement) must for a time be borne withall, and by little and little by fortifieng of the frontiers in met places be gotten and recovered, and so by little and little to grow in vpon them as occasion shall serue.

How the Irish people being vanquished, are to be gouerned.

Chap. 41.

There be means and policies to be used in conquering this people, who are now more light in their bodies than inconstant in mind: so when they are vanquished, they must in an order be ruled and gouerned. First and principally therefore it is to be considered, that whosoener shall be gouernour ouer them, that he be wise, constant, discret, and a staied man; that in time of peace, and when they are contented to liue vnder law and in obedience, they maie be gouerned by law, directed by right, and ruled by iustice; as also to be stout and valiant, readie and able with force fenetrelle to punish all such as (contrarie to their dutie and allegiance) shall either rebell and breake out, or otherwise liue in disordered maner. Moreover, when anie haue done amisse, and contrarie to dutie haue rebelled, and do yet afterwards knowledg their folkie, and pelding themselves haue obtained pardon; that in no wise you do afterwards euill intreat them, neither yet laie their former faults to their charges, neither cast them in the teeth of their follies: but hauing taken such assurance of them as you maie, to intreat them with all courtesses and gentleness, that by such good means they maie the better be induced and incouraged to keepe themselves within their dutie, for lone of their good gouernement which they se: and yet be afraid to do euill for feare of punishment, which they are to receiue for their euill and lewd doings. And if they will not thus order and gouerne them, but confound their doings, being slacke to punish the euill, and quicke to oppresse the good and obedient, to flatter them in their rebellions and outrages, and to spoile them in peace; to fauor them in their treasons and treacheries, and to oppresse them when they liue in loialtie, as we haue seene manie so to haue done: surely these men so disorderedlie confounding all things, they in the end shall be confounded themselves. And because harms foresene do least annoie & hurt, let them which be wise loke well, that in time of peace they do prepare for the warres. For after the Alcion daies and calme seas do follow stormes and tempests: and therefore, when they haue vacant times and leisure, let them build and fortifie castles, cut downe and open the passies, and do all such other things as the nature of warres requireth to be prepared. For this people being vncertaine, craftie, and subtil, vnder colour of peace, are wont alwaies to be studieng and penning of mischiefes. And also by

Great odds
betwene the
warres in
France and
Ireland or
Wales.

10 better
examples.

cause it is god to be wise by another mans harme,
warie by other mens examples. For nothing doth
better teach a man than examples, and the patens
of things done afore time. Let not them forget what
became of these worthy men, Gyles of Cogan,
Rafe Fitzstephans, Hugh de Lacie, Roger Dolwe,
and others, who when they thought of least danger
they were in most perill: and when they thought
themselves in most safetie, they were intraped and
destroyed. For as we haue said in our Topographie;
this people is a craftie and a subtile people, and more
to be feared when it is peace, than when it is open
warres: for their peace indeed is but eninitie, their
policies but craft, their friendships but coloured, and
therefore the more to be doubted and feared. And by
experience the same in some part hath bene proued:
and therefore, as Euodius saith, Let the fall and ruine
of things past be forwarnings of things to come.

And because herein a man can not be too wise nor
warie, it were good that an order were taken (as it
is in Sicilia) that none of them should weare ante
weapon at all, no not so much as a stasse in their
hands to walke by. For euen with that weapon,
though it be but slender, they will (if they can) take
the aduantage, and betwaeke their malice and can-

kered stomachs. Finally, forsomuch as the kings of
England haue a iust title, and a full right to the land
of Ireland in sundrie and diuerse respects; and con-
sidering also that the same is chiefly maintained by
the intercoure and traffike of merchandizes out of
England; and without the same cannot releue and
helpe it selfe; it were verie expedient that for the ac-
knowledging of the one, and for the inioieng of the
other, as also for the supporting of the continuall
charges of the king of England there yearelie be-
stowed: that there be a yearelie tribute paied and an-
swered vnto the kings of England, either in monie,
or in such commodities as that land breedeth, aswell
for the continuance of the title in memorie, as also
for the auoiding of manie inconueniences. And be-
cause time weareth awaie, and men do daileie perith
and die, that this order for the perpetuall honour of
the king and of his realme, and the memorie of this
conquest, the same be ingrossed and registred in a
publike instrument to indure for euer. And thus ha-
uing spoken what we know, and witnessed what we
haue seene, we do here end this historie, leauing vn-
to others of better knowledge and learning, to con-
tinue the same as to them shall be thought most need-
full and conuenient.

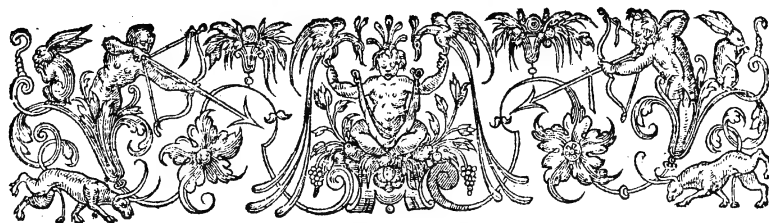
Thus farre Giraldus Cambrensis.



The processe of Irish affaires (beginning where
Giraldus did end) vntill this present age, being a wit-
nesse of sundrie things as yet fresh in memorie: which
processe from henceforward is intituled
the Chronicles of Ireland.



Leauing at the conquest of Ireland penned
by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, we are now to pro-
ceed in that which followeth: wherein our
authour (as he himselfe writeth) vsed such
notes as were written by one Philip Flaf-
burie, out of a certeine namelesse author,
from this place vnto the yeare 1370: and
we hauing none other helpe besides (ex-
cept onelie Henrie of Marleborow) do set downe that which we
find in our oft mentioned authour, and in the same Marleborow
in all the whole discourse that followeth, except in some cer-
teine particular places, where we shew from whence
we haue drawne that which we write
as occasion serueth.



THE CHRONICLES of Ireland, &c.



A castle built
at Derwath.

186
Lacie is trait-
orous
deane.

Curcie and
Hugh Lacie
the younger
have the
reine in
gover.

199.
King John
knew his ne-
phew Arthur.

Hugh de Lacie
(of whom such me-
moorable mention
is made heretofore)
the rather to meet
with such hurle
buries as were
like to put the state
of the Irish coun-
trie in danger, if
the same were not
the sooner brought
to quiet, erected

and built a number of castels and forts in places
convenientlie seated, well and sufficientlie garni-
shed with men, munitions, and vittells, as one at
Derwath, where diuerse of the Irish praied to be
set on worke for wages. Lacie came sundrie times
thither to further the worke, full glad to see them fall
in by with anie such exercise, wherein might they
once begin to haue a deligt, and taste the sweetnesse
of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of
reformation: for which cause he visited them the oft-
ner, and merilie would command his gentlemen
to giue the laborers example to take their toles in
hand, and to worke a season, whilst the poore soules
looking on might rest them. But this pastime grew
to a tragicall end. For on a time, as each man was
busilie occupied, some lading, some heauing, some
plastering, some grauing, the generall also himselfe
digging with a pickaxe: a desperat villaine among
them, whose tole the noble man vsed, espiong both
his hands occupied, and his bodie inclining down-
wards, still as he strooke watched when he so stomped,
and with an axe cleft his head in sunder, little este-
ming the torments that for this traitorous act ensued.
This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of
Ireland, for that he was the first that brought it to a
nie due order of obedience vnto the English power.
His bodie the two archbishops, John of Dublin,
and Mattheu of Cashill buried in the monasterie
of Bectie, and his head in saint Thomas abbete at
Dublin.

By occasion of this murder committed on the
person of Hugh Lacie, John Curcie, and Hugh La-
cie the younger, with their assistants, did straight ex-
ecution vpon the rebels; and preuenting euerie mis-
chiefe per it fell, staied the realme from byzores.
Thus they knitting themselves together in friend-
ship, continued in wealth and honor untill the first
yeare of king Johns reigne, who succeding his bro-
ther king Richard, took his nephew Arthur, son to
his brother Gesteie earle of Britaine, and dispat-
ched him (some said) with his owne hands, because
he knew what claime he made to the crowne, as de-

cended of the elder brother. And therefore not onlie
the French king, but also certeine lords of England
and Ireland fauored his title: and when they under-
stood that he was made a waite, they took it in mar-
uelous euill part. And Curcie either of zeale to the
truth, or parcialitie, abhorring such barbarous cru-
eltie, whereof all mens eares were full, spake blou-
die words against king John, which his lurking ad-
uersaries (that laie readie to vndermine him) caught
by the end, and bled the same as a meane to lift him
out of credit: which they did not onlie bring to passe,
but also procured a commission to attach his bodie,
and to send him ouer into England. Earle Curcie
mistrusting his part, and belike getting some inhe-
ring of their byst, kept himselfe aloofe, till Hugh La-
cie lord iustice was faine to leue an armie and to in-
uade Ulster, from whence he was oftentimes put
backe: wherevpon he proclaimed Curcie traitor,
and hired sundrie gentlemen with promise of great
recompense, to bring him in either quicke or dead.
They fought once at Dolone, in which battell there
died no small number on both parts; but Curcie got
the vpper hand, and so was the lord iustice foiled at
Curcies hands: but yet so long he continued in
practising to haue him, that at length Curcies owne
captiues were inuethed to betraie their owne mas-
ter: insomuch that vpon Good fridaie, whilst the
earle out of his armour visited barefooted certeine
religious houses for deuotion sake, they laid for him,
toke him as a rebell, & shipped him ouer into Eng-
land the next waite, where he was aduinged to perpe-
tually prison. One Seintleger addeeth in his collec-
tions (as Campion saith) that Lacie paid the trait-
ors their monie, and forthwith therevpon hanged
them.

This Curcie translated the church and prebenda-
ries of the trinitie in Downe, to an abbey of blake
monks brought thither from Chester, and caused the
same to be consecrated vnto saint Patricke: for
which alteration, taking the name from God to a
creature; he deemed himselfe worthilie punished.
Not long after (as saie the Irish) certeine French
knights came to king Johns court, and one among
them requested the combat for triall of the right to
the duchie of Normandie. It was not thought expe-
dient to iopard the title vpon one mans lucke, yet
the challenge they determined to answer. Some
friend put them in mind of the earle imprisoned, a
warrior of notable courage, and in pitch of bodie like
a giant. King John demanded Curcie, whether he
could be content to fight in his quarrell: Not for the
said earle, whose person I esteeme vniuersally ad-
uenture of my blood, but for the crowne & dignitie of
the realme, in which manie a good man liueth against
thy will, I shall be contented to hazard my life.

These words were not construed in the worst part, as proceeding from an offended mind of him that was therein esteemed more plaine than wise. Therefoze being cherished and much made of, he was fed so wonderfullie (now he came to so large allowance in diet after hard keeping) that the French challenger took him for a monster: and fearing to deale with him, praiislie stole awaie into Spaine. It is further reported, that the French king, being desirous to see Curcie, requested king John that he might come before them, and shew of what strength he was by striking a blow at an helmet. Whereupon forth he was brought, and presented before the kings, where was an helmet set upon a blocke. Curcie taking a sword in his hand, and with a firme & frowning countenance cast upon the kings, gaue such a stroke to the helmet, that cleaving it in sunder, the sword stuck so fast in the log, that no man there was able to plucke it forth, except Curcie himselfe. When he therefore had plucked forth the sword, the kings asked him what he meant to looke upon them with such a grim & froward countenance before he gaue the blow to the helmet? He answered, that if he had missed in his stroke, he would haue killed all the whole companie, as well the kings as others. Then was he released of bonds, and crossing the seas towards Ireland whither he was bound, was sixtē times beaten backe againe to the English shore, & going into France to change the coast died there. This Curcie was white of colour, mighty of lims, with large bones and strong of sinewes, tall & broad in proportion of bodie, so as his strength was thought to exceed, of boldnesse incomparable, and a warrior even from his youth; the formost in the front of euery battell where he came, and euere ready to hazard himselfe in place of most danger, so forward in fight, that oftentimes forgetting the office of a capteine, he took in hand the part of a soldier, pressing forth with the formost, so that with his ouer rash violence, and desire of victorie, he might seeme to put all in danger. But although he was thus hallic and hot in the field against his enemies, yet was he in conuersation modest and sober, and verie religious, hauing churchmen in great reuerence, ascribing all to the goodnesse of God; when he had achieved anie piasse-worthie enterprise, yielding thanks to his diuine maiestie accordingly. But as seldome times anie one man is found perfect in all things, so these vertues were spotted with some vices; namely, too much nigardnesse in sparing, and inconstancie. He married the daughter of Godofred king of Dan, and after many combats and battels had against the Irish, he conquered (as before ye haue heard) the countie of Ulster, and building diuerse strong castles therein, he established the same under his quiet rule and government, till he and Lacie fell out, as before is expressed.

After Curcies decease, because he left no heires, the earldome of Ulster was given vnto Hugh Lacie in recompense of his good seruice. Where was one of the Curcies remaining in Ireland that was lord of Kathermie and Kilbarroche, whome (as an espall of all their practises and in former thereof to the king) Walter and Hugh the sons of Hugh Lacie sue, by reason whereof great trouble and disquietnesse ensued: those Lacies bearing themselves (now after the decease of their father) for gouernors out of cheeke. To set the realme in quiet, king John was faine to passe thither himselfe in person with a maine armie, banished the Lacies, subdued the residue of the countie yet not conquered, took pledge, punished malefactors, established the execution of English lawes, coined monie of like value current sterling in both realmes. The two Lacies repen-

ting their misdeamear, fled into France disguised in poze apparell, and serued there in an abbey as gardeners, till the abbat by their countenance and behauior began to gesse their estates, and opposed them so farre that they disclosed what they were; beseeching the abbat to keepe their counsels, who commending their repentant humblenes, aduised them yet to make sute for their princes fauor, if it might be had, promising to do what he could in the matter, and so toke vpon him to be a suter for them vnto the king that was his godceit and well acquainted with him. He trauelled so earnestlie herein, that at length he obtained their pardons: but yet they were fined, Walter at foure thousand, and Hugh at five and twentie hundred markes: and hereupon Walter was restored vnto the lordship of Meth, and Hugh to the earldome of Ulster.

King John appointed his lieutenants in Ireland, and returning home, subdued the Welshmen, and some after with Pandulfus the legat of pope Innocentius the third, who came to release him of the censure, wherein he stood excommunicat, to whom as to the popes legat he made a personall surrender of both realmes in waie of submission; and after he was once absolved, he receiued them againe. Some adde, that he gaue awaie his kingdome to the see of Rome for him and his successors, recognising to hold the same of the popes in fee, paying yearelie therefoze one thousand markes, as leauen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. Blondus saith, *Centum pro utroque queri marchias*. Sir Thomas Aporce (as Campion saith) a man both in calling & office libelle to sound the matter to the depth, writeth pfectly, that neither such writing the pope can shew, neither were it effectual if he could. How farre forth, and with what limitation a prince may or may not aduit his realme feodarie to another, John Maior a Scottish chronicle, and a Sorbonist not vnlearned partipicanneth, who thinketh three hundred markes for Ireland no heire hard pentworth. The instrument (as Campion thinketh) which our English writers rehearse, might happilie be motioned and drawn, and yet not condemned with anie seale, nor ratified; but though the copie of this writing remaine in record, yet certeine it is, king Johns successors neuer paid it. After John Comin archbishop of Dublin, and founder of saint Patricks church succeeded Henrie Landores in the see, who builded the kings castell there, being lord chiefe iustice of Ireland, him they nicknamed (as the Irish do commonly giue additions in respect of some fact or qualitie) Scozhuillein, that is, Burnebill, because he required to peruse the writings of his tenants, colorable pretending to learne the kind of mens seuerall tenure, and burned the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their takings, or to hold at will.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred and sixtē king John departed this life. In his daies diuerse monasteries were builded in Ireland, as (beside those that before are mentioned) in the fourth yeare of his reigne the abbete of Dowlish was founded; in the first the abbete of Wetherham in the countie of Limerike, by Theobald le Butler lord of Carrackie, and in the twelue yeare Richard Dute builded the monasterie of Grenard. In the daies of Henrie the third that succeeded his father king John great warres were raised in Ireland betwixt Hugh Lacie & William Marshall, so that the countie of Meth was greuouslie afflicted. In the yeare of our Lord 1228, after the death of Landores archbishop of Dublin, that was lord chiefe iustice, king Henrie the third vnderstanding the good seruice done by the Giraldines euere since their first coming into Ireland, although by wrong re-

They fled into France.

They are pardoned, and put to their fines.

An hundred markes of gold. Blondus.

John Bale in his apologie against bowes.

Henrie the third, warres betwixt Lacie and Marshall. 1228 The Giraldines.

Spoyce Fitz-
gerald.
Lucas arch-
bishop.

1230

1234

The lord
Weldon.
Geffrie
Genuill.

1252

1253

The castell of
Scheligath.

Odonill.

John Fitz-
geffrie lord
iustice.
Blaine de la
Zouch lord
iustice.
Stephan de
long Espæ.

William Dene
lord iustice.
Grène castell
destroyed.
Mac Carcie.

1261

Sir Richard
Capell lord
iustice.

Lord John
Fitzthomas
slaine.

The lord in-
stice taken.

ports the same had borne to their prejudice for a time
sinisterlie misconstrued, so as the gentlemen had
still bene kept backe, and not rewarded according
to their deserts. The king now informed of the truth
made Spoyce Fitzgerald the sonne of Spoyce afore-
said lord chiefe iustice of Ireland. Lucas succeeded
London in the archbishops see, and was consecrated.
In the yeare one thousand two hundred and thirtie,
Richard Sparshall was taken prisoner in battell at
Kildare. Some write that he was wounded there,
and within few daies after died of the hurt at Kil-
kennie, and was buried there in the quere of the
church of the friers preachers, nere to the place where
his brother William was interred, who departed
his life in the yeare one thousand two hundred thir-
tie and one.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fortie and
one, Walter Lacie lord of Speth departed this life
in England: he left two daughters behind him that
were his heires, Margaret married to the lord Wer-
don, and Matild the wife of Geffrie Genuill. King
Henrie in the six & thirtieth yeare of his reigne, gave
to Edward his eldest sonne, Gascoigne, Ireland,
and the countie of Chester. In the yeare following,
Hugh Lacie earle of Ulster departed this life, and
was buried at Cragfergus, in the church of the
friers minors, leaving a daughter behind him, that
was his heire, whome Walter de Burgh or Bourke
married, and in right of hir was created earle of Ul-
ster, as after shall appeare. Spoyce Fitzgerald lord
iustice of Ireland, being requested by this prince to
come and assist him with a power of men against the
Welsh rebels, left a sufficient garrison of men in
the castell of Seligath, which he had latelie builded,
and then came over with Helin Whonher, and a lu-
tie band of souldiers: & meeting the prince at Chep-
stow, behaved themselves so valiantlie, that return-
ing with victorie, they greatlie increased the fauor
of the king and prince towards them; and upon their
returne into Ireland, they joined with Cormacke
Mac Dermot Mac Rozie, and made a notable tour-
nie against Odonill the Irish enimie, that when Lacie
was once dead, invaded & sore annoyed the kings
subiects of Ulster. Odonill being vanquished, the
lord iustice forced pledges and tribute of Dneale to
keepe the kings peace, and likewise other exploits
praise-worthie did he, during the time of his govern-
ment, as Flatsburie hath gathered in his notes for
the lord Girald Fitzgerald earle of Kildare, in the
yeare one thousand five hundred and seuentene. Af-
ter Spoyce Fitzgerald succeeded in office of lord ius-
tice, John Fitzgeffrie knight, and after him Blaine
de la Zouch, whome the earle of Surrie Fitzwarren
slue. And after de la Zouch, in the yeare one thousand
two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and for-
tith of Henrie the thirde his reigne, was Stephan de
long Espæ sent to supplie that roime, who slue D-
neale with three hundred fiftie & two of his men in
the streets of Downe, and shortly after departed this
life; then William Dene was made lord iustice, and
Grène castell was destroyed. Also Mac Carcie plaid
the duell in Desmond.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and
one, sir William Dene lord iustice of Ireland de-
ceased, and sir Richard Koshell (or Capell as some
copies haue) was sent to be lord iustice after him,
who greatlie enuied the familie of the Geraldins; du-
ring his gouernement the lord John Fitzthomas
and the lord Spoyce his son were slaine. In the yeare
one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, Walter
de Burgh was made earle of Ulster, and Spoyce
Fitzmoize took the lord iustice of Ireland together
with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diuerse o-
ther great lordes at Trilildermot, on saint Nicholas

daie. And so was Ireland full of warres, betwixt the
Burghs and Geraldins. In the yeare one thousand
two hundred fiftie and six, there chanced an earth-
quake in Ireland. In the yeare following, king Hen-
rie took by the variance that was in Ireland be-
twixt the parties, and discharging Dene, appointed
David Barrie lord iustice in his place, who tamed
the insolent dealings of Spoyce Fitzmoize, consue-
germane to Fitzgeralds.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and
eight, Conhur Whizen was slaine by Dermot Mac
Spomer, and Spoyce Fitzgerald earle of Desmond
was drowned in the sea, betwixt Wales & Ireland.
And Robert Woffort was sent over to remaine lord
iustice of Ireland, and Barrie was discharged, who
continued till the yeare one thousand two hundred
fiftie and nine, and then was Richard de Creffer
made lord iustice. And in the yeare following, was
the lord James Audleie made lord iustice. Richard
Weldon, and John Weldon were slaine, and Fulke
archbishop of Dublin deceased. Also the castles of
Ablecke, Roscoman, & Scheligagh, were destroyed.
The same yeare was a great dearth and mortalitie
in Ireland. In the yeare one thousand two hundred
seuentie & two, the lord James Audleie was slaine
by a fall from his horse in Thomond, and then was
Spoyce Fitzmoize made lord iustice of Ireland, and
the castell of Kandon was destroyed. In the yeare
one thousand two hundred seuentie and two, king
Henrie the thirde departed this life, and the lord Wal-
ter Genuill latelie returned home from his tour-
nie into the holie land, was sent into Ireland, and
made lord iustice there. In the yeare one thousand
two hundred seuentie and three, the castell of Rosco-
man was likewise repared and fortified.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie
and six, there was an overthrow given at Glenbu-
rie, where William Fitzroger, prior of the knights
hospitallers, & manie other with him, were taken pri-
soners, and a great number of other were slaine. The
same yeare, John de Weldon departed this world,
and Thomas de Clare married the daughter of Spoyce
Fitzmoize. In the yeare following, Robert Woffort
was appointed to supplie the roime of Genuill,
being called home, and so was this Woffort the second
time ordained lord iustice of Ireland. He hauing oc-
casion to passe into England, made his substitute
Fulbozine bishop of Waterford till his returne, and
then resumed the gouernement into his owne hands
again. In the yeare one thousand two hundred sea-
uentie and seauen, Thomas de Clare slue Wherwoth
king of Molethmond: and yet after this the Irish
closed him by in Slewbant, together with Spaurice
Fitzmaurice, so that they gaue hostages to escape,
and the castell of Roscoman was towne. In the yeare
next ensuing, was John de Werlington consecrated
archbishop of Dublin. There was also a counsell
holden at Grenoke, and Mac Dermot slue Cathur
Macwhir king of Connagh. In the yeare one thou-
sand two hundred seuentie and nine, Robert Woffort
upon occasion of busines came over into England,
and left frater Fulbozine bishop of Waterford to sup-
plie his roime, and Rafe Wighard and Whalan
chased Dneale in a battell.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred and foure
score, Robert Woffort came the thirde time to occupie
the roime of lord chiefe iustice in Ireland, resuming
that roime into his hands againe. In the yeare fol-
lowing, the bishop of Waterford was established by
the king of England lord iustice of Ireland. Adam
Cusacke the younger slue William Barret, and ma-
nie other in Connagh. And in the next yeare, to wit,
one thousand two hundred foure score and two, Wern-
queit slue Spureragh, & his brother Art Mac Burgh
at

Donat bishop
of Dublin.

Strangbore,
Ismi risto.
no to p: nri
d: m: c.

John Ham-
lyn consecra-
ted archbishop
of Dublin.
In earth: ow
a: Kithod.
Pewagh and
Indol burnt
1286

William Cef-
ne lord justice.

The early of
Hildare

William Dodingfells, being this yeare made
lord iustice of Ireland, after Clesie died, in the yere
next following, that is 1295, and the thre and twen-
tith of king Edward the first. After him succeeded in
that rone the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice . In the
yeare 1296, after William de Bochum was conse-
crated archbishop of Dublin. In the yeare 1298,
and sir and twentieth of Edward the first, the lord
Thomas Fitzmaurice departed this life, and an a-
grément was made betwixt the earle of Ulster and
the lord John Fitzthomas earle of Kilbare, by John
Wogan that was ordeined lord iustice of Ireland.
In the yere 1299 William archbishop of Dublin
departed this life, and Richard de Fringis was con-
secrated archbishop in his place. The king went unto
John Wogan lord iustice, commanding him to give
summons unto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare
themselves with horse and armor to come in their
best arraie for the warre, to serve him against the
Scots: and withshall wote unto the same nobles; as
to Richard de Burgh earle of Ulster, Ceffreie de
Genuill, John Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzmaurice,
Theobald lord Butler, Theobald lord Clerdon, Piers
lord Writtingham of Chetemoie, Cassace lord
Polwe, Hugh lord Purcell, John de Cogan, John

1294
The death of
the archbishop
Samford.
The earle of
Ulster taken
prisoner.

Great dearth
and death.

william Des
dingels lord
justice.

I 295
 Thomas Fitzmaurice
 lord justice.
 I 296
 I 298
 Rec. Turris.

1299

de Barrie, William de Barrie, Walter de Laffice, Richard de Excester, John Pipurd, Walter Lenfant, John of Oxford, Adam de Stanton, Simon de Heibe, William Cabell, John de Hale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roch, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitzthomas de Kerto, commanding them to be with him at Withwelam the first of March. Such a precept I remember I have read, registered in a close roll among the records of the tower. But there Marlburrow saith, that the said John Mogan lord iustice of Ireland, and the lord John Fitzthomas, with manie others, came to king Edward into Scotland, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yere 1299, which fell in the seven & twentieth of the reigne of king Edward, & if my remembrance faile me not, the close roll aforesaid beareth date of the four and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne. All which notes may be true, for it is verie like, that in those warres against the Scots, the king sent diuerse times to the Irish lords to come to serue him, as it behoued them to do by their tenures: and not onelie he sent into Ireland to haue the seruices of men, but also for prouision of vittels, as in close rolles I remember I haue also seene recorded of the seauen and twentieth and thirtieth yeare of the said king Edward the first his reigne. For this we find in a certeine abstract of the Irish chronicles, which should seeme to be collected out of Flaithburie, whom Campion so much followed, that in the yere 1301, the lord John Mogan lord iustice, John Fitzthomas, Peter Birmingham, & diuerse others went into Scotland in aid of king Edward, in which yeare also a great part of the citie of Dublin, with the church of saint Werburgh was burnt in the night of the feast daie of saint Colme. Also the lord Genuill married the daughter of John de Pontfort, and the lord John Mortimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuill, also the lord Theobald de Werdon married the daughter of the lord Roger Mortimer. The same yeare in the winter season, the Irish of Leinster raised warre against the townes of Wicklow and Rathdon, doing much hurt by burning in the countrie all about: but they were chastised for their wickednesse, losing the most part of their prouision and cattell. And in the Lent season the more part of them had bene utterly destroyed, if discorde and variance had not risen among the Englishmen, to the impeachment of their purpose enterprises.

In haruest there were thre hundred shenes slaine by the Helanes. Also Walter le Power wasted a great part of Mounster, burning manie farmes and places in that countrie. In the yere 1302, pope Boniface demanded a tenth of all the spirituall livinges in England and Ireland, for the space of thre yeares, to mainteine wars in defense of the church of Rome, against the king of Arragon. In the yere 1303, the earle of Ulster, and Richard Burgh, and sir Cusace le Power, with a puissant armie entered Scotland. The earle made thre and thirtie knights at Dublin, before he set forwarde. The same yere Girald, sonne and heire to the lord John Fitzthomas departed this life, and likewise the countesse of Ulster. William de Mellislie, and sir Robert de Persuall were slaine the two and twentieth of October. In the yere 1304, a great part of the citie of Dublin was burnt by casuall fire. In the yere next ensuing, Jordaine Comin with his complices slue Sparitagh Deonhur king of Ossalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuerse others within the court of Piers de Birmingham at Carricke in Carbie. Also sir Gilbert Sutton steward of Mergford was slaine by the Irishmen, nere to the farme

of Desmond de Grace, which Desmond bare himselfe right valiantlie in that fight, and in the end through his great manhood escaped.

In the yere 1306 a great slaughter was made in Ossalie nere to the castell of Geshill, the thirtenth daie of Aprill upon Deonhur and his friends by the Deemples, in the which place were slaine a great number of men. Also Dizen king of Desmond was slaine. Moreover, Donald Oge Mac Arthie slue Donald Kulle king of Desmond. And upon the twelue of Maie in the confines of Aeth, a great onerthow chanced to the side of the lord Piers Butler, and Balmore in Leinster was burnt by the Irish, where Henrie Cesse was slaine at that present time. Hereof followed great wars betwixt the English and Irish in Leinster, so that a great armie was called together south of diuerse parts of Ireland, to restraine the malice of the Irish in Leinster, in which iourne sir Thomas Spandeuill knight entered into a conflict with the Irish nere to Glenfell, in the which he bare himselfe right manfullie, till his horse was slaine vnder him, and yet then to his great praise and high commendation he saved both himselfe and manie of his companie. The lord chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Caucocche, was consecrated bishop of Imaleie within the Trinitie church at Dublin, and kept such a feast as the like had not lightlie bene seene nor heard of before that time in Ireland, first to the rich & after to the poore. Richard Flerings archbishop of Dublin deceased on the euen of saint Luke the euangelist, to whom succeeded Richard de Hauering, who after he had continued in that see about a fine yeares, resigned it over by dispensation obtained from Rome, and then his nepue John Lech was admitted archbishop there.

In the yere 1307 the first of Aprill, Murcod Ballagh was beheaded nere to Mertton by sir Dauid Cauntoun knight, and shortly after was Adam Daune slaine. Also, a great discomfiture and slaughter fell vpon the Englishmen in Connagh by the Oscheles the first daie of Maie, and the robbers that dwelt in the parties of Ossalie raised the castell of Geshell, and in the bigill of the translation of Thomas Becket, being the first of Iulie, they burnt the towne of Leie and besieged the castell: but they were constrained to depart from thence shortly after, by John Fitzthomas and Edmund Butler that came to remoue that siege. In the yere 1308 king Edward the first departed this life the seuenth of Iulie.

Edward the second.

Richard archbishop of Dublin, after that he had gouerned that see the space of fine yeares, by reason of a vision that he saw in his sleepe, feeling himselfe troubled in conscience, with consideration of that dreame, resigned the next morrow all his title to the archbishops dignitie (as before ye haue heard) and contented himselfe with other ecclesiasticall benefices as seemed conuenient to his estate. This yeare by vertue of letters directed from the pope to the king of England, he caused all the Templers as well in England as Ireland to be apprehended, and committed to safe keeping. The profession of these Templers began at Jerusalem, by certeine gentlemen that remained in an hostell nere to the temple, who till the counsell of Trois in France were not increased above the number of nine, but from that time forth in little more than fiftie yeares, by the zealous contribution of all christian

Chr. Pembrik.

1301
Irishmen invaded Scotland.

Walter Power.
1302

1303
The earle of Ulster.

1304

1304
The bishop of Down deceased.

Salmon burn.

warres in Leinster.

The lord chancellor of Ireland consecrated bishop of Imaleie.

The archbishop of Dublin deceased.

1307

The bishop of Down deceased.

1308

1300
The order of the Templers suppressed.

than realmes, they had houses erected euerie where, with livings bountifullie assigned to the same for their maintenance, in so much as they were augmented unto the number of three hundred, that were knights of that order, beside inferior brethren innumerable: but now with wealth they so forgot themselves, that they nothing lesse regarded, than the purpose of their foundation: and withall being accused of horrible heresies (whether in all things iustlie or otherwise, the Lord knoweth) they were in the council at Lyons in France condemned, and their livings transferred to the knights Hospitallers, otherwise called the knights of the Rhodes, and now of Malta. The manner of their apprehension and committing was sudden, and so generall in all places upon one daie, that they had no time to shift for themselves.

For first, the king sent forth a precept to euerie shiriffe within the realme of England, commanding them within each of their countiees to cause a prescribed number of knights, or rather such men of credit, on whose fidelities he might assure himselfe to assemble at a certaine towne named in the same writ, the sundae next after the Epiphanie, & that each of the same shiriffes should not to be there the same daie, to execute all that should be enjoined them by any other writ, then and there to be delivered. The shiriffe of Poike was commanded to give summons to foure and twentie such knights, or other sufficient men to meet him at Poike. The shiriffe of Norfolk and Suffolke, to summon twentie to meet him at Thetford. The other shiriffes were appointed to call to them some ten, some twelue, or some fouretee, to meet them at such townes as in their writs were named. The date of this writ was from Westminster the fifteenth of December, in the first yeare of this king Edward the seconds reigne. The other writ was sent by a chapleine authorized both to deliver the same writ, and to take an oth of the shiriffe, that he should not disclose the contents, till he had put the same in execution, which was to attach by assistance of those aforementioned knights, or as manie of them as he thought expedient to vse, all the Templers within the precinct of his countie, and to seise all their lands, goods, and cattels into the kings hands, and to cause an inventory of the same indented be made in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were knight of the order or any other, and in the presence of other honest men neighbours thereabouts, keeping the one counterpane with himselfe, sealed with his seale that made the seigne, and leaving the other in the hands of the said warden: and further to see the same goods and cattels to be put in safe keeping, and to provide that the quicke goods might be well kept and looked unto, and the grounds manured to the most profit, and to cause the bodies of the Templers attached, to be so detained in all safetie, as that they be not yet committed to irons nor to streit prison, but to remaine in some convenient place other than their owne houses, and to be found of the gods so seized accordinglie as falleth for their estates, till he haue otherwise in commandement from the king: and what is done herein, to certifie into the archbisher the morrow after the purification. The date of this second writ was from Wilslet the twentieth of December. There was likewise a writ directed to John Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, signifieng unto him what should be done in England, touching the apprehension of the Templers, and seizure of their lands and goods, commanding him to proceed in semblable manner against them in Ireland: but the date and place when the shiriffes should there assemble, was left to the discretion of the said iustice and trea-

surer of the archbisher there, but so, as the same might be done before any rumour of this thing could be brought ouer out of England thither. Also a like commandement was sent unto John de Britaine earle of Richmond, lord warden of Scotland, and to Custace Cotesbach chamberleyn of Scotland, also to Walter de Pederton lord iustice of west Wales, to Hugh Adighleigh alias Auderleie lord iustice of north Wales, and to Robert Holland lord iustice of Chester. Thus much for the Templers. What now to other doings in Ireland.

In the yeare 1308, the firste of April, deceased Peter de Beningham a noble warrior, and one that had bene no small searge, to the Irish. The eleventh of Maie the castell of Bennun was burnt, and diuers persons that had it in keeping were slaine by William Macbaltzer, and other of the Irish, and likewise the towne of Courconlie was burnt by the same malefactors. And the first of June, John lord deloie, where John de S. Hogelin, John Porton, John Byeton, and manie other were slaine. The firste of June, Dunloun, Tobir, and manie other townes were burnt by the Irish rebels. About this season, John Decker maior of Dublin builded the high pipe there, & the brydge ouer the Liffie towards S. Alfons, and a chappell of our ladie at the friers minors, where he was buried, repaired the church of the friers preachers, and euerie scribe tabled the friers at his owne costs.

John Wogan hauing occasion to passe into England, William Burgh did supplie his countie, unto whom king Edward recommended Piers de Gaueson, when (contrarie to the kings mind) he was banished by the lords of England, and about the month of our ladie he came ouer into Ireland, being sent thither by the king with manie ieluels: and beside the letters which he brought of recommendation from the king, he had assigned to him the commodities roiall of that realme, which bred some trouble and bickerings there, betwixt Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and the said Gaueson, who notwithstanding bought the good willes of the souldiers with his liberalitie, slue Dermot Odeмпsie, subdued Obien, edified sundrie castels, canelies, and brydges, but the next yeare he was reuoked home by the king, as in the historie of England it maye appeare.

In the bigill of Simon and Jude, the lord Roger Sportimer landed in Ireland with his wife, right heire to the seignorie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Cenuill, that was sonne to the lord Cestreie Cenuill, which Cestreie became a siter at Trim of the order of the preachers: by reason whereof, the lord Sportimer and his wife entered into possession of the lands of Meth. In the yeare 1309, on Candlemas day, the lord John Bonneuill was slaine nere to the towne of Ardsoll, by the lord Arnold Poluze and his complices, his bodie was buried at Athie in the church of the friers preachers. In the pere following, at a parlement holden at Kildare, the lord Arnold Poluze was acquit of that slaughter, for that it was proued it was done in his owne defense. In the yeare 1311, (as some booke haue) the yeare 1309, Wogan lord iustice summoned a parlement at Kilkennie, where diuers whole some lawes were ordeined, but neuer executed. There fell the bishops in contention about the iurisdiction, namelie the bishop of Dublin forbade the primate of Armagh to raise his crozier within the prouince of Leinster.

Shortlie after, Rowland Joyce the primate slea by night (in his pontificals) from Howth to the priozie of Grace Dien, where the bishops seruants met him, & with force chased him out of the diocesse. This bishop was named John a Leakes, and was consecrated

1308

This Macbaltzer was after hanged at Dublin.

The lord iustice discomfited.

1308

John Decker maior of Dublin.

Piers Gaueson sent into Ireland.

Lord Roger Sportimer.

1309

Lord John Bonneuill slaine.

1310

A parliament at Kilkennie.

Campion.

G.ij. not

not long before he kept this furre. Richard earle of Ulster with a great armie came to Donraith in Thomond, whereas sir Robert or rather sir Richard de Clare discomfited his power, took sir William de Burgh prisoner, or (as some booke have) the earle himselfe. John Lacie the sonne of Walter Lacie, and diuerse others were slaine. The twelue of November this yere, Richard de Clare sue sir Hugh de Galloglaes, and John Spogoghedan was slaine by Omolmoie. Also Donat Obzen was murdered by his owne men in Thomond.

Sir Richard de Clare.

John Lacie slaine.

1312 Robert Weldon raiseth a riotous tumult. John wogan lord iustice.

The one and twentieth of Februarie began a riot in Argile by Robert Weldon, for the appealing where of an armie was lead thither by John Wogan lord chiefe iustice in the beginning of Iulie, but the same was discomfited, and diuerse men of account slaine, as sir Nicholas Auenell, Patrike de Koch, & others. At length yet the said sir Robert Weldon, and many of his complices came and submitted themselves to prison within the castell of Dublin, abiding there the kings mercie. The lord Edmund Butler was made deputie iustice vnder the lord John Wogan, who in the Lent next ensuing besieged the Wyrens in Glindeloy, and compelled them to yeld themselves to the kings peace. Also in the yere abovesaid 1312, Paatrice Fitzthomas married the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Ulster at Grene castell, and Thomas Fitzjohn married an other of the said earles daughters in the same place, but not on the same daie: for the first of those two mariages was celebrated the morrow after saint Dominikes daie, and this second marriage was kept the morrow after the feast of the assumption of our ladie. Also Robert de Buse ouerthrew the castell of Span, and took the lord Donegan wdo will on saint Barnabies daie.

1313 Campion.

In the yere 1313, John a Lokes archbishop of Dublin departed this life: after whose decease were elected in schisme and diuision of sides two successors, Walter Thorneburie lord chancellor, and Alexander Bigno: treasurer of Ireland. The chancellor to strengthen his election, baslie went to sea, and together with an hundred and fiftie and six persons perished by shipwracke. The other submitting his cause to the procelle of law, taried at home and sped. Afterward, the lord John de Burgh, sonne and heire to the earle of Ulster, deceased at Calbie on the feast daie of saint Marcell & Marcelline. Also the lord Edmund Butler created thirtie knights in the castle of Dublin on saint Michaels daie being sundae. The knights hospitalers of saint Johns (as they were called) were inuested in the lands of the Templers in Ireland. The same yere was the lord Theobald Weldon sent lord iustice into Ireland.

The earle of Ulsters sonne and heire deceased.

1314

1315 Edward Buse invadeth Ireland.

Captains of name with Buse.

Dundalke taken and burnt.

Edmund Butler lord iustice.

In the ninth yere of king Edwards reigne, Edward Buse, brother to Robert Buse king of Scots, entered the north part of Ireland with six thousand men. There were with him diuerse captains of high renoume among the Scottish nation, of whome the chiefe were these: the earles of Spurre and Pentith, the lord John Steward, the lord John Campbell, the lord Thomas Kandolfe, Fergus de Andressan, John Wod, and John Bisset. They landed nere to Cragfergus in Ulster the five & twentieth of Maie, and joining with the Irish, conquered the earldome of Ulster, and gaue the English there diuerse gre at ouerthrowes, took the towne of Dundalke, spoiled & burnt it, with a great part of Argile: they burnt churches & abbeies, with the people whom they found in the same, sparing neither man, woman nor child. Then was the lord Edmund Butler chosen lord iustice, who made the earle of Ulster and the Geraldines friends, and reconciled himselfe with sir John Pandeuill, thus seeking to preserve the residue

of the realme which Edward Buse meant to holte to conquer, having caused himselfe to be crowned king of Ireland. The lord iustice assembled a great power out of Spounster, and Leinster, and other parts thereof, and the earle of Ulster with another armie came vnto him nere vnto Dundalke, where they consulted together how to deale in defending the countrie against the enemies: but hearing the Scots were withdrawing backe, the earle of Ulster followed them, and fighting with them at Coimiers, he lost the field.

There were manie slaine on both parts, and William de Burgh the earls brother, sir John Pandeuill, and sir Alane Fitzalane were taken prisoners. Here with the Irish of Connagh and Speth began forthwith to rebell against the Englishmen, and burnt the castell of Athlon and Kandon. And the Buse comming forward burnt Kenlis in Speth, and Granard, also Finnagh, and Newcastell, and kept his Christmas at Loughsludie. From thence he went through the countrie vnto Keshmegan and Kildare, and to the parties about Trillemot and Athie, then to Kaban Skettler and nere to Arskoll in Leinster: where the lord iustice Butler, the lord John Fitzthomas, the lord Arnold Power, and other the lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Spounster came to encounter the Buse: but through discord that rose among them, they left the field vnto the enemies, sir William Pendergast knight, and Heymond le Grace a right ballant esquier were slaine there. And on the Scottish side sir Fergus Andressan and sir Walter Spurrete, with diuerse other that were buried in the church of the friers preachers at Athie.

After this the Buse in his returne towards Speth burnt the castell of Lere, and so passed forth till he came to Kenlis in Speth. In which meane time Roger lord Mortimer, trusting to win himselfe fame if he might ouerthrow the enemies, called forth sixtene thousand men, and understanding that the Scots were come to Kenlis, made thitherwards, and there encountering with them, was put to the worse, his men (as was supposed) wilfullie shrinking from him, as those that bare him hollow hearts. With the newes of this ouerthrow, vppstart the Irish of Spounster, the Stoules, Wyrens, Wmores, and with fire and sword wasted all from Arclow to Lere. With them coped the lord iustice, and made of them a great slaughter, fourescore of their heads were sent to the castell of Dublin.

The lord Mortimer discomfited by the Scots.

In time of these troubles and warres in Ireland by the invasion thus of the Scots, certeine Irish lords, faithfull men and true subiects to the king of England, did not onelie promise to continue in their loiall obsefance towards him, being their soueraigne prince; but also for more assurance deliuered hostages to be kept within the castell of Dublin. The names of which lords that were so contented to assure their allegiance were these, John Fitzthomas lord of Offalie, Richard de Clare, Porice Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzjohn le Power baron of Donnoille, Arnold le Power, Porice de Rochford, Dauid de la Koch, and Miles de la Koch. These and diuerse other resisted with all their might and maine the iniurious attempts of the Scots, although the Scots had by a vaine to their side the most part of the wild Irish, and no small number also of the English Irish, as well lords, as others of meaner calling: so that the countrie was miserable afflicted, what by the Scots on the one part, and the Irish rebels on the other, which rebels notwithstanding were ouerthrowne in diuerse particular confliats. But yet to the further scattering of the English forces in Ireland, there rose foure princes of Connagh, but the Burghes

Baron of Donnoille slain by the lord of the land for the loialtie.

Burghes and Birminghames discomfited them, and slue cleuen thousand of them beside Asherie. Amongst other were slaine in this battell Fedelmicus, Deonbur king of Connagh, Dkellie, and divers other great lordes and capteins of Connagh and Deth. The lord Richard Birmingham had an elquier that belonged to him called John Husseie, who by the commandement of his maister went forth to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring him word whether Dkellie his mortall fo were slaine among the residue. Husseie comming into the field with one man to turne up and surueie the dead carcases, was streight espied by Dkellie, that late lurking in a brake bussh thereby, who having had good ppose of Husseie his ballancie before that time, longed sore to traine him from his captivene, and presuming now upon his good oportunitie, discovered himselfe, not doubting, but either to win him with courteous persuasions, or by force to worke his will of him, and so comming to him said: Husseie, thou seest that I am at all points armed, & have mante esquire here likewise furnished with armour & weapon readie at mine elbow; thou art naked with thy page, a yongling, & not to be accounted of: so that if I loved thee not, and meant to spare thee for thine owne sake, I might now do with thee what I would, and dea thee for thy maisters sake. But come & serve me upon this request here made to thee, and I ppoint thee by saint Patrikes staffe to make thee a lord in Connagh, of more possessions than thy maister hath in Ireland. When these wordes might nothing move him, his owne man (a great stout labourer) began to reprove him of follie, for not consenting to so large an offer, which was assured with an oth, whereupon he durst gage his soule for performance.

Now had Husseie three enemies, and first therefore turning to his knave, he dispatched him. Next he taught unto Dkellies esquire such a knocke under the pit of the eare, that downe he came to the ground and there he laye. Thirde, he laid so about him, that yer anie helpe could be looked for, he had also slaine Dkellie, and perceiving the esquire to be but assained he recovered him, and holpe him up againe, and after he was somewhat come to himselfe, he forced him upon a truncheon, to beare his lordes head in to the high towne before him, who did so; and Husseie presented it to Birmingham, who after the circumstances declared, he dubbed Husseie knight, advancing him to manie preferments. The successors of that familie afterwards were barons of Galtrim. Sir Thomas Spandenill and others in this meane while made oftentimes enterprises against the Scots, and slue divers of them in sundrie combats. But howsoever it chanced, we find recorded by Henrie Marleburgh, that either the said Sir Thomas Spandenill (that thus ballantlie behaved himselfe against the Scots) or some other bearing the same name, and his brother also called John Spandenill were both slaine shortly after at Downe, upon their comming forth of England, by the Scots that were readie there to assaile them.

Thus may we see, that those lordes and knights, which had given pledges for their loialtie to the king of England, sought by all waies and meanes how to beat backe the enemies: which they might have done with more ease, if the Irish had not assisted the Scots, and presuming of their aid, rebelled in sundrie parts of the countrie; who neverthelesse were oftentimes well chastised for their disloial dealings, as partly we have touched; although we omit divers small overthrowes and other particular matters, sith otherwise we should increase this booke further than our first purposed intent would permit.

Whilest the Scots were thus holden up in Ireland, that they could not in all things worke their will, Robert le Bruce king of Scots came over himselfe, landed at Cragfergus to the aid of his brother, whose souldiours most wickedlie entred into churches, spoiling and defacing the same of all such tomes, monuments, plate, copes, & other ornaments which they found, and might lay hands upon.

The castell of Cragfergus, after it had bene stricte besieged a long time, was surrendered to the Scots, by them that had kept it, till they for want of other vittells were driven to eat leather, and eight Scots (as some write) which they had taken prisoners. The lord Thomas, sonne to the earle of Ulster departed this life. And on the sabbath next after the natiuite of our ladie, the lord John Fitzthomas deceased at Laragh byrnie nere to Spatinoth, and was buried at Kildare, in the church of the friers preachers. This John Fitzthomas, a little before his death, was created earle of Kildare; after whome succeeded his sonne Thomas Fitzjohn a right wise and prudent personage. The fourteenth of September, Conhor Mac Beke, & five hundred Irishmen were slaine by the lord William de Burgh, and lord Richard Birmingham in Connagh. Also on the mondaie after the feast of All saints, John Loggan and sir Hugh Bisset slue a great number of Scots, among the which were one hundred with double armors, and two hundred with single armors: so that of their men of armes there died three hundred beside footemen.

The fifteenth of November chanced a great tempest of wind and raine, which threw downe manie houses, with the steeple of the Trinitie church in Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and water. On the sixt of December, sir Alane Steward that had bene taken prisoner in Ulster by John Loggan, and sir John Sandale, was brought to the castell of Dublin. After Canlemas, the Lacies came to Dublin, & procured an inquest to be impanelled to inquire of their demeanour, for that they were accused to have procured the Scots to come into Ireland: but by that inquest they were discharged, and therewith took an oth to keepe the kings peace, and to destitute the Scots to the uttermost of their power. In the beginning of Lent, the Scots came in secret wise unto Slane, with twentie thousand armed men: and with them came the armie of Ulster, destituting all the countrie before them. Moreover, on mondaie before the feast of S. Matthias the apostle, the earle of Ulster lieng in the abbete of S. Marie nere to Dublin, Robert Pottingham maior of that citie, with the communalitie of the same went thither, toke the earle, and put him in prison within the castell of Dublin, slue seven of his men, and spoiled the abbete.

The same weeke, Edward Bruce marched towards Dublin, but herewith, turning to the castell of Banoke, he entred the same, and toke Hugh Tirell the lord thereof, together with his wife, and ransomed them for a summe of monie. The citizens of Dublin burnt all their suburbs for feare of a siege, and made the best purueiance they could to defend their citie, if the Bruce had come to have besieged them: but he turning another waie, went unto the towne of Paas, and was guided thither by the Lacies, contrarie to their oth. From thence he passed unto Criffeldermot, and so to Baliganam, and to Callan, at length he came to Limerike, and there remained till after Easter. They of Ulster sent to the lord iustice lamentable informations of such crueltie as the enemies practised in those parts, beseeching him to take some order for their reliefe in that their so miserable estate. The lord iustice delivered

Campion,
1316
The king of
Scots in
Ireland.

Cragfergus
delivered by
to the Scots.

Wentcater.

John Fitz
thomas the
first earle of
Kildare de
ceased.

Scots men
throwne.

A great tem
pest.

1317

The earle of
Ulster appe
hended.

Hugh Tire
rell taken by
the Scots.

A great over
throw.

The king of
Connagh
slain.

Dkellie slain.

Sir Thomas
Spandenill
slain.

The kings
standard be-
liured to
them of Ul-
ster.

to them the kings power with his standard, where-
with vnder pretense to expell the Scots, they got vp
in armes, and ranging through the countrie, did
moze bere and molest the subiects, than did the stran-
gers. The Scots proceeded and spoiled Castells,
& wherefoeuer they lighted vpon the Butlers lands,
they burnt and spoiled them vnmmercifullie.

Roger Poz-
tiner iustice
of Ireland.

In this meane while had the lord iustice and Tho-
mas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare,
and Arnold le Potvye baron of Donnoill leuied an
armie of thirtie thousand men, readie to go against
the enimies, and to glue them battell, but no good
was done. For about the same time the lord Roger
Poztiner was sent into Ireland as lord iustice, and
landing at Boghall, wrote his letters vnto the lord
Butler, & to the other capteins, willing them not to
fight till he came with such power as he had brought
ouer with him. Whereof the Butle being warned,
retired first towards Kildare. But yet after this he
came within foure miles of Trim, where he late in a
wood, and lost manie of his men through famine, and
so at length about the beginning of Maie he retur-
ned into Ulster.

Slaughter of
Irishmen.

1317

The earle of
Ulster deliue-
red out of pri-
son.

Scarfitie of
bittels in
Ulster.

The lord Edmund Butler made great slaughter
of the Irish nere to Trilidermot, and likewise at
Balithan he had a good hand of Omoich, and slue
manie of his men. The lord Poztiner pacified the
displeasure and variance betwixt Richard earle of
Ulster, and the nobles that had put the said earle vnder
safe keeping within the castell of Dublin, accus-
sing him of certeine riots committed to the prejudice
and losse of the kings subiects, whereby the Scots in-
creased in strength and courage, whose spoiling of
the countrie caused such horrible scarfitie in Ulster,
that the soldiors which the yeare before abused the
kings authoritie, to pursue themselves of ouer fine
diet, surfettted with flesch and *Aquavita* all the Lent
long, prilled and pilled insatiablie wherefoeuer they
came without need, and without regard of the poze
people, whose onelic prouision they deuoured. These
people now lining in slaueirie vnder the Butle, star-
ued for hunger, having first experienced manie la-
mentable shifts, euen to the eating of dead carcasses.

The earle of
Ulster deliue-
red.

Great dearth.

The earle of Ulster was deliuered by maine,
prisc and vpon his oth, by the which he undertoke ne-
uer to seeke reuenge of his apprehension otherwise
than by order of law, and so had daie giuen him vnto
the feast of the natiuitie of saint John baptist: but he
kept not his daie, whether for that he mistrusted to
stand in trial of his cause, or through some other rea-
sonable let, I cannot tell. A great dearth this yeare
afflicted the Irish people: for a measure of wheat
called a chonocke was sold at foure and twentie
shillings, & a chonocke of otes at sixtene shillings,
and all other bittels likewise were sold according to
the same rate; for all the whole countrie was soze wa-
sted by the Scots and them of Ulster, insomuch that
no small number of people perished through famine.

Sir Hugh
Crofts slaine.

The Lacies
remolt to the
Scots.

About the feast of Pentecost the lord iustice Poz-
tiner toke his tozie towards Drogheda, and sent
to the Lacies, commanding them to come vnto him,
but they refused so to do. Wherevpon he sent sir Hugh
Crofts vnto them, to talke with them about some a-
greement of peace: but they slue the messenger, for
whome great lamentation was made, for that he
was reputed & knowne to be a right worthie knight.
The lord iustice soze offended herewith, gathereth an
armie, & goeth against the Lacies, whome he chased
out of Connagh, so that Hugh Lacie withporew to
Ulster, & there ioined himselfe with Edward Butle.
Wherevpon, on the thursdaie next before the feast of
saint Margarett, the said Hugh Lacie and also Wal-
ter Lacie were proclaimed traitors. This yeare pat-

ted verie troublesome vnto the whole realme of Ire-
land, as well through slaughter betwixt the parties
enimies one to another, as by dearth and other mis-
fortunes. Hugh Canon the kings iustice of his
bench was slaine by Andrew Birmingham betwixt
the towne of Paas and castell Parten. Also in the
feast of the purification, the popes bulles were publi-
shed, whereby Alexander Bigno was consecrated
archbishop of Dublin. About the same time was
great slaughter made of Irishmen, through a quar-
rell betwixt two great lords in Connagh: so that
there died in fight to the number of foure thousand
men on both parties.

After Easter Walter Alep treasurer of Ireland
was sent ouer into that realme, who brought let-
ters to the lord Poztiner, commanding him to re-
turne into England vnto the king: which he did, and
departing forth of Ireland, remained indebted to
the citizens of Dublin for his prouision of bittels in
the summe of a thousand poundes, wherof he paid not
one farthing, so that manie a bitter curse he carried
with him to the sea, leaving William archbishop of
Cashell lord chancelor gouernor of the land in his
place: and so by this meane was the said archbishop
both chancelor and iustice, and so continued till the
feast of saint Michaele. At what time Alexander Big-
no archbishop of Dublin arriued at Boghall, being
constituted lord iustice, and came to Dublin on saint
Denise daie, being the seauenth of October. But
here is to be remembred, that a little before the de-
parture of the lord Poztiner forth of Ireland, to
wit, the first of Maie, the lord Richard de Clare with
foure knights, sir Henrie Capell, sir Thomas de
Paas, sir James Cauntton, and sir John Cauntton;
also Adam Apilgard and others (to the number of
foure score persons) were slaine by Owen and Mac
Arthe. It was said that the enimies in despite cau-
sed the lord Richards bodie to be cut in peces, so to
satisfie their malicious stomachs; but the same pec-
es were yet afterwards buried in the church of the
friers minors at Limerike. Also before the lord Poz-
tiners returne into England, John Lacie was had
forth of the castell of Dublin, and carried to Trim,
where he was arraigned and aduoged to be pressed
to death, and so he died in prison.

But now to returne vnto the doings in time of
Bignors gouernment. Immediatlie vpon his ar-
riual, the lord John Birmingham being generall of
the field, and hauing with him diuerse capteins of
worthie fame, namelie sir Richard Lacie, sir Aples
Werdon, sir Hugh Cripetton, sir Herbert Sutton,
sir John Cusacke, sir Edmund Birmingham, sir
William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the
primat of Armagh, sir Walter de la Pulle, and
John Paupas led forth the kings power, to the num-
ber of one thousand three hundred foure and twentie
able men against Edward Butle, who being accom-
panied with the lord Philip Potobrate, the lord Wal-
ter de Soules, the lord Alaine Steward, with his
three brethren, sir Walter, and sir Hugh, sir Robert,
and sir Aimerie Lacies, and others, was incamped
not past two miles from Dundalke with three thou-
sand men, there abiding the Englishmen, to fight
with them if they came forward: which they did with
all conuentent speed, being as desirous to glue bat-
tell as the Scots were to receiue it.

The primat of Armagh personallie accompani-
eng the English power, & blessing their enterprise,
gaue them such comfortable exhortation, as he
thought serued the time per they began to incoun-
ter. And herewith buckling together, at length the
Scots fullie and whole were vanquished, and two
thousand of them slaine, together with their capteine
Edward Butle. Paupas that pressed into the
throng

1318

Bigno was
consecrated arch-
bishop of Du-
blin.

The lord Richard de
Clare slaine.

The lord Birmingham
and other
capteins es-
caped the
Scots.

The primat
of Armagh.

The battell of
Armagh.
The Scots
vanquished
Edward Butle
the

strong to encounter with Buse hand to hand, was found in the search dead aloft upon the same bodie of Buse. The victorie thus obtained upon saint Calistus daie, made an end of the Scottish kingdome in Ireland, & lord Birmingham sending the head of Buse into England, as Marlborrow hath being the messenger himselfe, presented it to king Edward, who in recompense gave to him and his heires males the earldome of Louth, and the baronic of Arich and Athenrie to him and his heires generall for ever. Shortly after sir Richard de Clare with foure other knights of name, and manie other men of warre were slaine in Thomond. The lord Roger Spozimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne as lord iustice there now the second time, and the townes of Atheshell and Plebs were burned by the lord Fitzthomas brother to the lord Maurice Fitzthomas. And about this season the bridge of Kilkennie was builded by Maurice Jakis.

In the yeare following, to wit, one thousand three hundred and twentie, which was the fourteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Thomas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare was made lord iustice of Ireland. Here is to be remembred, that about this time also Alexander Bignoz archbishop of Dublin sent to pope John the two and twentieth, for a priuilege to institute an vniuersitie within the citie of Dublin, and his sute toke effect: and the first three doctors of diuinitie did the said archbishop himselfe create, William Harditie a frier preacher, Henrie Cogie a frier minor, and frier Edmund Bernerden: and besides these one doctor of canonlaw, to wit, Richard archdeacon of saint Patrickes that was chancelor of the same vniuersitie, who kept their terms and commendements solemne: neither was this vniuersitie at any time since disfranchised, but onlie through change of times discontinued, and now since the dissolving of monasteries bitterlie decayed.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a parlement holden there, whilest sir Henrie Sidneie was the quenes lieutenant, to haue it againe created, by waie of contributions to be laid together: the said sir Henrie offering twentie pounds lands, and an hundred pounds in monie. Other there were also, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuised; A woorthie plantation of Plantagenet & Bullogne. But while they disputed of a conuenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principall.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and one, there was a great slaughter made of the Conburs at Balibagan, by the English of Leinster and Meth. And John Birmingham earle of Louth was lord iustice of Ireland. Unto this man, whilest he was lord iustice, the king wrote, commanding him to be with him at Carleill in the octaues of the Trinitie, in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne, with three hundred men of armes, one thousand hobellars, and six thousand footmen, ech of them armed with an aketon, a sallet, and gloues of maill, which number was to be leuied in that land: besides three hundred men of armes which the earle of Ulster was appointed to serue within that tournie, which the king at that time intended to make against the Scots. The date of the letter was the third of Aprill. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and two, diuers nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the lord Richard Birmingham, the lord Edmund Butler, and the lord Thomas Persuall. Moreover, the lord Andrey Birmingham, and sir Richard de la Lond were slaine by Molan. In the eighteenth yeare of king Edward the second his reigne, the lord John Parrie came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and the

king's lieutenant there. In these daies liued in the diocesse of Meke the ladie Alice Kettle, whom the bishop ascribed to purge hir selfe of the same of inchantment and witchcraft imposed unto hir, and to one Petronill and Basil hir complices. She was charged to haue nightlie conference with a spirit called Robin Artisson, to whom she sacrificed in the high waie nine red cocks, and nine peacocks etes. Also that she swept the streets of Kilkennie betwene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the dopes of hir sonne William Outlaw, murmuring & muttering secretlie with hir selfe these words:

To the house of William my sonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie towne.

At the first consultation they abjured & did penance, but shortly after they were found in relapse, & then was Pentrouill burnt at Kilkennie, the other twaine might not be heard of. She at the houre of hir death accused the said William as priuie to their sorceries, whom the bishop held in durance nine weeks, forbidding his keepers to eat or to drinke with him, or to speake to him more than once in the daie. But at length, thorough the sute and instance of Arnold le Botwe then seneschall of Kilkennie, he was deliuered, and after corrupted with bribes the seneschall to persecute the bishop; so that he thrust him into prison for three moneths. In rissling the closet of the ladie, they found a wafer of sacramentall bread, hauing the diuels name stamped thereon in stead of Iesus Christ, and a pipe of ointment, wherewith the greased a staffe, upon the which she ambled and galloped thorough thicke and thin, when and in what maner she list. This businesse about these witches troubled all the state of Ireland, the more; for that the ladie was supported by certeine of the nobilitie, and lastlie conueied ouer into England, since which time it could neuer be understood what became of hir. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and six, & last of king Edwards the seconds reigne, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster departed this life.

Edward the third.

Another was the businesse about the witches at an end, when it was signified, that a gentleman of the familie of the Stollies in Leinster, named Adam Duffe, possessed by some wicked spirit of error, denied obstinatelie the incarnation of our saulor, the trinitie of persons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the resurrection of the flesh; as for the holie scripture, he said it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affirmed to be a woman of dissolute life, and the apostolike se erroneous. For such assertions he was burnt in Hogging greene beside Dublin. About the same time, Fitzarke Macmoroch, and sir Henrie Traherne were taken prisoners. In the yeare following, the lord Thomas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare, and the lord Arnold Botwe & William earle of Ulster were sent ouer into Ireland, & Roger Outlaw prior of saint Johns of Jerusalem in Ireland, commonlie called the prior of Kilmaitan, was made lord iustice. This man by reason of darkness that chanced to rise betwixt the Geraldins, the Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one side; and the Botwyes & Burghs on the other, for terming the earle of Kildare a rimer, to pacifie the parties called a parlement, wherein he himselfe was faine to make his purgation of a slander imposed to him, as suspected of heresse.

The bishop of Meke had given an information against Arnold le Botwe, contented & conuicted in his

The ladie Alice Kettle accused of sorceries.

1326

1327

Adam Duffe an hereticke.

The prior of Kilmaitan lord iustice.

Arnold Botwe accused of hereticke.

Birmingham made earle of Louth.
Sir Richard de Clare came.
1319

1320
The earle of Kildare lord iustice.

John Parrie created lord iustice.

1321

Ric. Turin.

1322

1323
John Parrie lord iustice.

his confessorie of certeine hereticall opinions, but because the beginning of Wolz accusation concerned the iustices kinsman, and the bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person of the man rather than the fault: a date was limited for the iusticing of the bill, the partie being apprehended and respited thereunto. This dealing the bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkennie to prosecute his accusation) was reputed parciall: and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in suspense, he inflamed the said prior as an abbottoz and fauourer of Arnolds heresie. The prior submitted himselfe to the trial, and thereupon were severall proclamations made in court, that it should be lawfull to anie man to come into the court, and to inferre, accuse, and declare what euidence he could, against the lord iustice: but none came. Then passed a decre by the counsell, commanding all bishops, abbats, priors, and the maiors of Dublin, Cozke, Limerike, Waterford, and Droghebagh, the shirifs, knights, & senechals of euerie shire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongst all these, they appointed six inquisitors, which examining the bishops and other persons aforesaid singularlie one by one, found that with an vniuersall consent they deposed for the prior, affirming that (to their iudgements) he was a zelous and a faithfull child of the catholike church. In the meane time, Arnold le Wolz the prisoner deceased in the castell, & because he stood unpurged, long he late buried.

1329
The earle of
Louth slain.

The lord
Butler slain.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine, John de Birmingham earle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that surname, and Richard Talbot of Malahide were slaine on Whitken cuen at Salibagan by men of the countrie. Also the lord Thomas Butler, and diuerse other noblemen were slaine by Mac Coghghan & other Irishmen nere to Molinger. For the Irish as well in Leinster as in Coneth made insurrections in that season, and so likewise did they in Hounster vnder the leading of Obyen, whom William earle of Ulster and James earle of Desmond vanquished. So outrageous were the Leinster Irish, that in one church they burnt foure score innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their priest then at masse, whome they notwithstanding stricken with their tanelins, turned the host, and wasted all with fire: neither forced they of the popes interdiction, nor anie ecclesiasticall censures denounced against them (matters of no small consideration among them name lie in those daies) but maliciouslie persevered in the course of their furious rage, till the citizens of Wexford somewhat tamed them, and slue foure hundred of them in one skirmish, the rest fleeing were all drowned in the water of Slane. In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie, the earle of Ulster with a great armie made a iourne against Obyen, and the prior of Kilmalian lord iustice put Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond in prison in the marshalleste, out of the which he stalle escaped, and the lord Hugh Lucie returned into Ireland, and obtained the kings peace and fauour.

1330

The prior of
Kilmalian
lord iustice.

1331

Anthony Lucie
lord iustice.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, the earle of Ulster passed ouer into England, and great slaughter was made vpon the Irish in Okenlie. Also the castell of Arco was taken by the Irishmen, and great slaughter made of the English in the Cowlagh by Droghell and others. Also the lord Anthony Lucie was sent ouer lord iustice into Ireland, and great slaughter was made of the Irish at Thurlis by the knights of the countrie, & at Finnath in Coneth, there were manie of them slaine by the English, but yet was the castell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Irish. On the feast daie of the as-

umption of our ladie, which falleth on the fifteenth of August, Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond was apprehended at Limerike by the lord iustice, and sent vnto the castell of Dublin. Moreover, the lord iustice toke sir William Birmingham at Clonmell by a wile, whilke he was sicke in his bed, & sent him (together with his sonne Walter Birmingham) vnto the castell of Dublin, the thirtieth of April. In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two the said sir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reason he was within orders.

The earle of
Desmond
apprehended.

1332
William Birmingham
taken.

Campion following such notes as he hath scene, writeth that the death of this William Birmingham chaunced in time of the gouernement of William Daltaw prior of Kilmalian, being lieutenant vnto John lord Darcie, that was made lord iustice (as the said Champion hath noted) in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. Although Marburrow affirmeth that he came thither to beare that office, in the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, after the lord Lucie was discharged, as hereafter shall be recited. But whensoever, or vnder whome soeuer Birmingham was executed, he was accounted an od knight, and such a one as for his valliance, his match was not lightlie to be anie where found. The castell of Clonmore was taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, and the castell of Bonrath was destroyed by the Irish of Thomond. Also to Henrie de Gandeuill was taken and sent prisoner to be safelie kept in Dublin. Likewise Walter Burgh with two of his brethren were taken in Connagh by the earle of Ulster, and sent to the castell of Forburgh.

Campion

This yeare the lord Antonio Lucie was discharged of his come by the king, and so returned with his wife & children into England, and the lord John Darcie was sent ouer lord iustice in Lucies place, and great slaughter was made vpon Bzen Obyen, and Mac Arthie in Hounster, by the English of that countrie. This John Darcie (as should appeare by gifts bestowed vpon him by the king) was in singular fauour with him. Amongst other things which he had of the kings gift, we find that he had the manors of Louth, and Balingarie, and other lands in Ireland which belonged to the earle of Con. And for that the said earle was a Frenchman, and toke part with Philip de Valois the kings enemy, they were seized into the kings hand. The earle of Desmond vpon suerties was set at libertie, and by the parliament holden at Dublin in this yeare 1333, was sent ouer into England vnto the king, and William erle of Ulster a yong gentleman of twentie yeares of age, in going towards Knockfergus the feaunth of June, was slaine nere to the sword in Ulster, by his owne people, but his wife and daughter escaped into England: and the daughter was after married vnto the lord Lionell the kings sonne. She deceased afterwards at Dublin, and left a daughter behind hir that was his heire, married to Roger Posimer earle of March, and lord of Trim.

The lord
Darcie

The earle
of Con.

1333
Parliament

This murder was procured by Robert Fitzmartine Gandeuill, who was the first that presumed to giue to the earle anie wound. To reuenge the death of this earle of Ulster (slaine as ye haue heard beside Knockfergus) the lord iustice Darcie with a great power went into Ulster, to pursue those that through Gandeuills seditious tumults had so traitorously murdered their lord. At his setting forward, the said iustice Darcie appointed sir Thomas Burgh treasurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his absence. When the lord iustice had punished the traitors in Ulster, he passed ouer into Scotland, there to make warre against the Scots that were enemies at

The earle of
Ulster slain.

Sir Thomas
Burgh

The lord
iustice
Darcie

at

at that present to the king of England, and on the feast daie of saint Margaret, great slaughter was made of the Scots by the Irishmen: and so that by the king in one part, and the lord iustice of Ireland in another, Scotland was in maner wholie conquered, and Edward Baliol was established king of Scotland. The lord iustice might haue possessed the Isles if they had bene worth the keeping: into the which Isles, except the said Darcie and the earle of Sussex late lieutenant of Ireland, no gouernor at anye time yet aduentured. At Darcies comming backe into Ireland, and exercising the office of lord iustice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the castell of Dublin.

1336 In the yere 1336, and tenth of Edward the thirde reigne, on s. Laurence daie, the Irish of Connagh were discomfited and put to flight by the Englishmen of the countrie there, with the losse of one Englishman, and ten thousand of the enimies. The lord John Charleton baron came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and with him his brother Thomas bishop of Hereford lord chancelor, and John Rice lord treasurer, and two hundred Welshmen souldiours. The bishop was ordeined afterward lord iustice, in whose time all the Irish of Ireland were at defiance with the English, and hostile brought againe into quiet by the earles of Kildare and Desmond. The lord John Darcie by the kings letters patents was (during life) ordeined lord iustice of Ireland, in the fourth yere of king Edward the thirde reigne, which king abused by euill counsell and sinister informers, called in vnder his signet roiall, the franchises, liberties and grants, whatsoeuer had bene deuised, made and ratified to the realme of Ireland, and to euerie each person thereof. This reuoking of liberties was displeasentlie taken. The English of birth and the English of blond falling at words, were diuided into factions about it, for which contention the Irish still waited, so as the realme was enen vpon the point to glue ouer all, and to rebell. For redresse whereof, the lord iustice called a parlement at Dublin, to the which the nobles refused to come, and in quiet wise assembled themselves together at Kilkennie, where they with the commons agreed vpon certaine questions to be demanded of the king by waie of supplication, signifieng in the same partle their grieues. Which questions were in effect as followeth.

- 1 How a realme of warre might be gouerned by one both unskillfull and vnable in all warlike seruice?
 - 2 How an officer vnder the king, that entered herie pore, might in one yere grow to more excesse wealth, than men of great patrimonie and liuelihod in manie yeares?
 - 3 How it chanced, that sith they were all called lords of their owne, that the soueraigne lord of them all was not a penne the richer for them?
- The chiefe of them that thus seemed to repine with the present gouernment, was Thomas Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond, through whose maintenance and beaung out of the matter, the countrie was in great trouble; so as it had not lightlie bene sene, that such contrarietie in minds and disliking had appeared amongst those of the English race, in that realme at anye time before. Wherevnto Kase Wofford was sent ouer lord iustice, who bringing his wife with him, the countesse of Ulster arriued about the thirtieth of Iulie. This man was verie rigorous, and through perswasion (as was said) of his wife, he was more extream and couetous than otherwise he would haue bene, a matter not to be forgotten. For if this ladie had bene as reabie to moue hir husband to haue shewed himselfe gentle

and mild in his gouernement, as she was bent to prick him forward vnto sharpe dealings and rigorous proceedings, she had bene now aswell reposed, as she is infamed by their pens that haue registered the doings of those times. But to the purpose. This Wofford lord iustice, in paine of forfeiture of all his lands, commanded the earle of Desmond to make his personall appearance at a parlement, which he called to be holden at Dublin, there to begin the seventh of June. And because the earle refused to come according to the summons, he raised the kings standard, and with an armie marched into Spounster, and there seized the earles possessions into the kings hands, letting them forth to farme for an annuall rent vnto other persons.

And whilest he yet remained in Spounster, he deuised waies how to haue the earle of Desmond apprehended: which being brought to passe, he afterward deliuered him vpon mainprisse of these suerties whose names insue. William de Burgh earle of Ulster, James Butler earle of Ormond, Richard Lute, Nicholas Weldon, Horice Rochford, Enface le Poloye, Gerald de Rochford, John Fitzrobert Poloye, Robert Barrie, Maurice Fitzgiral, John Wellesteie, Walter le Fant, Richard Kellesteie, Henric Traherne, Roger Poloye, John Lefant, Roger Poloye, Mathew Fitzhenric, Richard Walleis, Edmund Burgh sonne to the earle of Ulster, knights: David Barrie, William Fitzgiral, 30 Foulke de Fraxinus, Robert Fitzmaurice, Henric Fitzberkleie, John Fitzgeorge de Koch, Thomas de Lees de Burgh. These (as ye haue heard) were bound for the earle. And because he made default, the lord iustice verelie took the advantage of the bond against the mainpernours, foure of them onelie excepted, the two earles and two knights.

The lord iustice is charged with strict dealing by writers in this behalfe, for that the same persons had assisted him in his warres against Desmond. But 40 trulie if we shall consider the matter with indifferencie, he did no more than law and reason required. For if euerie suertie vpon forfeiture of his bond should be forfeite, that otherwise doth his duetie, that care would men haue either to procure suerties or to become suerties themselves. But such is the affection of writers, speciallie when they haue conceiued anye mistaking towards those of whom they take occasion to speake, so as manie a worthy man hath bene defamed, and with slander greatlie defaced in things wherein he rather hath deserued singular commendation. But howsoeuer this matter was handled touching the earle of Desmond, vpon the death of the lord iustice, which insued the next yeare, 50 bonifiers were made, and great toy shewed through all the realme of Ireland. His ladie verelie (as should appeare) was but a miserable woman, procuring him to extortion and bribery. Much he abridged the prerogatiues of the church, and was so hated, that euen in the sight of the countrie he was robbed without rescue by Mac Carrie, notwithstanding he gathered power, and dispersed those rebels of Ulster. Robert Darcie was ordeined iustice by the counsell 60 till the kings letters came to sir John Fitzmaurice, who released Fitzthomas earle of Kildare left in durance by Wofford at his death. Fitzmaurice continued not long, but was discharged, and the lord Walter Birmingham elected to succeed in that come, who procured a safe conduct for Desmond to plead his cause before the king, by whom he was liberallie intreated, and allowed towards his expenses there twenty shillings a day at the princes charge. In consideration of which courtisie shewed to his kinsman, the earle of Kildare, accompanied with diuerse lords, knights, and chosen horsemen, serued the king at Calis,

The earle of Desmond.

Suerties for the earle of Desmond.

Wofford earle of Spounster.

Note conceited for the death of the lord iustice Wofford.

1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice John Fitzmaurice iustice L. Birmingham iustice.

1343 Kase Wofford lord iustice.

The countesse of Ulster.

1347
Record. Tur.

1348
The prior of
Kilmains.
Baron Car-
rew iustice.
Sir Tho-
mas Rokel-
bie iustice.
Record. Tur.

1349

John de S.
Paule arch-
bishop of
Dublin.

1350
Kemwiche
Shereman.

Sir Robert
Sauage.

Calis, a towne thought impregnable, & returned af-
ter the winning thereof in great pompe and iollitie.

We find that Thomas Berkeleie, and Reinold
lord Cobham, and sir Horace Berkeleie became
mainpernours for the said earle of Desmond, that
he should come into England, and abide such triall
as the law would award. John Archer prior of Kil-
mainan was substituted lieutenant to the lord ius-
tice. To whom succeeded Baron Carew, and after
Carew followed sir Thomas Rokelbie knight, unto
whom was assigned about his ordinarie retinue of
twentie men of armes, a supplie of ten men of
armes, and twentie archers on horsebacke, so long
as it should be thought needfull. Great mortalitie
chanced this yeare, as in other parts of the world, so
esperciallie in places about the seacoasts of England
and Ireland. In the yeare following departed this
life Alexander Bignoz archbishop of Dublin. And
the same yeare was John de saint Paule consecra-
ted archbishop of that see. This yeare deceased Kem-
wiche Shereman somtime maior of Dublin, a great
benefactor to euerie church and religious house with-
in twentie miles round about the citie. His legacies
to the poore and others, beside his liberalitie shewed
in his life time, amounted to three thousand marks.

In this season dwelled in Ulster a welthie knight
one sir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preferue
his owne, began to wall and fortifie his manor hou-
ses with castels and piles against the Irish enimie,
exhorting his heire Henrie Sauage to applie that
worke so beneficiall for himselfe & his posteritie. Fa-
ther (quoth young Sauage) I remember the prouerbe
Better a castell of bones than of stones. Where
strength & courage of valiant men are prest to helpe
vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) cumber my
selfe with dead walles. App for that shall be where soener
young blouds be stirring, & where I find route to
fight. The father in a fume let lie the building, and for-
swore to go anie further forward in it. But yet the
want thereof and such like hath bene the decate as
well of the Sauages, as of all the English gentle-
men in Ulster: as the lacke also of walled townes
is one of the principall occasions of the rude wild-
nesse in other parts of Ireland.

This Sauage, hauing prepared an armie against
the Irish, allowed to euerie souldier before they
should buckle with the enimie, a mightie draught of
Aqua vite, wine, or old ale, and killed in proportion for
their returne, beefe, venison, and fowls, great plen-
tie: which doings diuers of his captains misliked,
because they considered the successe of warre to be
uncertaine, and therefore esteemed it better policie
to poison the fates, or to doe them awaie, than to
keepe the same; and hapilie to feed a sort of rogues
with such princelie food, if ought should happen to
themselues in this aduenture of so sely against so
manie. Herat smiled the gentleman and said, Tush
ye are too full of enuie: this world is but an inn, to the
which ye haue no speciall interest, but are onelie te-
nants at will of the Lord. If it please him to com-
mand vs from it as it were from our lodging, and
to set other good fellows in our rooms, what hurt
shall it be for vs to leaue them some meat for their
suppers? Let them hardlie win it & weare it. If they
enter our dwellings, good manner would no lesse but
to welcome them with such fare as the countrie breed-
eth, and with all my heart much good may it doe
them. Notwithstanding I presume so far upon your
noble courages, that verelie my mind giueth me we
shall returne at night, & banquet our selues with our
owne fowle. And so did, hauing slain 3000 Irishmen.

In the yeare 1355 deceased Maurice Fitztho-
mas earle of Desmond lord iustice of Ireland, who
had that office of the kings grant for terme of life.

1355
The earle of
Desmond

After him succeeded in that name Thomas de Ke-
kebie, a knight, sincere and bright of conscience,
who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be ser-
ued in trene cups, answered: These homlie cups &
dishes paie trulie for that they containe: I had ra-
ther drinke out of trene cups & paie gold and siluer,
than drinke out of gold & make wooden payment.
This yeare began great variance betwixt Richard
Kafe pimat of Armagh, & foure orders of begging
friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the said
Richard Kafe, and Richard Kilminton, in the yeare
1360: Kafe deceasing in the popes court, and Kil-
minton in England. Almerike de S. Amand, John
or (as other haue) James Butler earle of Desmond,
and Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Bilsbare, were ap-
pointed lord iustices of Ireland by turnes. In De-
monds time, and in the three and twentieth yeare of
king Edward the thirde reigne, order was taken
that the Irish lords should remaine and dwell in
their houses on the marches, to defend the subiects
from inuassions of enimies. And further, proclama-
tion went forth, that no mere Irish bozne should be
made maior, bailiffe, porter, officer, or minister in
anie towne or place within the English dominions:
nor that anie archbishop, abbat, prior, or anie other
being of the kings allegiance, upon forfeiture of all
that he might forfeit, should aduance anie that was
mere Irish bozne to the ronne of a canon, or to haue
anie other ecclesiasticall benefice that laie among
the English subiects.

To Maurice Thomas earle of Bilsbare, when he
was ordeined lord iustice, the kings letters assigned
in yearelie fee for his office 500 pounds, with condi-
tion, that the said gouernour should find twentie
great horses to serue in the field, he himselfe to be
the twentieth man in going against the enimie: which
allowance and conditions in those daies (so farre as
I can gesse) should seeme to be ordinarie to the office.
Lionell duke of Clarence sonne to king Edward
the third, came ouer into Ireland to be lord iustice
there, and was in right of his holie earle of Ulster.
He published an inhibition to all of the Irish birth
not once to approch his armie, nor to be in anie wise
implied in scruiçe of the warre. He banquished De-
ben, but yet sudentlie (no man vnderstanding how)
an hundred of his souldiers were wanting as they
laie in garrison, the losse of whom was thought to be
occasioned by that displeasing decree afore rehear-
sed. Whereupon he toke better aduise, and receiued
the Irish into like fauour, as other lieutenants had
them in before that present, shewing a tender loue
towards them all, and so euier after prospered in his
affaires. He created diuerse knights, as Preston,
now knowne by the name of the familie of Cog-
manston, Holiewood, Talbot, Cusac, de la Hyde,
Patrike, Robert and John de Ferraris: all these
being gentlemen of worthe fame in chivalrie. The
archbishop he removed to Catherlagh, & bestowed in
furnishing that towne five hundred pounds.

In the yeare 1362 John de S. Paule archbishop
of Dublin departed this life the first dayes of Sep-
tember. And in the yeare following was Thomas
Munot consecrated archbishop of that place. Gerald
Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond was appointed lord
iustice, untill the comming of the lord Windsoze, the
first lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the
yeare 1369. This Windsoze called a parlement at
Kilkennie, in the which was granted to the king a
subsidie of three thousand pounds to be leuied of the
people, subiects to the king in that land. And in an
other parlement holden by him at Balidoill they
granted two thousand pounds to be likewise lent-
ed, which said sums were granted of the mere and
fre god wils of the nobles and communalitie of the
land.

lord iustice
deceased.
Thomas de
Kekelbie
killed
iustice
was
suing.

1367
Discession
betwixt the
pimat of
Armagh, &
the foure or-
ders of friers.
The lord
iustice.

Record. Tur.

The earle of
Bilsbare lord
iustice.

Lionell duke
of Clarence.

1368

1367
The lord
windsoze
lieutenant.

1369
Record. Tur.
A parliament.
A subsidie.

land, towards the maintenance of the kings expenses in his warres. Yet the king in the thre and fortieth yeare of his reigne, directing his letters vnto the said lord Windsoz, commanded him to surceale from leuening the foresaid monie, although afterwards he commanded againe that the arreages should be leuied and paid to his lieutenant the said Windsoz.

The third pestilence in Ireland made abwaie a great number of people. In the yeare 1370 the lord Gerald Fitzmoze earle of Desmond, and the lord John Fitzrichard, and the lord John Fitzjohn, and manie other noble men were slaine by Obzen, and Mac Cormack of Thomond in the moneth of Iulie. In the yeare 1372 sir Richard Ashton was sent ouer to be lord iustice in Ireland. In the yeare following great warre was raised betwixt the English of Metch, and Osseroll, in the which manie upon both sides were slaine. In the same yeare John Hulse baron of Caltrim, John Fitzrichard Wyrtke of Metch, and William Dalton were slaine in Kinalagh. In the yeare 1375 Thomas archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert de Wikeford consecrated archbishop there.

Richard the second.

Edmond Mortimer earle of March & Ulster was made the kings lieutenant in Ireland. In the yeare 1383 a great mortalitie reigned in that countrie. This was called the fourth pestilence. In the yeare 1385 Dublin bridge fell. Beside Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Campion affirmeth, that in this Richard the seconds daies, there are iustices and lieutenants of Ireland speciallie recorded; Roger Mortimer sonne to the said Edmund, Philip Courtneie the kings cousin, James earle of Desmond, and Robert Here earle of Orford, marquisse of Dublin lord chamberleine, who was also created duke of Ireland by parlement, and was credited with the whole dominion of the realme by grant for tearme of life, without paying any thing therefore, passing all writs, and placing all officers, as chancelor, treasurer, chiefe iustice, admerall, his owne lieutenant, and other inferior charges vnder his owne Teste. In the yeare 1390, Robert de Wikeford archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert Waldebie translated vnto the archbishop of Dublin an Augustine frier.

In the yeare 1394, king Richard fore afflicted and troubled in mind with sorow for the decease of his wife queene Anne, that departed this life at Whitsuntide last past, not able without teares to behold his palaces and chambers of estate, that represented vnto him the solace past, & doubled his sorow, sought some occasion of businesse: and now about Michaelmas passed ouer into Ireland, where diuerse lords and princes of Ulster renewed their homages, & placing Roger Mortimer erle of March his lieutenant, returned about Shrovetide. In the yeare 1397, Richard de Pooshalis archbishop of Dublin departed this life, that was the same yeare from another les removed thither: he was a frier of the order of the Carmelites.

The same yeare Thomas de Craulie was chosen and consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Also sir Thomas de Burgh, and sir Walter de Birmingham, sue sir hundred Irishmen, with their capteine Macdovne. Moreover, Edmund earle of March lord deputy of Ireland, with the aid of the erle of Desmond, wasted the countrie of an Irish lord called Obzen, and at the winning of his chiefe house he made se-

uen knights, to wit, sir Christopher Preston, sir John Bedlow, sir Edmund Londones, sir John Londones, sir William Pagent, Walter de la Hyde, and Robert Cabell. But after this it chanced, that on the Ascension daie, certeine Irishmen sue fortye Englishmen: and among them these were accounted as principall, John Fitzwilliams, Thomas Talbot, and Thomas Cambrie. But shortly after Roger Mortimer earle of March and Ulster the kings lieutenant was slaine, with diuerse other, by Obzen and other Irishmen of Leinster at Kenlis. Then was Roger Greie elected Lord iustice of Ireland.

The same yeare on the feast daie of saint Marke the pope, the duke of Surreie landed in Ireland, and with him came sir Thomas Craulie the archbishop of Dublin. King Richard informed of the unrulie parts and rebellious sturres of the Irishmen, minded to appease the same, and speciallie to reuenge the death of the earle of March: whereupon with a nauie of two hundred sail he passed ouer into Ireland, and landed at Waterford on a fundaie, being the morrow after saint Petronilla the virgins day. The fridaie after his arrivall at Ford in Kenlis within the towne of Kilbare, there were slaine two hundred Irishmen by Jenich de Artois a Gascoigne, and such Englishmen as he had with him: and the morrow after, the cittizens of Dublin brake into the countrie of Obzen, sue thirtye & thre of the enimies, and toke fourescore men with childzen.

The fourth kalends of Iulie, king Richard came to Dublin, and remained there for a time; during the which diuerse lords and princes of the countrie came in and submitted themselves vnto him, by whome they were courteously used, and trained to honourable demeanour and ciuilitie, as much as the shortnes of time would permit, as in the English historie you maie find set forth more at large. Whilest king Richard thus laie in Dublin to reduce Ireland into due subiection, he was aduertised that Henrie duke of Lancaster, that latelie before had bene banished, was returned, & ment to bereaue him of the crowne. The sonne of which duke, together with the duke of Glocesters sonne, the king shut vp within the castell of Trim, and then taking the seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he found his defense so weake, and vnure, that finalie he came into his aduersaries hands, and was deposed by authoritie of parlement, and then was the said duke of Lancaster admitted to reigne in his place.

Henrie the fourth.



At Whitsuntide in the yeare 1400, which was the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the fourth, the constable of Dublin castell, and diuerse other at Stanford in Ulster, fought by sea with Scots, where manie Englishmen were slaine and browened. In the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, sir John Stanleie the kings lieutenant in Ireland returned into England, leaving his vnder lieutenant there sir William Stanleie. The same yeare on Bartholomew euen, sir Stephan Scrope, deputie vnto the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings brother, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived there to supplie the roome of Alexander bishop of Metch, that exercised the same office vnder the said lord Thomas of Lancaster, before the comming of this sir Stephan Scrope; which sir Stephan for his violence and extortion before time used in the same office vnder king Richard, was sore cried out vpon by the voices of the

Roger Greie
lord iustice of
Ireland.

King Richard
possesseth the se-
cond time ou-
er into Ire-
land.

The king
cometh to
Dublin.

See more
hereof in
England.

1400

1401
Sir John
Stanleie
lieutenant.

Sir Stephā
Scrope.

poore people, inſomuch that the ladie his wiſe hearing of ſuch exclamations, would in no wiſe continue with him there, except he would receiue a ſolemne oath on the bible, that twittinglie he ſhould wrong no chriſtian creature in that land, but dutie and trulie he ſhould ſee paiement made for all expenſes: and hereof (ſhe ſaid) he had made a vow to Chriſt ſo determinatlie, that unleſſe it were on his part ſirnelie promiſed, he could not without perill of ſoule go with him. His husband aſſented and accompliſhed his request effectualle, recovered a good opinion for his upright dealing, reformed his caters & purueors, enriched the countrie, mainteined a plentifull houſe, remiſſion of great offences, remedies for perſons indangered to the prince, pardons of lands and liues he granted ſo charitable and ſo diſcreetlie, that his name was neuer recited among them without manie bleſſings and prayers, and ſo cheerefullie they were readie to ſerue him againſt the Iriſh vpon all neceſſarie occaſions. The lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived the ſame yeare at Dublin, vpon ſaint Wices daie.

The Iriſh ſo
northwone
by the maior
of Dublin.

The maior of Dublin John Drake, with a band of his citizens nere to ſixe, ſue foure thouſand of the Iriſh outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Chriſts church) but Marlborough ſpeaketh onelie of 493, and theſe being all men of warre. The verie ſame daie that this victorie was achieved, to wit, the eleuenth day of Iulie, the church of the friers prechers of Dublin was dedicated by the archbiſhop of that citie. The ſame yeare in September, a parlement was holden at Dublin, during the which in Argile ſir Bartholomew Gerdon knight, James White, Stephan Gernon, and other their complices, ſue the ſhiriffe of Louth John Dowdall. In the yere 1403, in Maie, ſir Walter Betterleie ſeward of Wiſter, a right valiant knight was ſlaine, and to the number of thirtie other with him. The ſame yeare about the feaſt of ſaint Martin, the lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne returned into England leauing the lord Stephan Scrope his deputie there: who alſo in the beginning of Lent ſailed ouer into England, and then the lords of the land choſe the earle of Ormond to be lord iuſtice.

1403

Stephan
Scrope,
the earle of
Ormond lord
iuſtice.

1404
The archbiſhop of
Armagh de-
cealed.

1405

The citizens
of Dublin in-
uade Scot-
land,
they inuade
Welſes.

The earle of
Ormond de-
cealed.

In the ſixt yere of Henrie the fourth, John Colton archbiſhop of Armagh the ſeuene & twentieth of Aprill departed this life, vnto whom Nicholas Stoning ſucceeded. The ſame yeare on the daie of ſaint Vitale the martyr, the parlement of Dublin began before the earle of Ormond then lord iuſtice of Ireland, where the ſtatutes of Kilkenie and Dublin were confirmed, and likewiſe the charter of Ireland. In the firſt yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the moneth of Maie, thre Scottiſh barks were taken, two at Green caſtell, and one at Alkie, with captaine Macgolagh. The ſame yeare the merchants of Bzodagh entered Scotland, and toke preies and pledges. Alſo on the euen of the feaſt day of the ſeuene brethren, Wghard was burnt by the Iriſh. And in Iune ſir Stephan Scrope that was come againe into Ireland, returned eſſionies into England, leauing the earle of Ormond lord iuſtice of Ireland. About the ſame time they of Dublin entered Scotland at ſaint Johnian, and valiantlie behaved themſelues againſt the enemies, and after croſſing the ſeas, directed their come into Wales, and did much hurt to the Welſh men, bringing from thence the thirne of ſaint Cubins, & placed it in the church of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler earle of Ormond died at Ballygam, whileſt he was lord iuſtice, vnto whom ſucceeded Gerald earle of Kildare.

In the ſeuenth yeare of king Henrie on Corpus Chriſti day, the citizens of Dublin with the countrie

people about them, manfullie banquiſhed the Iriſh enemies, and ſue diuerſe of them, and toke two enſignes or ſtandards, bringing with them to Dublin the heads of thoſe whom they had ſlaine. The ſame yeare the prior of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfullie with the Iriſh, & banquiſhed two hundred that were well armed, ſlaing part of them, and chaſing the reſidue out of the field, and the prior had not with him paſt the number of twentie Engliſhmen; but God (as ſaith mine author) aſſiſted thoſe that put their truſt in him. The ſame yeare after Michaelmas, Stephan Scrope deputie iuſtice to the lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Ireland. And in the feaſt of ſaint Illarie was a parlement holden at Dublin, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Heiler de Birmingham ſue Cathole Deconbur about the end of February. In the yere 1407, a certeine ſalle and heatenlyly wretch an Iriſh man, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmore, that had cauſed fortye churches to be deſtroied, as he that was neuer chriſtened, and therefore called Coybi, chanced to take priſoner one Patrike Savage, and receiued for his ransome two thouſand markes, though afterwards he ſue him, together with his brother Richard.

Hen. Maſh.

A parlement
at Dublin.

1407

Coybi was a
ſignificat.

The ſame yeare in the feaſt of the exaltation of the croſſe, Stephan Scrope deputie to the lord Thomas of Lancaſter, with the earles of Ormond and Desmond, and the prior of Kilmalmain, and diuerſe other captains and men of warre of Meath, ſet from Dublin, and inuaded the land of Mac Murthy, where the Iriſh came into the field and ſkirmiſhed with them, ſo as in the former part of the daie they put the Engliſh powder to the worſe; but at length the Iriſh were banquiſhed and chaſed, ſo that Molan with his ſon and diuerſe others were taken priſoners. But the Engliſh captains aduertised here, that the Burkens and Okeroll in the countie of Kilkenie, had for the ſpace of two daies together done much miſchief, they rode with all ſpeed vnto the towne of Callan, and there encountering with the aduerſaries, manfullie put them to flight, ſue Okeroll, and eight hundred others. There went a tale, and belied of manie, that the ſunne ſtood ſtill for a ſpace that daie, till the Engliſhmen had ridden ſix miles: ſo much was it thought that God fauoured the Engliſh part in this enterpriſe, if we ſhall beleue it.

Okeroll
ſlaine.

The ſame yeare the lord Stephan Scrope paſſed once againe ouer into England, and James Butler earle of Ormond was elected by the countrie lord iuſtice of Ireland. In the daies of this Henrie the fourth, the inhabitants of Corke being ſore afflicted with perpetuall oppreſſions of their Iriſh neighbors, complained themſelues in a generall writing directed to the lord Rutland and Corke, the kings deputie there, and to the counsell of the realme then aſſembled at Dublin: which letter becauſe it openeth a window to behold the ſtate of thoſe parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in thoſe daies, we haue thought good to ſet downe here, as it hath bene entered by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard eſquire, one of the queenes maiesties priue counsell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke out of an old
record that beareth no date.

IT may pleaſe your wiſedomes to haue pittie on vs the kings poore ſubieas within the countie of Corke, or elſe we are caſt awaie for euer. For where there are in this countie theſe lords by name, beſide knights,

knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, to a great number that might dispend yearelie eight hundred pounds, sixe hundred pounds, foure hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, one hundred pounds, an hundred markes, twentie markes, twentie pounds, ten pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great numbers, besides these lordes. First the lord marques Caro, his yearelie reuenues was beside Dooletie haueu and other crækes, two thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barneuale of Berghauen, his yearelie reuenue was beside Bodre haueu and other crækes, one thousand six hundred pounds sterling. The lord Wogan of the great castell, his yearelie reuenue beside his haueus and crækes, thirtene thousand pounds. The lord Walaran of Enfozt, his yearelie reuenue beside haueus and crækes, one thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The lord Curcie of Kelbzetton, his yearelie reuenue beside haueus and crækes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Pandewille of Warentellie, his yearelie reuenue beside haueus and crækes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Arundell of the Strand, his yearelie reuenue beside haueus and crækes, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barod of the gard, his yearelie reuenues beside haueus & crækes one thousand one hundred pounds sterling. The lord Steineie of Baltmore, his yearelie reuenue beside haueus and crækes, eight hundred pounds sterling. The lord Koch of Pole castell, his yearelie reuenues besides haueus and crækes, ten thousand pounds sterling. The kings maiestie hath the lands of the late young Barrie by forfeiture, the yearelie reuenue whereof, besides two riuers and crækes, and all other casualties, is one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling.

And that at the end of this parlement, your lordship, with the kings most noble counsell may come to Corke, & call before you all these lordes, and other Irishmen, and bind them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that neuer one of them do make warre vpon an other, without licence or commandement of you my lord deputie, and the kings counsell; for the bitter destruction of these parts is that onelie cause. And once all the Irishmen, and the kings enemies were diuinen into a great ballie called Clane onight, betwixt two great mounteines called Sparrozt, or the leppous Iland: and there they liued long and manie yeares with their white meat, till at the last these English lordes fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part toke certeine Irishmen to take their part, and so banquished their enemies. And thus fell the English lordes at warre among themselves, till the Irishmen were stronger than they, and drave them awaie, and now haue the countrie whole vnder them; but that the lord Koch, the lord Barrie, and the lord Curcie onelie remaine with the least part of their ancestors possessions: and young Barrie is there vpon the kings position, paieng his grace neuer a pennie rent. Therefore we the kings poore subjects of the citie of Corke, Kinsale, and Poghball, desire your lordship to send hither two good iudices to see this matter ordered, and some English captains with twentie Englishmen that may be captains ouer vs all: and we will rise with them to rebesse these enormities all at our owne costs. And if you will not come nor send, we will send ouer to our liege lord the king, and complaine on you all. Thus far that letter.

And as saith Campion, at this date the citie of Corke is so incombred with vnquiet neighbors of great power, that they are forced to gard their gates continually, & to keepe them shut at seruice times,

at meales, and from sun setting to sun rising, not suffering anie stranger to enter the towne with his weapon, but to leaue the same at a lodge appointed. They dare vnneth at anie time walke abroad far from the towne for their recreation, except at feasons; and then with strength of men furnished with armor and weapon for their safegard. They match in twelocke among themselves, so that welnære the whole citie is alied and ioined together in consanguinitie. But now to returne vnto the doings of the earle of Dymond that was placed lord iustice in Scropes roome. We do find that in the yeare 1408 he called a parlement at Dublin, in which the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were effigies renewed, and certeine ordinances established vnder the great seale of England against peruelors. The same yeare, the moztow after Lammas daie, the lord Thomas of Lancaster sonne to king Henrie the fourth, lord lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Carlingford, and in the weeke following he came vnto Dublin, and put the earle of Bildeare vnder arrest, committing to him with thre of his familie. He lost all his goods, being spoiled & rifled by the lord lieutenant his seruants, & himselfe kept still in prison in the castell of Dublin, till he had paid 300 marks fine.

On the daie of saint Marcell the martyr deceased the lord Stephan Scrope at Trilfeldermot. The same yeare also was the lord Thomas of Lancaster at Kilmalman wounded (I know not how) and vnneth escaped with life, and after caused summons to be given by proclamation, that all such as ought by their tenures to serue the king, should assemble at Koffe. And after the feast of saint Yllarie, he held a parlement at Kilkennie for a tallage to be granted. And after the thirtenth of March, he returned into England, leauing the prioz of Kilmalman for his deputie in Ireland. This yeare also Hugh Macgillmore was slaine in Cragsfergus with in the church of the friers minors, which church he had before destroyed, and broken downe the glasse windowes to haue the iron bars, thorough which his enemies the Savages entred vpon him. This yeare being in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in June, Janico de Artois with the Englishmen slue foure score of the Irish in Ulster. This yeare king Henrie gaue the sword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was first gouerned (as appeareth by their ancient seale called *signum praposture*) by a priozost: and in the thirtenth of Henrie the thirde by a maioz and two bailifes, which were changed into shiriffes by charter granted by Edward the first, 1547.

This maiozalitie, both for state and charge of office, and for bountifull hospitalitie, excedeth anie citie in England, London excepted. In the yeare following, the one and twentieth daie of Maie, a parlement began at Dublin, which lasted thre weekes, the prioz of Kilmalman sitting as lord iustice. The same yeare, the two and twentieth of June, the same iustice toke the castels of Mithyclide, Mferon, and de la Mare. Ireland this yeare was sore afflicted for want of corne. The lord iustice entred into the land of Dizen with 1500 Bernes, of which number eight hundred reuolted to the Irish, so that if the power of Dublin had not bene there, it had gon enill with the lord iustice: and yet he escaped not without losse, for John Derpatricke was slaine there. In the yeare 1411, marriages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Ireland. William Preston married the daughter of Edward Paris, and John Wogan married with the eldest daughter of Christopher Preston; and Walter de la Hyde with the second daughter of the same Christopher. In the yeare 1412, about the feast of S. Ibertinus and Valerianus, which fallith on the tenth of Aprill, Donthir did much mischief.

1408
A parlement
at Dublin.

The lord
Thomas of
Lancaster
commeth ouer
into Ireland.

The lord
Scrope de-
ceased.

The lord
Thomas res-
turneth into
England.

1409
James de
Artois.
The sword
given to the
citie of Dub-
lin.
Bailiffes
changed into
shiriffes.

1410

A iourne
made by the
lord iustice.

1411
Marriages.

1412
Donthir.

I think the
first Gramme
castell.

The citie of
Corke.

The bishop of
Meth deceased.
The death of
king Henrie
the fourth.

chiefe in Meth, and toke 160 Englishmen. The same yeare Dooles a knight, and Thomas Fitzmorice fought together, and either slue other. The four & twentieth of Maie, Robert Spountaine bishop of Meth departed this life, to whome succeeded Edward de Audleise sometime archdeacon of Connaught. This yeare on saint Cuthberts daie king Henrie the fourth departed this life.

Henrie the fift.

1413.
John Stantleie the kings
lieutenant in
Ireland.

Thomas
Crawleie
archbishop of
Dublin.

A parliament.

1414

Englishmen
slaine.

John lord
Talbot of
Sherfield.

1415
Robert Talbot
deceased.

1416
The archbis-
hop of Ar-
magh decea-
sed.

The parlie-
ment remo-
ued to Trim.

A subsidie.
1417

In the first yeare of this king, the five and twentieth of September, landed in Ireland at Clatwarske, John Stantleie the kings lieutenant of that land. He departed this life the 18 of Januarie next ensuing at Athird, in Latine called *Atrium Dei*. After his decease, Thomas Crawleie archbishop of Dublin was chosen lord iustice of Ireland. Janico de Artots led forth a power against Maginors, a great lord of Ireland, but nere to a place called Inor manie Englishmen were slaine. The morrow after saint Mattheus daie, a parliament began againe at Dublin, which continued for the space of fiftene daies, in which meane time the Irish did much hurt by inuasions made into the English pale, and burning up all the houses afore them that stood in their waie, as their vsuall custome was in times of other parlements: whereupon a tallage was demanded, but not granted. In the yeare 1414, the Englishmen fought with the Irish nere to Kilka, and slue an hundred of the enemies, whilst the archbishop being lord iustice in Trilfeldermot, went in procession with his cleargie; praying for the good speed of his men and other of the countrie that were gone forth to fight with the aduersaries. In the feast of saint Gordian and Epimachus, to wit the tenth of Maie, were the English of Meth discomfited by Deonithir and his Irish, where they slue Thomas Spauruar baron of Serin; and there were taken prisoners Christopher Fleming, John Dardis, and diuerse others, beside manie that were slaine.

On saint Martins euen sir John Talbot of Holmshire, lord Furnuall landed at Dalkeie, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, a man of great honor. In the peere one thousand foure hundred and fiftene in Nouember, Robert Talbot, a right noble man that walled the suburbs of Kilkennie, departed this life. Also Patrike Waret bishop of Fernis deceased, and was buried among the canons at Kienlis. This yeare on the feast daie of Cersusius and Protasius which falleth on the nineteenth of June, the lord lieutenants wife the ladie Furnuall was brought to bed at Finglasse of a sonne named Thomas. About the same time also Stephan Fleming archbishop of Armagh departed this life, after whome succeeded John Suanig. On the daie of saint Laurence the lord Furnualls sonne Thomas Talbot that was borne at Finglasse in Nouember last past, departed this life, and was buried in the quere of the friers preachers church in Dublin. About the same time the Irish fell upon the Englishmen, and slue manie of them, among other Thomas Balimore of Baliquelan was one. The parlement which the last yeare had bene called and holden at Dublin, was this yeare removed to Trim, & there began the eleuenth of Maie, where it continued for the space of cleuen daies, in the which was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie.

In the yeare following, the archbishop of Du-

blin passed ouer into England, and deceased at Faringdon, but his bodie was buried in the new college at Oxford. This man is greatlie praised for his liberalitie, he was a good almesman, a great clerke, a doctor of diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great builder, beautifull, tall of stature, and sanguine of complexion. He was foure score and ten yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the church of Dublin in good quiet by the space of twentie yeares. This yeare shortly after Easter, the lord deputie spoiled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Bothat. Also at Diane on the feast daie of saint John and saint Paule, the erls of Balbare, sir Christopher Preston, and sir John Wedlow were arrested and committed to ward within the castell of Trim, because they sought to commune with the priors of Kilmannan.

The nine and twentieth of June Mattheu Pufete baron of Caltrim deceased, & was buried at the friers preachers of Trim. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred & nineteene a roiall councell was holden at Jaas, where was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie. The same yeare upon Conethurdaie Dithpell toke foure hundred kine that belonged vnto Balimore, to breaking the peace contrarie to his oth. The fourth ides of Maie, Mac Murch chiefe captaine of his nation, and of all the Irish in Leinster was taken prisoner, and the same daie was sir Hugh Cokeseie made knight. The last of Maie the lord lieutenant, and the archbishop of Dublin with the masor raised the castell of Beninie. The morrow after the feast daie of Processus and Martinianus, that is the twentieth of June, the lord William de Burgh and other Englishmen slue five hundred Irishmen, & toke Delleie. On the feast daie of Marie Magdalen the lord lieutenant Talbot returned into England, leaving his deputie there the archbishop of Dublin. This yeare about saint Laurence daie, diuerse went forth of Ireland to serue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was prior of Kilmannan, and manie others. John Fitzhenrie succeeded the said Butler in gouernment of the priorie of Kilmannan. The archbishop of Dublin that remained as lord deputie slue thirtie Irishmen nere vnto Kildisken. Also the thirtenth of Februarie John Fitzhenrie prior of Kilmannan departed this life, and William Fitzthomas was chosen to succeed in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after saint Valentines daie.

James Butler earle of Ormond appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland, in place of John lord Talbot and Furnuall, landed at Waterford about the fourth ides of Aprill: and shortly after his comming ouer, he caused a combat to be fought betwixt two of his cousins, of whom the one was slaine in that place, and the other carried awaie sore wounded. On saint Georges daie, he held a councell in Dublin, & summoned a parlement to begin there the seventh of June. In the meane while he fetcht great booties out of the countreies of the Irish lords, Diale, Mac Mahon, and Maginors. But first per we go further to shew what Marlborrow hath noted of the doings, whilst this earle of Ormond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Ireland, we haue thought good to set downe what Campion also writeth thereof, as thus.

In the red more of Athie (the sunne almost lodged in the west, and miraculouly standing still in his epicycle by the space of thre houres, till the feat was accomplished, and no hole nor quakentire in all that bog annoyng either horse or man of his party) he vanquished Ormond and his terrible armie with a few of his owne meinie, and with the like number

The archbis-
hop of Du-
blin deceased.
The priors
of Kilmannan
deceased.

1411

1415
A councell
parlement
holden.

Mac Murch
taken pri-
sor.

Delleie
slaine.

The priors
of Kilmannan
sent to ser-
ue the king in
France.

1410
James Butler
prior of Kilmannan
deceased.

A parlement
summoned.

James Yong
an author so
lengthy by
Campion.
The same
day this
councell

The Chronicles of Ireland.

he overcame Arthur Mac Morogh, at whose might & puissance all Leinster trembled. To the instruction of this mans worthinesse, the compiler of certeine precepts touching the rule of a common wealth exreth his lord the said earle in diuerse places of that worke incidentlie, exsions putting him in mind that the Irish are false by kind, that it were expedient, and a worke of charitie to execute vpon them willfall and malicious transgressors the kings lawes somewhat sharplie, that Dempsie being winked at a while, abused that small time of sufferance to the inturie of the earle of Kildare, intruding vntillie vpon the castell of Leis, from whence the said deputie had till he expelled him, and put the earle in possession thereof, that notwithstanding their othe and pledges, they are yet no longer true than they feele themselves the weaker. This deputie tamed the Bzens, the Burghs, Mac Barons, Oghaghucaght, Mozis Mac Mahun, all the capteins of Desmond: & all this he did in three months; the clergie twisse euerie weke in solemne procession passing for his good succes against those disordered persons, which now in euery part of Ireland degenerated from the English ciuilitie, to their old trade of life vsed in that countrie, repined at the English maner of gouernment. So far Campion.]

Diuerse parlements vpon prorogations were holden in time that this earle of Desmond was gouernor. The first began at Dublin the seauenth of June in this yeare one thousand foure hundred and twentie, which continued about sixteen daies. At this parliament was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidy of seauen hundred marks. At the firste daies end this parliament was adioyned till the mondaie after saint Andrews daie. In the same parliament the debts of the lord John Talbot, which were due to certeine persons for vittels and other things, taken by whilst he was lord lieutenant there, were reckoned vpon, which lord Talbot verelie, for that he saw not the creditors satisfied before his comming awaie, was partlie euill spoken of in the countrie. The morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, the castell of Colmolin was taken by Thomas Fitzgiralde. And on saint Katharins euen, the sonne and heire of the earle of Desmond lord lieutenant was borne, for the which there was great reioysing. In the parliament begun againe at Dublin the mondaie after saint Andrews daie, another subsidy of three hundred marks was granted vnto the lord lieutenant. And after they had sat thirtene daies, it was exsions adioyned vntill the mondaie after saint Ambrose daie. When rumors were spread abroad, that Thomas Fitzgiralde earle of Desmond was departed this life at Paris vpon saint Laurence daie, after whose succeded his uncle James Fitzgiralde, whome he had three severall times renounced, as one that was a wasor of his patrimonie both in England and Ireland, and not like to come to anie good prize.

In the yeare one thousand foure hundred twentie and one; the parliament began againe vpon the last prorogation, the mondaie after saint Ambrose daie: in which parliament it was ordeined that certeine persons should be sent to the king, to sue that a reformation might be had in matters touching the state of the land. The cheefe of those that were thus sent, were the archbishop of Armagh, and sir Christopher Peterson knight. Whereouer Richard Whelan bishop of Cashill was accused by John Wese bishop of Lismore and Waterford, who laid thre articles vnto his charge. Amongst other, one was for that he bestowed none of the English nation, and that he bestowed not one benefice vpon anie Englishman, and counselled other bishops that they should not bestow anie within their diocesse vpon anie Englishman. Whereouer, another article was for connec-

ting the kings seale. And another, for that he took about to make himselfe king of Shouster, and had taken a ring from the image of saint Patrike, which the earle of Desmond had offered; and given it to his lemmann. Many other crimes were laid to him by the said bishop of Lismore and Waterford, which he exhibited in writing. Also in the same parliament there rose contention betwixt Adam Paine bishop of Clone, and another prelat, whose church he would haue annexed vnto his se. At length, after the parliament had continued for the space of eightene daies, it brake vp. Herewith came news of the slaughter of the lord Thomas of Lancaster duke of Clarence, that had bene lord lieutenant of Ireland. And vpon the seuenth of Maie certeine of the erle of Desmonds men were overthrowen by the Irish, nere to the abbeye of Leis, and seuen and twentie Englishmen were slaine there: of whom the cheefe were two gentlemen, the one named Purcell, & the other Grant. Also ten were taken prisoners, and two hundred escaped to the foresaid abbeye, so saving themselves. About the same time Mac Mahun an Irish lord did much hurt within the countrie of Argile, by burning & waisting all afoze him. Also vpon the morrow after Midsummer daie, the earle of Desmond lord lieutenant entred into the countrie about Leis vpon Desmond, and for the space of foure daies together did much hurt, in slaying and spoiling the people, till the Irish were glad to sue for peace.

Henrie the sixt.

Lieutenants to Henrie the first ouer the reline of Ireland were these, Edmund earle of March, and James earle of Desmond his deputie; John Sutton lord Dubleie, and sir Thomas Strange knight his deputie; sir Thomas Stanleie, and sir Christopher Blunhet his deputie. This sir Thomas Stanleie on Michaelmasse daie, in the twelue yeare of king Henrie the first, with all the knights of Meth & Irell, fought against the Irish, slue a great number, & toke Peill Doonell prisoner.]

Lion lord Wells, and the earle of Desmond his deputie. James earle of Desmond by himselfe, John earle of Shrewesburie, and the archbishop of Dublin lord iustice in his absence. Richard Plantagenet duke of York, father to king Edward the fourth & earle of Ulster, had the office of lieutenant by the kings letters patents during the terme of tenne yeares, who appointed to rule vnder him as his deputies at sundrie times the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzesface knight, James earle of Desmond, and Thomas Fitzmorice earle of Kildare. To this Richard duke of York and Ulster then resident in Dublin, was borne within the castell there his second sonne the lord George that was after duke of Clarence. His godfathers at the fontstone were the earles of Desmond and Desmond. Whether the commotion of Jacke Cade an Irishman borne, naming himselfe Mortimer, and so pretending counsaige to diuerse noble houses in this land, proceeded from some intelligence with the dukes friends here in Ireland, it is vncertaine: but surelie the duke was vehementlie suspected, and immediatlie after began the troubles, which through him were raised: Which boiles being couched for a time, the duke held himselfe in Ireland, being latelie by parliament ordeined protector of the realme of England: he left his agent in the court, his brother the earle of Salisbury, lord chamberlor, to whom he declared the truth of the troubles.

The duke of Clarence slaine in France.

Mac Mahun

Here endeth Marlbrow, and all that followeth is taken out of Campion.

Campion out of the records of Christs church. George duke of Clarence borne at Dublin. Jacke Cade.

1420
The parliament begun.

Castell of Colmolin.
The earle of Desmond taken there.

1441
The parliament.

The bishop of Cashill accused.

bles then toward in Ireland: which letter exemplified by Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, a great searcher and preseruer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by him set downe we haue thought good likewise to present it here to your view.

To the right worshipfull, and with all
mine heart entierlie beloued brother,
the earle of Salisburie.

The copie of
a letter,

Right worshipfull, & with all my hart, entierlie beloued brother, I recommend me vnto you as heartlie as I can. And like it you to wit, sith I wrote last vnto the king our soueraigne lord his highnesse, the Irish entrie, that is to saie Magogbigam, and with him thre or foure Irish capteins, associat with a great fellowship of English rebels, notwithstanding that they were within the king our soueraigne lord his peace, of great malice, and against all truth haue maligned against their legiance, and vengeable haue bzent a great towne of mine inheritance in Metch, called Kamoze, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and bzent both men, women, and children, withouten mercie: the which enemies be yet assembled in woods and forts, atwaighing to do the hurt and greuaunce to the kings subiects, that they can thinke or imagine. For which cause I write at this time vnto the kings highnesse, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according vnto his letters of warrant now late directed vnto the treasurer of England, to the intent I may wage men in sufficient number for to resist the malice of the same enemies, & punish them in such wise, that other which would do the same for lacke of resistance, in time maie take example. For doubtlesse, but if my payment be had in all hast, for to haue men of warre in defense and safegard of this land; my power can not stretch to keepe it in the kings obedi- fance: and verie necessitie will compell me to come into England to liue there vpon my poore liuelihod. For I had leauer be dead than anie inconuenience should fall ther vnto by my default: for it shall neuer be chronicled nor remaine in scripture (by the grace of God) that Ireland was lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you right worshipfull brother, that you will hold to your hands instantlie, that my payment maie be had at this time in escheating all inconueniences. For I haue example in other places (more pittie it is) for to dread shame, and for to acquit my troth vnto the kings highnesse, as my dutie is. And this I praye and exhort you good brother, to shew vnto his good grace, and that you will be so good, that this language maie be inacted at this present parliament for mine excuse in time to come, and that you will be good to my seruant Roger Ro the bearer of these, and to my other seruants, in such things as they shall pursue vnto the kings highnesse, and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of the said Roger, touching the said matters. Right worshipfull, and with all my heart entierlie beloued brother, our blessed Lord God preserue and keepe you in all honour, prosperous estate, and felicitie, & grant you right god life and long. Written at Dublin the fiftenth daie of June.

Your faithfull true brother
Richard Yorke.

Magogbigam his
power,

Of such power was Magogbigam in those daies, who as he wan and kept it by the sword, so now his successors in that state liue but as meane capteins, yielding their winnings to the stronger. This is the miserie of lawlesse people, resembling the rudenesse of the rude world, wherein euerie man was richer

and power than other, as he was in might and boldnesse more or lesse enabled. Here began factions of the nobilitie in Ireland, fauouring diuerse sides that stroue for the crowne of England. For the duke of Forke, in those ten yeares of his gouernement, exceedinglie wan the hearts of the noblemen and gentlemen of that land, of the which diuerse were flaine with him at Wakefield; as the contrarie part was the next yeare by his sonne Edward earle of March at Mortimers crosse in Wales. In which meane time the Irish grew hardie, & vsurped the English countreies in sufficientlie defended, as they had done by like oportunitie in the latter end of Richard the second. These two seasons set them so afloat, that henceforward they could neuer be cast out from their forcible possessions, holding by plaine wrong all Ulster, and by certaine Irish tenures no small portions of Conunster and Connaght, least in Metch and Leinster, where the ciuill fabries of the English blood did euer most preuaile.

Edward the fourth and Edward
the fift.

Thomas Fitzmoyse earle of Kildare, lord iustice till the third yeare of Edward the fourth, after which time the duke of Clarence, brother to the king, had the office of lieutenant while he liued, & made his deputies by sundry turnes, Thomas earle of Desmond, John Tiptoft earle of Worcester the kings cousin, Thomas earle of Kildare, and Henrie lord Greie of Rushin. Great was the credit of the Fitzmoyse euer when the house of Forke prospered, and likewise the Butlers which ued under the blood of the Lancasters: for which cause the earle of Desmond remained manie yeres deputie to George duke of Clarence his good brother: but when he had spoken certaine disdainfull words against the late marriage of king Edward with the ladie Elizabeth Greie, the said ladie being now queene, caused his trade of life after the Irish manner, contrarie to sundry old statutes inacted in that behalfe, to be sifted and examined by John earle of Worcester his successor, so that he was atteinted of treason, condemned, and for the same beheaded at Droghedagh.

James the father of this Thomas earle of Desmond, being suffered and not controlled, during the gouernment of Richard duke of Forke his godfather, and of Thomas earle of Kildare his kinsman, put vpon the kings subiects within the countreies of Waterford, Corke, Berrie, and Lincolne, the Irish impositions of quinnio and linerte, cartings, carriages, lodgings, cocherings, bonnaght, and such like, which customs are the verie breeders, maintainers, and byholders of all Irish enormities, bringing from the poore tenants euertlasting lesse, allowance of meat and monie, whereby their bodies and goods were brought in seruitude and thraldome, so that the men of warre, horse, and their Gallagallies lie still vpon the farmers, and the mount, begger the contrarie, foster a sort of idle vagabonds, ready to rebell if their lord command them, euer noyled in stealth and robberies.

These euill precedents giuen by the father, the son did exercise, being lord deputie, to whome the reformation of that disorder speciallie belonged. Notwithstanding the same fault being winked at in other, and with such righteasing in him, was manifestly taken for a quarrell fought and procured. Two yeares after, the said earle of Worcester

Lieutenant
and deputie
in king
Edward the
fourth
daies.

The
Butlers.

The earle
of Worcester.
1447

Campion
of Sherrin
in his
collations.

Irish
imposi-
tions.

lost his head, whilſt Henrie the ſir taken out of the tower was ſet vp againe, and king Edward proclaimed ſurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewiſe atteinted, they thought alſo to haue rid, and ſhortlie both the earles of Kildare & Deſmond were reſtozed to their blond by parlement. Sir Rowland Cuſſace, ſometime treaſuroꝝ and loꝝd chancelloꝝ, was laſtlie alſo loꝝd deputie of Ireland. He founded ſaint Francis abbey beſide Kilcollen bidge. King Edward a yere befoꝝe his death honozed his yong-
er ſonne (Richard duke of Yorke) with the title of lieutenant ouer this land, which he ſhould till his vn- naturall uncle bereft both him and his brother king Edward the ſir of their naturall liues.

Richard the third.

When this monſter of nature & cruell tyrant Richard the third had killed his yong nepties, and taken vpon him the crowne & gouernement of England, he preferred his owne ſonne Edward to the dignitie of loꝝd lieutenant of Ireland, whoſe deputie was Gerald earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of king Richard, and a while in Henrie the ſeuenth his daies.

Henrie the ſeuenth.

In which earle came the wiſe prieſt ſir Richard Simon, bzinging with him a lad that was his ſcholer, named Lambert, whom he ſeemed to be the ſonne of George earle of Clarence, latelie eſcaped ſorthe of the tower of London. And the boie could reckon by his pedegree ſo readilie, & had learned of the prieſt ſuch princelie behauiour, that he lightlie moued the ſaid earle, and manie others the nobles of Ireland (reuerding as well the linage roſe all of Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, and his ſonne George their countreiman boꝝne, as alſo ma- ligning the advancement of the houſe of Lancatter in Henrie the ſeuenth) either to thinke or to ſaine, that the world might beleeue they thought beſelie this child to be Edward earle of Marſike, the duke of Clarence his lawfull ſonne.

And although king Henrie more than halfe mared their ſpoꝝt, in ſhewing the right earle through all the ſtreets of London, yet the ladie Margaret duches of Burgongne, ſiſter to Edward the fourth, his ne- phew John de la Poole, the loꝝd Louell, ſir Thomas Broughton knight, and diuers other capteins of this conſpiracie, deuiled to abuſe the colour of this yong earles name, ſo preferring their purpoſe: which if it came to god, they agreed to depole Lambert, and to erect the verie earle indeed, now priſoner in the tow- er, ſo whole quarrell had they pretended to fight, they deuined it likelie he ſhould haue beſelie made aſwaie. Wherefore it was blaied in Ireland, that the king to mocke his ſubiects, had ſchooled a boie to take vpon him the earle of Marſikes name, and had ſhewed him about London, to blind the eyes of the ſimple folke, and to defeat the lawfull inheritor of

the good duke of Clarence their countreiman and pro- tectoꝝ during his life, vnto whole image they alſo deuined title in right to the crowne.

In all haſt they aſſembled at Dublin, and there in Chriſts church they crowned this idoll, honozing him with titles imperfall, feaſting and triumphing, raſſing mightie ſhouts and cries, carrieng him from thence to the caſtell vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that he might be ſerie and noted, as he was ſure an ho- noꝝable child to loke vpon. Herewith aſſembling their forces together, they prouided themſelues of ſhips, and imbarking therein, they toke the ſea, and landing in Lancashire, paſſed forwards, till they came to ſetwarke vpon Trent. Therevpon inſued the battell of Stoke, commonlie called ſpartin Swarts field, wherein Lambert and his maſter were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed. The earle of A Incling, the loꝝd Louell, ſpartin Swart, the Almaine capteine, and ſaurice Fitzthomas, capteine of the Irith, were ſaine, and all their power diſcomfited, as in the Engliſh hiſto- rie it may further appeare. Falper duke of Bedford, and earle of Penbroke lieutenant, and Walter arch- biſhop of Dublin his deputie.

In this time beſell another like Irith illuſion, procured by the duchelle aforeſaid, and certeine no- bles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull king of England, and vndoubted earle of Ulſter, the counterſeit Richard duke of Yorke, preferred from king Richards crueltie (as the adherents faced the matter downe) and with this maigame loꝝd, named indeed Peter (in ſcoꝝne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themſelues manie yeres after. Then was ſir Edward Poynings knight ſent ouer loꝝd deputie, with commiſſion to apprehend Warbeckes prin- cipall parteners in Ireland: amongſt whom was na- med Gerald Fitzgiralde, whole purgation the king (notwithſtanding diuerſe ſuꝝmings and aduouching the contrarie) did accept. After much adu. Perkin be- ing taken, confeſſed by his owne wiſſing the cauſe of his whole life, and all his proceedings in this en- terpriſe, whereof in the Engliſh hiſtoꝝie, as we haue borrowed the ſame ſorthe of Hales chronicles, we may read more, and therefore here we haue omitted to ſpeake further of that matter.

In the yere 1501, king Henrie made lieutenant of Ireland his ſecond ſonne Henrie, as then duke of Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henrie the eighth. To him was appointed deputie the aforeſaid Gerald earle of Kildare, who accompanied with John Blake maſter of Dublin, ſagren vpon William le Burgh, Owen, and Mac Demarre, Deartull, and fought with the greateſt power of Irithmen that had bene together ſince the conqueſt, vnder the hill of Knocktoꝝ, in Engliſh the hill of the tree, ſir miles from Calowale, and two miles from Bel- licleare Bꝝrghes manoir towne. Mac William and his complices were there taken, his ſonnes that eſcaped the ſwoꝝd were purſued fleeing ſo, the ſpace of five miles: greaſt ſlaughter was made of them, and manie capteins caught, without the loſſe of one Engliſhman. The earle of Kildare at his returne was made knight of the noble order of the garter, and liued in worthie eſtimation all his life long, as well for this ſeruiſe, as diuerſe other his famous ex- ploits.

Lambert crowned.

1460
Falper duke of Bedford lieutenant.

Perkin war- becke.

1494
Sir Edward Poynings loꝝd deputie.

Perkin war- becke taken.

1501
Henrie duke of Yorke, after king Henrie the eighth, loꝝd lieutenant.

The field of Knocktoꝝ.

The earle of Kildare, knight of the garter.

Exhibition to blond.
1470
Flaccurie.

Richard the third.

Henrie the ſe- uenth
Sir Richard Simon
prieſt.
Lambert counterſeit to beſelie earle of Marſike.

The loꝝd Louell,
Sir Thomas Broughton,

Thus farre the Irith Chronicles continued and ended.

at Henrie the ſeuenth.



TO THE RIGHT HO- norable sir Henrie Sidneie

knight, lord deputie of Ireland, lord president
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the
garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie
councell within hir realme of
England.



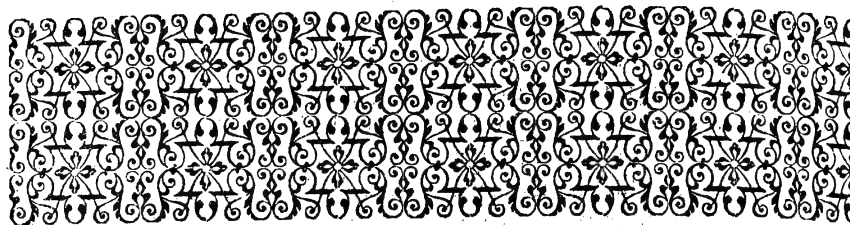
Ow cumbersome (right honorable) and dangerous a taske it is, to ingrosse & divulge the doings of others, especiallie when the parties registred or their issue are liuing: both common reason sufficientlie acknowledgeth, and dailie experience infallible proueth. For man by course of nature is so parcialle affected to himselfe and his blood, as he will be more agreeued with the chronicler for recording a peeuih trespassse, than he will be offended with his friend for committing an heinous treason. Ouer this, if the historian be long, he is accompted a trifier: if he be short, he is taken for a summister: if he commend, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reprocue, he is holden for a carper: if he be pleasant, he is noted for a iester: if he be graue, he is reckoned for a drooper: if he misdare, he is named a falsifier: if he once but trip, he is tearmed a stumbler: so that let him beare himselfe in his chronicle as vprightlie and as conscionable as he may possible, yet he shall be sure to find them that will be more prest to blab forth his pelfish faults, than they will be readie to blaze out his good deserts. Others there be, that although they are not able to reprocue what is written, yet they will be sure to cast in his dish what is forgotten. Heere, saie they, this exploit is omitted: there that policie is not detected: heere this faeing would haue bene interlaced: there that trecherie should haue bene displaied. These & the like discommodities, with which historiographers are vsuallie cloid, haue borne backe diuers and fundrie willing minds, who taking the waie to be thornie, the credit slipperie, the carpers to be manie, would in no case be medlers, choosing rather to sit by their owne fire obscurelie at home, than to be baited with enuious toongs openlie abroad.

Others on the contrarie side, being resolute fellowes, and trampling vnder foot these curious faultfinders, would not sticke to put themselves forth in presse, and maugre all their hearts, to buskle forward, and rush through the pikes of their quipping nips, and biting frumps. But I taking the meane betweene both these extremities, held it for better, not to be so faint and peeuih a meacocke, as to shrinke and couch mine head for euerie mizeling shoure, nor yet to beare my selfe so high

in heart, as to prance and iet like a proud gennet through the street, not weighing the barking of currish bandogs. And therefore, if I shall be found in mine historie sometime too tedious, sometime too spare, sometime too fawning in commending the liuing, sometime too flat in reproofing the dead : I take God to witnesse, that mine offense therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of set wilfulnesse. But as for the passing ouer in silence of diuerse euent (albeit the law or rather the libertie of an historie requireth that all should be related, and nothing whusted) yet I must confesse, that as I was not able, vpon so little leasure, to know all that was said or doone; so I was not willing for sundrie respects, to write euerie trim tram that I knew to be said or doone. And if anie be ouerthwartlie waiwarded, as he will sooner long for that I haue omitted, than he will be contented with that I haue chronicled; I cannot deuise in my iudgement a better waie to satisfie his appetite, than with one Dolie, a peintor of Oxford, his answer: who being appointed to tricke out the ten commandements, omitted one, and pourtraied but nine. Which fault espied by his maister that hired him, Dolie answered, that in verie deed he peinted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderstood that his master had well obserued and kept the nine commandements that alreadie were drawne, he gaue his word at better leisure throughlie to finish the tenth. And truelie so must I saie: I haue laid downe heere to the reader his view, a breefe discourse, wherof I trust he shall take no great surfet. And when I am aduertised, that he will digest the thin fare that heere is disht before him: it may be (God willing) heereafter, that he shall find my booke, with store of more licorous deinties farsed and furnished; leauing to his choise, either nicelie to pickle, or greedilie to swallow, as much as to his contentation shall best befeeme him. Wherefore my good lord, sith I may not denie, but that the worke is painfull, and I doo forecast that the misconstruction may be perilous: the toilesomnesse of the paine I refer to my priuat knowledge, the abandoning of the perill, I commit to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby to be sheelded against the sinister glosing of malicious interpreters. Thus betaking your lordship to God, I craue your attentiuenes, in perusing a cantell or parcell of the Irish historie that heere insueth.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.





A continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, comprising the reigne of *king Henrie the eight.*



x s i 4

The occasion
of the dissen-
tion betwene
Kildare and
Dymond.

Cirald Fitz-
giralde earle of
Kildare, son to
Thomas Fitz-
giralde, of who
mention hath
bene made in
the latter end
of the former
storie, a mightie
man of sta-
ture, full of ho-
nor & courage,
who had bene

reputte & lord iustice of Ireland first & last 33 yeres,
deceased at Kildare the thirde of September, & lieth
intombed in the quere of Christs church at Dublin,
in a chappell by him founded. Betwene him & James
Butler earle of Dymond (their otone gelousies fed
with cruie & ambition, kindled with certeine lewd
factious abettors of either side) as generalitie to all
noblemen, so especiallie to both these houses verie
incident, ever since the ninth yeare of Henrie the
seuenth, bred some trouble in Ireland. The plot of
which mutuall grudge was grounded upon the fac-
tious dissention, that was raised in England be-
twene the houses of Yorke & Lancaster, Kildare
cleaving to Yorke, and Dymond reling to Lancel-
ster. So the upholding of which discord, both these no-
ble men laboured with tooth and nail to ouercroin,
and consequentie to ouerthrow one the other. And
for so much as they were in honour peeres, they
wrought by hoke and by croke to be in authoritie
superiours. The gouernement therfore in the reigne
of Henrie the seuenth, being cast on the house of Kil-
dare, James earle of Dymond a deepe and a farre
reaching man, giuing backe like a butting ram to
strike the harder push, deuised to inueltle his aduer-
sarie by submission & courtesie, being not then able
to ouermatch him with stoutnesse or preheminece.
Whereupon Dymond addrest his letters to the
deputie, specifying a slander raised on him and his,
that he purposed to deface his gouernement, and to
withstand his authoritie. And for the clearing of him-
selfe and of his adherents, so it stood with the deputie
his pleasure, he would make his spacie repaire to
Dublin, & there in an open audience would purge
himselfe of all such odious crimes, of which he was
longfullie suspected.

Dymond
marcheth to
Dublin.

So this reasonable request had the lord deputie
no sooner condescended, than Dymond with a puis-
sant armie marched towards Dublin, incamping
in an abbey in the suburbs of the citie, named saint
Thomas court. The approaching of so great an armie
of the citizens suspected, and also of Kildares coun-

cellozs greatlie disliked, lastlie the extortion that the
lawlesse souldiers vsed in the pale by severall com-
plaints detected: these three points, with diuerse o-
ther suspicious circumstances laid and put together,
did minister occasion rather of further discord, than
of anie present agreement. Dymond persisting still
in his humble sute, sent his messenger to the lord de-
putie, declaring that he was yress and readie to ac-
complish the tenour of his letters, and there did at-
tend (as became him) his lordship his pleasure. And
as for the companie, he brought with him from
Dymond, albeit suspicious byzaines did rather of a
malicious craftinesse furnise the worst, than of cha-
ritable wisdome did iudge the best; yet notwithstanding,
upon conference had with his lordship, he
would not doubt to satisfie him at full in all points,
wherewith he could be with anie colour charged, and
so to stop by the spzing, from whence all the envious
suspicious gushed. Kildare with this mild message
intreated, appointed the meeting to be at saint Pa-
trike his church: where they were ripping by one
to another their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting
the damages they susteined, than acknowledging
the iniuries they offered: the citizens and Dymond
his armie fell at some far, for the oppression and ex-
action with which the souldiers surcharged them.
With whom as part of the citizens bickered, so a
round knot of archers rushed into the church, mea-
ning to haue murdered Dymond, as the capteine
and belwedder of all these lawlesse rabble. The earle
of Dymond suspecting that he had bene betraied,
fled to the chapter house, put to the doze, sparring it
with might and maine. The citizens in their rage,
imagining that euerie post in the church had bene
one of the souldiers, shot hab o' nab at random by to
the roddost and to the chancell, leauing some of their
arrowes sticking in the images.

Kildare pursuing Dymond to the chapter house
doze, undertooke on his honor that he should receiue
no villanie. Whereupon the recluse craving his lord-
ships hand to assure him his life, there was a clift in
the chapter house doze, pearled at a trife, to the end
both the earles should haue shaken hands and be re-
conciled. But Dymond surmising that this byst
was intended for some further treacherie, that if he
would stretch out his hand, it had bene percale chopt
off, refused that proffer; untill Kildare stretch in his
hand to him, and so the doze was opened, they both
embraced the stozme appeased, and all their quarrels
for that present rather discontinued than ended. In
this garboile, one of the citizens, surnamed Blanche
field was slaine. This latter quarrell being like a
greene wound, rather bungerlie botcht than soundlie
cured, in that Kildare suspected that so great an ar-
mie (which the other alledged to be brought for the
gard

The citie in
an bypope.

The citie
reconciled.

Blanche
field.

gard of his person) to haue bene of purpose assembled, to outface him & his power in his owne countrey. And Diamond mistrusted, that this treacherous practise of the Dublinians was by Kildare devised. These and the like furnishes lightlie by both the noble men misdeemed, and by the continuall twatling of stirring clauwbaks in their eares whispered, bred and fostered a malice betwixt them and their posteritie, manie yeeres incurable, which caused much stir and unquietnesse in the realme, untill the confusion of the one house and the nonage of the other ended and buried their mutuall quarrels.

The description
of Diamond
The description
of Kildare

Diamond was nothing inferiour to the other in stomach, and in reach of policie far beyond him. Kildare was in gouernement mild, to his enemies stern, to the Irish such a scourge, that rather for despite of him than for fauor of anie part, they relied for a time to Diamond, came vnder his protection, serued at his call, performed by starts (as their manner is) the dutie of good subjects. Diamond was secret and of great foresight, verie staied in speech, dangerous of euerie trifle that touched his reputation. Kildare was open and plaine, hardlie able to rule himselfe when he were moued to anger, not so sharpe as thort, being easilie displeased and sooner appeased. Being in a rage with certeine of his seruants for faults they committed, one of his hoisemen offered master Woice (a gentleman that reteined to him) an Irish hobbie, on condition, that he would plucke an haire from the earle his beard. Woice taking the proffer at rebound, slept to the earle (with whose good nature he was throughlie acquainted) parching in the heat of his choler, and said: So it is, and if it like your good lordship, one of your hoisemen promised me a choise hobbie, if I snip one haire from your beard. Well quoth the earle, I agree thereto, but if thou plucke anie more than one, I promise thee to bring my fist from thine eare.

Point

The blanch of this good nature hath bene deriued from him to an earle of his posteritie, who being in a chase for the wyong sawcing of a patridge, arose suddenlie from the table, meaning to haue reasoned the matter with his coke. Having entred the kitchen, bowing in obliuion his challenge, he began to commend the building of the roome, wherein he was at no time before, & so leauing the coke uncontrold, he returned to his ghests merlie. This old earle being (as is aforesaid) some hot and some cold, was of the English well beloued, a good iusticier, a suppressor of the rebels, a warrour incomparable, towards the nobles that he fassied not somewhat headlong and vnrule. Being charged before Henrie the seuenth, for burning the church of Cashell, and manie wickednesse prepared to aduouch against him the truth of that article, he suddenlie confessed the fact, to the great wondering and detestation of the counsell. When it was looked how he wold iustifie the matter; By Iesus (quoth he) I would neuer haue done it, had it not bene told me that the archbishop was within. And because the same archbishop was one of his busiest accusers there present, the king merlie laughed at the plainnesse of the noble man, to see him alledge that thing for excuse, which most of all did aggrauate his offense.

The returne
of Kildare
deputie.

The returne
of Kildare
deputie.

The last article against him they conceiued in these tearmes; Finally all Ireland can not rule this earle. So quoth the king: then in god faith shall this earle rule all Ireland. Thus was that accusation turned to a teast. The earle returned to his countrey lord deputie, who (notwithstanding his simplicitie in peace) was of that valour and policie in war, as his name bred a greater terror to the Irish, than other mens armes. In his warres he used for policie a watchful kind of diligence, or a headie carelesnesse,

to the end his souldiours should not faint in their attempts, were they enemie of neuer so great power. Being generall in the field of Knocknow, where in effect all the Irish rebels of Ireland were gathered against the English pale, one of the earle his capteins presented him a band of Ierns, even as they were ready to ioine battell, and withall demanded of the earle in what seruice he would haue them imployed: Where (quoth he) let them stand by and glue vs the gaze. Such was his courage, that notwithstanding his enemies were two to one: yet would he set so good a face on the matter, as his souldiours should not once suspect, that he either needed, or longed for anie further helpe.

Having triumphantlie banquished the Irish in that conflict, he was shortly after, as well for that, as other his valiant exploits, made knight of the garter: and in the fifth yeare of Henrie the eight in that renowne & honour he died, wherein for the space of manie yeeres he liued. So maruell if this successe were a cosse to the aduerse part, which the longer it held aloofe, and bit the byble, the more egerlie it followed the course, having once got scope and roome at will, as shall be hereafter at full declared. Diamond bearing in mind the treacherie of the Dublinians, procured such as were the grauest prelates of his clergy, to intimate to the court of Rome the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in rushing into the church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the images, prostrating the reliks, raising downe altars, with barbarous outeries, more like miscreant Saracens, than christian catholikes. Whereupon a legat was possted to Ireland, bending his course to Dublin, where some after hee was solemnlie receiued by Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, a graue prelat, for his learning and wisdom chosen to be one of king Henrie the seuenth his chapleins, in which vocation he continued twelue yeeres, and after was aduanced to be archbishop of Dublin.

1514

The Dublinians
accused.

A legat sent
from Rome.

Walter Fitzsimons.

The legat vpon his arriuall indicted the citie for his execrable offense: but at length, by the procurement as well of the archbishop as of all the cleargie, he was weighed to giue the citizens absolution with this caveat, that in detestation of so horrible a fact, and *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the maiors of Dublin should go barefooted thoroughout the citie in open procession before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi date: which penitent satisfaction was after in euerie such procession duly accomplished. Gerald Fitzgerald, sonne and heire to the aforesaid erle of Kildare, was shortly after his fathers decease constituted lord deputie of Ireland, before whome in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, wherein it was established, that all such as bying out of England the kings letters of priuat seale, for particular causes against anie of the king his subiects in Ireland, should find sufficient snerties in the king his chancerie in Ireland; to be bound by recognisance, that the plaintiffe shall satisfie the defendand, that purgeth or acquiteth himselfe of the matter to him alledged, for his costs and damages sustained by such wrongfull veration. This noble man being valiant and well spoken, was nothing inferiour to his father in martiall prowesse, chafing in the time of his gouernment the familie of the Toles, battering Ocarrell his castels, and bying in awe all the Irish of the land.

Penance imposed
on the citizens of
Dublin.

The earle of
Kildare lord
deputie.

A parlement
holden at
Dublin.

This earle of good meaning, to vnite the houses in friendship, matched his sister Margaret Fitzgerald with Piers Butler earle of Desmond, whome he also helped to recouer the earldome of Diamond, into the which, after the decease of the earle James, a bastard Butler had by abatement intruded. Great and manifold

Piers Butler
and Margaret
Fitzgerald
espoused.

manifold were the miseries the ladie Margaret sustained, hir husband Piers Butler being so eagerly pursued by the usurper, as he durst not beare up hed, but was forced to houer and lurke in woods and forests. The noble woman being great with child, and upon necessitie constrained to use a spare diet (for hir onelie sustenance was milke) she longed sore for wine, and calling hir lord, and a trustie servant of his, James White unto hir, she requested them both to helpe hir to some wine, for she was not able any longer to indure so strict a life. Trulie Margaret, quoth the earle of Ossory, thou shalt haue store of wine within this foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me.

James white

The bastard Butler name.

Bilbare sent for into England.

Maurence Fitzthomas lord iustice, Surrie lord lieutenant of Ireland. 1521 A parlement holden at Dublin.

The Howes in rebellion.

John Fitzsimons.

Patrike Fitzsimons.

The next daie following, Piers hauing intelligence that his enimie the base Butler would haue trauelled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with six horsemen: yet Piers hauing none but his lackie, did forfall him in the waie, and with a couragious charge goied the bastard through with his speare. This prosperous calme succeding the former boisterous strome, the ladie Margaret began to take heart, hir naturall stoutnesse floted, as well by the remembrance of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match. Bilbare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithstanding the pushes giuen against him by secret heauers that enuied his fortune, and sought to nourish the old grudge, was at length by their priuie packing fetched vp to the court of England by commission, and caused him to be examined vpon diverse interrogatores touching the affaires of Ireland.

He left in his roome Maurence Fitzthomas of Lachragh lord iustice: and shortly after came ouer lord lieutenant Thomas Howard earle of Surrie, who was after duke of Norfolk, grandfather to the last duke, accompanied with two hundred peomen of the crowne: before whome, shortly after his repaire thither, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, in which there pass an act, that all wilfull burning of corne, as well in rekes in the fields, as also in villages and townes, should be high treason. Item, an act against lading of wolles & flou, vpon paine of forfeiture of the double value of the same, the one halfe to the king, and the other halfe to him that will sue therefor. Item, that any person seized of lands, rents, or tenements in possession or in vse, vnto the pearelie value of ten markes aboue the charges, in fee simple, fee taile, or for terme of life, copie hold, or ancient demeane, shall passe in euerie attaint. While the lord lieutenant sat at dinner in the castell, of Dublin, he heard newes that the Howes with a maine armie were euen at the entrie of the borders, ready to inuade the English pale. Immediatlie men were leuied by John Fitzsimons then maior of Dublin, and the next morrow joining them vnto his band, the lieutenant marched towards the frontiers of Leix.

The Howes vpon the lieutenant his approach, feared themselves into sundrie companies, and understanding that the cariage was dragging after the armie, and slenderly manned, certeine of them charged the lieutenant his seruants, and such of the citizens as were appointed to gard the cariage. Patrike Fitzsimons, a strong sturdy ponker, kept the enemies such tache, as he chased part of them awaie, rescued the cariage, slue two of the rebels, and brought the heads with him to maister maior his tent. The next morrow, two of the lieutenant his men, that slunk awaie from Fitzsimons, thinking that the cariage had bene lost, aduertised their lord that Fitzsimons fled awaie, and the Howes were so mane in companie, as it had bene but folle for two to bicker

with so great a number. The lieutenant posted in a rage to the maior his paviilion, telling him that his man Fitzsimons was a cowardlie traitor: in running awaie, when he should haue defended the cariage.

What am I, my lord (quoth Patrike Fitzsimons) skipping in his shirt out of the tent, with both the heads in his hand: My lord, I am no coward, I stood to my tacklings when your men gaue me the slip, I rescued the cariage, and haue here sufficient tokens of my manhood, tumbling downe both the heads. Said thou so Fitzsimons, quoth the lieutenant: I crie thee merce, and by this George, I would to God it had bene my god hap to haue bene in thy companie in that skirmish. So drinkeing to Fitzsimons in a boll of wine, and honourable rewarding him for his god seruice, he returned to his paviilion, where hauing knowledge of Donmore his recule, he pursued him with a troope of horsemen. The lieutenant thus passing forwards, was espied a gunner of Donmore, who lodged close in a wood side, and watching his time, he discharged his peece at the verie face of the lieutenant, strake the visor off his helmet, and pearced no further, as God would.

This did he (retchlesse in manner what became of himselfe, so he might amaze the armie for a time) and surelie hereby he bzake the swiftnesse of their following, & aduantaged the flight of his captaine, which thing he wou with the price of his owne blood. For the foulbraz would no further, till they had ransacked all the nookes of this wood, verelie suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in seuerall knots scattered out this gunner, whome Fitzwilliams and Bedlow of the Roch were faine to mangle and to hew in peeces, because the twelch would neuer yield. In the meane while, defiance was proclaimed with France and Scotland both at once, which moued the king to call home Surrie out of Ireland, that he might imploie him in those wars. His probelle, integritie, god nature, and course of gouernment, the countrie much commended. Piers Butler earle of Ossory was appointed lord deputie. In the meane time, Bilbare attending the king his pleasure for his dispatch, reconered fauour through the instance of the marques Dorset, whose daughter dame Elizabeth Creie he espoused, and so departed home. How was partaker of all the deputes counsell one Robert Talbot of Belgard, whome the Giraldines deadlie hated: him they procured to keepe a kalendar of all their doings, who incensed brother against brother. In which rage, James FitzGirald meeting the said gentleman beside Ballinmore, slue him euen then vpon his tourneie toward the deputie to keepe his Christmas with him.

With this despitesfull murder both sides bzake out into open enimitie, and especiallie the countesse of Ossory, Bilbare his sister, a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a realme, had not hir stomach ouerruled hir knowledge. Here began informations of new treasons, passing to and fro, with complaints and replies. But the marques Dorset had wrought so for his sonne in law, that he was suffered to rest at home, and onelie commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the root of their griefes: wherein if they found Bilbare any thing at all purges, their instructions were to depose the plaintiffe, and to sweare the other lord deputie. Commissioners were these, sir Rafe Egerton, a knight of Cheshire, Antonie Fitzherbert, second iustice of the common ples, and James Denton, deane of Litchfield; who hauing examined these accusations, suddenlie took the sword from the earle of Ossory, swore Bilbare lord deputie, before whome Con Omeale bare the sword that daie.

Valiant with.

The earle of Surrie in danger to haue bene slaine.

Fitzwilliams Bedlow.

1521 Surrie lord for home.

Piers Butler earle of Ossory.

1524 Robert Talbot of Belgard.

Margaret countesse of Ossory.

Commissioners were sent to Ireland.

Bilbare was sent to deputie.

Concerning the murderer whom they might haue
hanged, they brought him prisoner into England,
presented him to the cardinall Wolseie, who was
said to hate Kildare his blood: and the cardinall in-
tending to haue put him to execution, with more re-
poyth and dishonor to the name, caused him to be led
about the streets of London haltered, and hauing a
taper in his hand: which asked so long time, that the
beare of Aichfield stepped to the king, and begged
his pardon. The cardinall was soze inflamed here-
with, & the malice not hitherto so ranke, was throughe-
ly ripened, & therefore henseforthward Wolseie brought
such diuerse poyntes of the deputie his disorder, for
that (as he alledged) the deputie should winke at
the earle of Desmond, whome by vertue of the king
his letters he ought to haue attached. Also, that he
sought for acquaintance and amitie with more Ir-
ish enemies, that he had armed them against him,
then being the king his deputie; he hanged and
headed good subiects, whome he mistrusted to leane
to the Butlers friendship. Kildare was therefore pre-
sentlie commanded to appeare, which he did, leauing
in his roome his brother Fitzgiralde of Aclup, whom
they thoytlye deposed, and chose the baron of Del-
uin, whome Deconoz took prisoner, & then the earle of
Wolseie (to shew his abilitie of seruice) brought to
Dublin an armie of Irishmen, hauing captains o-
uer them Deconoz, Dmoze, & Marroll, & at Sh. Pa-
re abbete was chosen deputie by the kings counsell.

In which office, being himselfe (saue onelie in
feats of armes) a simple gentleman, he bare out his
honor, and the charge of gouernement verie worthi-
ly, though the singular wisdomme of his countesse,
a ladie of such a port, that all estates of the realme
crouched vnto hir; so politike, that nothing was
thought substantiallie debated without hir aduise:
manlike and tall of stature, verie liberrall and boun-
tiful; a sure friend, a bitter enemy, hardlie disliking
where she feared, not easilie fawning where she dis-
liked: the onelie meane at those daies whereby hir
husband his countrie was reclaimed from stulticie
nelle and slovenrie, to cleane bedding and ciuilltie.
But to these vertues was linked such a felle liking,
such an ouertowneing, and such a maiestie about the
tenure of a subiect, that for assurance thereof, the
kicked not to abuse hir husbands honor against hir
brothers follie. For withstanding, I learne not that
she praied his vndering (which ensued, and was to
hir vndoubtedlie great heauinesse, as vpon whome
both the blemish thereof, and the substance of the
greater part of that familie depended after) but that
she by indirec meanes lifted hir brother out of credit
to aduance hir husband, the common voice, and the
thing it selfe speaketh. All this while abode the earle
of Kildare at the court, and with much adoe found
thist to be called before the lords to answer sudder-
lie. They sat vpon him diuerse affected, and name-
lie the cardinall lord chancellor misliking the earle
his cause, comforted his accusers, and enforced the
articles objected, in these wordes.

The cardinall lord chancellor chargeth Kildare.

Not well (my lord) that I am not the meetest
at this boord to charge you with these treasons,
because it hath pleased some of your pufellows
to report that I am a professed enemy to all nobilitie,
& name lie to the Giraldines: but seeing euerie
cruel boy can say as much when he is controlled, and
seeing these points are so weightie, that they should
not be dissembled of vs; and so apparant, that they
can not be denied of you; I must haue leaue (not
withstanding your fraile flander) to be the mouth of
these honorable at this present, and to trumpe your
treasons in your waie, howsoeuer you take me.

First you remember, how the lewd earle of Des-
mond your kinsman (who passeth not whome he ser-
ueth, might he change his master) sent his confe-
derats with letters of credence vnto Francis the
French king: and hauing but cold comfort there,
went to Charles the emperoz, proffering the helpe of
Mounster and Connagh towards the conquest of
Ireland, if either of them would helpe to win it from
our king. How manie letters, what precepts, what
messages, what threats haue bin sent you to appe-
hend him, and yet not done: Why so: forsooth I
could not catch him. Nay nay earle, forsooth you
would not watch him. If he be indelie suspected, why
are you parcial in so great a charge? If not, why
are you fearefull to haue him tried? Pea, for it will
be swoyne and depoted to your face, that for feare of
meeting him, you haue winked wilfullie, thinned
his sight, altered your course, warned his friends,
stopped both eares and eyes against his deteacons, and
when soeuer you took vpon you to hunt him out,
then was he sure afore hand to be out of your walke.

Surelie, this iugling and false plaie little be-
came either an honest man called to such honor, or a
noble man put in so great trust. Had you lost but a
cow or a horse of your owne, two hundred of your
retainers would haue come at your whistle to rescue
the preie from the bittermost edge of Ulster: all the
Irish in Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But
in pursuing so needfull a matter as this was, merci-
full God, how nice, how dangerous, how waie-
ward haue you bene? One while he is from home,
another while he keepeth home, sometimes fled,
sometimes in the borders, where you dare not ven-
ture. Altho my lord, there be shrewd bugs in the
borders for the earle of Kildare to feare: the earle
may the king of Kildare; for when you are disposed,
you reigne more like than rule in the land: where
you are malicious, the truest subiects stand for Irish
enemies: where you are pleased, the Irish for stane-
deth for a iust subiect: hearts & hands liues & lands
are all at your courtesie: who sauneth not thereon
cannot rest within your smill, and your smill is so
ranke that you trake them out at pleasure. Whilest
the cardinall was speaking, the earle chafed and
changed colour, and at last brake out, and interrup-
ted him thus.

My lord chancellor, I beseech you pardon me, I
am short witted, and you I perceiue intend a long
tale: if you proceed in this order, halfe my purga-
tion will be lost for lacke of carriage. I haue no
schole trickes, nor art of memorie: except you heare
me while I remember your wordes, your second
processe will hammer out the former. The lords as-
sociat, who for the most part tenderlie loued him,
and knew the cardinall his manner of talants so
lothsome, as therewith they were inured manie
yeares ago, humblye besought his grace to charge
him directlie with particulars, and to dwell in some
one matter, until it were examined throughe-
ly. That granted, it is good reason (quoth the earle) that
your grace beare the month of this word; but my
lord, those months that put these things into your
mouth, are verie wide mouths, such in deed as haue
gaped long for my wacke; and now at length, for
want of better stufte, are faine to fill their mouths
with smoke. What my confine Desmond hath com-
passed, as I know not, so I beseech his naked heart
for holding out so long. If he can be taken by mine a-
gents that presentlie wait for him, then haue mine
aduersaries betwated their malice; and this heape
of heinous wordes shall resemble a scarecrow, or a
man of straw that seemeth at a blush to carrie some
proportion, but when it is felt and pessed, discovereth
a banitie, seruing onelie to feare crowses: and I
beseech

Kildare inter-
rupteth the
cardinals
tale.

The lords
tenderlike
dare.

The answereth
the cardinals
obication.

berelie trust, your honors shall see the prose by the thing it selfe, within these few daies. But go to: suppose he neuer be had? What is kildare to blame for it, more than my god brother of Moxie, who notwithstanding his high promises, hauing also the kings power, is yet content to bring him in at leasure? Can not the erle of Desmond shift but I must be of counsell? Can not he hide him except I winke? If he be close am I his mate? If he be strinded am I a traitor? This is a doubtie kind of seruisation, which they bge against me, wherein they are stabled and mired at my first deniall. You would not see him (saie they.) Who made them so familiar with mine eyesight? When was the erle within my view? Who stood by when I let him slip? Where are the tokens of my wilfull hudwinke? But you sent him word to beware of you. Who was the messenger? Where are the letters? Conuince my negatines, see how lose this idle geare hangeth together. Desmond is not taken. Well, you are in fault. Whie? Because you are. Who proueth it? No bodie. What conuincetures? So it seemeth. To whom? To your enemies. Who told it them? They will sweare it. What other ground? None. Will they sweare it my lord? Whie then of like they know it, either they haue mine hand to shew, or can bring forth the messenger, or were present at a conference, or prync to Desmond, or some bodie betrayed it to them, or they themselves were my carriers or vicegerents therein: which of these parts will they chiole, for I know them too well. To reckon my selfe comit by their bare words or headlesse fatengs, or frantike others, were but mere nockerie. My letter were some read, were any such writing extant, my seruants & friends are readie to be sifted: of my coufine of Desmond they may lie lowly, since no man here can well contrarie them. Touching my selfe, I neuer noted in them much wit, or so fast faith, that I would haue gaged on their silence the life of a good hound, much lesse mine owne. I doubt not, may it like your honors to appose them, how they came to the knowledge of those matters, which they are so readie to depose: but you shall find their tongues chained to another man his trencher, and as it were knights of the post, bound to fate, sweare and share the uttermost they can, as those that passe not what they saie, nor with what face they saie it, so they saie no truth. But of another side it greueneth me that your good grace whom I take to be wisse and sharpe, and who of your blessed disposition willeth me well, should be so farre gone in crediting these corrupt informers that abuse the ignorance of your state and countrie to my perill. Little know you (my lord) how necessarie it is, not onelie for the gouernor, but also for euerie noble man in Ireland to hamper his vnciuill neighbors at discretion, wherein if they waited for proccesse of law, and had not those liues and lands you speake of within their reach, they might hap to lose their owne liues and lands without law. You heare of a case as it were in a dreame, and fele not the smart that berech vs. In England there is not a meane subject that dare extend his hand to filip a peere of the realme. In Ireland except the lord haue cunning to his strength, and strength to saue his crowne, and sufficient authoritie to take theues & varlets when they stir, he shall find them swaine so fast, that it will be too late to call for iustice. If you will haue our seruice take effect, you must not tie vs altoates to these iudiciall proceedings, where with your realme (thank be God) is injured. Touching my kingdom, I know not what your lordship should meane thereby. If your grace imagine that a kingdom consisteth in seruing God, in obeying the prince, in gouerning with loue the common-wealth, in shouldering sub-

In what case stand the noble men of Ireland with rebels.

ieas, in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in banishing blind affections, I would be willing to be inuicted with so vertuous and roiall a name. But if therefore you terme me a king, in that you are persuaded that I repine at the gouernment of my loue, resigne, or winke at malefactors, or oppress ciuill liuers, I utterlie disclame in that odious terme, marueiling greatlie that one of your grace his profound wisdom, would seeme to appropriate so sacred a name to so wicked a thing. But howsoeuer it be (my lord) I would you and I had changed kingdoms but for one moneth, I would trust to gather vp more crummes in that space, than twise the reuenues of my poore earledome: but you are well and warne, and to hold you, and bypaid not me with such an odious terme. I slumber in an hard cabin, when you slepe in a soft bed of downe: I serue vnder the king his cope of heaven, when you are serued vnder a canopy: I drinke water out of my skull, when you drinke wine out of golden cups: my courtois is trained to the field, when your genet is taught to amble; when you are begreaced and beloved, & crouched and kneeled vnto, then find I small grace with our Irish bozerers, except I cut them off by the knees.

At these words the counsell would haue smiled, if they durst: but euy man bit his lip, & held his countenance, for howsoeuer some of them leaned to the erle of Moxie, they all hated the cardinall, who perceiving that kildare was no babe, rose in a fume from the counsell table, committed the erle, & deferred the matter till more direct probations came out of Ireland. The duke of Norfolk, who was late lieutenant in Ireland, perceiving the cardinall to be soze bent against the nobleman, rather for the deablie hatred he bare his house, than for anie great matter he had where with to charge his person, slept to the king, and craued kildare to be his prisoner, offering to be bound for his forthcomming, ouer and aboue all his lands, bodie for bodie. Whereupon, to the cardinall his great griefe, the prisoner was bailed, and honorable by the duke interteined. During his abode in the duke his house, Dneale and Deconoz, and all their friends and allies, watching their time to auoide the pale, made open insurrection against the earle of Moxie then lord deputie of Ireland, insomuch that the noble man mistrusting the sicklenesse of Desmond on the one side, & the force of these new hart by rebels on the other side, stood halfe amazed, as it were betwixt fire & water. For remedie whereof, letters thicke and thre-fold were addressed to the counsell of England, purporting that all these late hurle burlies were of purpose raised by the meanes of kildare, to the blemishing and staining of his brother Moxie his gouernment. And to put the matter out of doubt, it was further added, that kildare commanded his daughter Ellice Fitzgiralde, wife to the baron of Slane, to erecte in his name the aforesaid traitors to this open rebellion.

The cardinall hereupon caused kildare to be examined before the counsell, where he pressed him so depelie with this late discolaltie, that the presumptuous being (as the cardinall bestowed it) belement, the treason odious, the king suspicious, the enmie eager, the friends faint (which were sufficient grounds to ouerthrow an innocent person) the earle was repined to the tower. The nobleman betoke himselfe to God & the king, he was hartlie beloued of the lieutenant, pitied in all the court, and standing in so hard a case, altered little of his accustomed hue, comforted other noble men prisoners with him, dissembling his owne miserie. On a night when the lieutenant and he for their disposall were playing at disegrote or shambolde, suddenly commeth from the cardinall a mandatum

The cardinall not bound by his date.

The nobleman bound by his date.

The earle of Moxie rebellion.

Kildare & fresh impet.

The earle of Moxie committed.

A mandatum to execute.

mandament to erect the castle on the narrow. The earle marking the lieutenant's despite: By saint Brice lieutenant (quoth he) there is some mad game in that letell; but fall how it will, this throw is for an middle. Whithin the wode was told him: Now I praye the (quoth he) do no more but learne assuredly from the king his owne mouth, whether his highnesse be willing thereto or not. So he doubted the lieutenant to displeas the earle: yet of vertue pure love to his friend, he possed to the king at mid night, and delivered his errand: so at all houres of the night the lieutenant hath accesse to the prince upon occasions. The king controlling the faultlesse of the preist (for those were his termes) delivered to the lieutenant his signet in token of countenance; which when the cardinal had seene, he began to breath out displeased language, which the lieutenant was loth to heare, & so left him patting & chanting the diuine his *Rex Rex Rex*. Thus byakto by the storme for that time, & the next yeare Wolfe was call out for that time, and with in few yeares sir William Skeffington was sent ouer lord deputie, and brought with him the erle pardoned and rid from all his troubles. When it was vinted, that Skeffington, the earle of Kildare, and Edward Staples bishop of Opth landed nere Dublin, the mayo and citizens met him with a solempne procession on saint Marie abbeys greene, where master Thomas Fitzsimons recorder of Dublin made a pitche oration to congratulate the gouernor and the earle his prosperous arrival, to whom Skeffington shapd an answer in this wise: After mayo and master recorder, you haue at length this noble man here present, for whom you longed, while he was absent. And after maine storines by him suffered, he hath now to the comfort of his friends, & to the confusion of his foes, subdued violence with patience, in a les with sufferance, and malice with obedience: and such butchers as of hatred thirred after his blood, are now taken for outcast mallicies, littered in cuttish blood. How well my master the king hath borne of his gracions inclination affected to the earle of Kildare (his backe friend, being by his self desert from his maiestie we deb't the credit therein this noble man at this present abideth, manifestly declareth. Therefore it resteth, that you thanke God and the king for his safe arrival. As for his welcome, master recorder his courteous discourse, your great assemblies, your cheerful countenances, your willing meetings, your solempne processions do so far shew it, as you minister me occasion on his lordship his behalfe, rather to thanke you for your courtesie, than to exhort you to a further ceremonie.

Having ended his oration, they rode all into the citie, where shortly after the earle of Ossie surrendered the sword to sir William Skeffington. During the time that Kildare was in England, the sept of the Toles making his absence their haruist, ceased not to molest and spoile his tenants, and therefore the erle meaning not to wrap up so lightlie their manifold iniuries, was determined presentlie upon his arrival to crie them quittance: to the speednesse of which seruice he requested the aid of the citizens of Dublin: & expecting in Christ's church their answer touching this motion, the mayo & his brethren promised to assist him with two hundred archers. The late come bishop of Opth being then present, moued question, whether the citizens were pardoned for crowning Lambert contrarie to their dutie of allegiance; and if they were not pardoned, he thought they might advantage the king thereby. Whereat one of their sagest and expertest aldermen, named John Fitzsimons, stepped forth and said: My lord of Opth, may I be bold as to craue what countrye

man you aske Marie sir (quoth the bishop) I would you should know it, I am a gentleman and an Englishman: My lord (quoth Fitzsimons) my meaning is to learne by what shive of England you were borne: & in Kildareshire good sir (quoth Staples.) Whie then my lord (quoth Fitzsimons) we are no traitors, because it was the earle of Lincoln and the lord Lisle that crowned him: and therefore if you be a gentleman of Lincolnshire, see that you be pardoned, for God also our king be thanked we haue word of none. At this answer speech was set, and such as were present were forced to smile: to see what a wound fall he might in his owne turne.

In the second yeare of Skeffington his gouernement, it happened that one Henrie White, seruant to Benot a merchant of Dublin, was pitching of a cart of hate in the high street; and hauing offered boies plate to passengers that walked to and fro, he set a bottle of his haie fall on a souldiours bonet, as he passed by his cart. The souldior, taking this kinawly knacke in dudgeon, hurled his dagger at him, and hauing narrowly mist the prickocks, he stiked it in a post not farre off. White leapt downe from the cart, and thrust the souldior through the shoulder with his pike. Whereupon there was a great uprore in the citie betwene the souldiours and the apprentices, in so much as Thomas Barbie being the mayo, hauing the king his sword oratone, was hardlie able to appease the fraie, in which diuerse were wounded, and none slaine. The lord deputie issued out of the castell, and came as farre as the pillorie, to whome the mayo posted thorough the prease with the sword naked vnder his arme, & presented White that was the breuer of all this garboile to his lordship, whome the gouernour pardoned, as well for his courage in bickering as for his retchlesse simplicitie and pleasantie in telling the whole discourse. Whereby a man may see how manie bloudie quarrels a bracking swashbuckler maye picke out of a bottle of haie, namelie when his byaines are forebitten with a bottle of nappie ale.

About this time there was a great sturre raised in England, about the king his divorce, who thinking it expedient in so fickle a world to haue a lease poss in Ireland, made Kildare lord deputie. Cromer the primat of Armagh lord chancellor, and sir James Butler lord tresuro, Skeffington, supposing that he was put beside the cashin by the secret carnallising of Kildare his friends, conceived therof a great gelousie, being therein the deeper drenched, because that Kildare hauing received the sword, would permit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now like a meane primat person, to danle attendance among other suters in his house at Dublin, named the Carbie. Skeffington plaing thus on the bit, shortly after sailed into England; upon whose departure the lord deputie summoned a parlement at Dublin, where there past an act against leasers of coine: also for the uniting and appropriation of the parsonage of Caltrim to the priore of saint Peters by Trim. In the parlement time, Owale on a sudden invaded the countrie of Triell, rising and spoiling the king his subiects, at which time also was the earle of Ossie greatly vexed by the Geraldines: by reason of the old quarrels of either side freshly mended.

The next yeare, the lord deputie going against Carroll, was pitifully hurt in the side with a gun; at the castell of Birre: so that he neuer after intioed his lims, nor delivered his words in god plight; otherwise like enough to haue bene longer forborne in consideration of his manie noble qualities, great good seruices, and the state of thie times. Stralgho walls complaints were addrest to the king in these enigmities,

Henrie white
raised an uprore in Dublin.

Thomas
Barbie mayo.

White pardoned.

Kildare lord
deputie.
Cromer.
Butler.
Skeffington
offended with
Kildare.

He sailed into
England.

1532
A parliament
summoned at
Dublin.
Owale invaded
by Geraldines.

Kildare hurt.

The cardinal
was so much
pleased with
his discourse
that he began
to love him.

1529
Sir William
Skeffington
arrived at
Dublin.

Edward
Staples bishop
of Opth.

Thomas
Fitzsimons.

Skeffington
was welcomed.

By gentle
means the
citizens were
induced to be
a party to the
king's
cause.

Kildare
was the
cause.

By his
counsel.

John Fitzsimons
was one of
the
counsellors.

Kildare accus-
ed.

he is sent for
to England.

Thomas
Fitzgerald.

enormities, and that in most heinous manner that could be deuised, boulding out his doings as it were to the last bryake of sinister surmises, turning currie puiat inurie to be the king his quarrell, & making euerie puddings pliche as huge in the as Ham- son his piller. Wherevpon Kildare was commanded by sharpe letters to repaire into England, leaving such a person for the furniture of that realme, and the gouernance of the land in his absence, for whose doings he would answer. Being vpon the sight of this letter prepared to saile into England, he sat in court- cell at Dublin, and hauing sent for his sonne & before the lord Thomas Fitzgiralde (a yong stripling of one and twentie yeares of age, borne in England, sonne to the lord Zouch his daughter, the earle of Kildare his first wiffe) in the hearing of the whole boord thus he spake.

The earle of Kildare his exhortation to
his sonne the lord Thomas.

Sonne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my soueraigne lord the king hath sent for me into England, and what shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But howsoever it falleth, both you and I know that I am well steep in yeares: and as I maie shortly die, for that I am mortall, so I must in hast decaie, because I am old. Wherefore in so much as my winter is welnere ended, and the spring of your age now buddeth, my will is that you behaue your selfe so wisely in these your grane yeares, as that to the comfort of your friends you maie inioie the pleasure of summer, gleane and reape the fruits of your harvest, that with honour you maie grow to the catching of that hoarie winter, on which you see me your father fast picking. And whereas it pleaseth the king his maiestie, that vpon my departure here hence, I should substitute in my roome such one, for whose gouernment I would answer: albeit I know, that your yeares are tender, your wit not settled, your iudgement not fullie rectified, and therefore I might be with god cause reclaimed from putting a naked sword in a yong mans hand: yet notwithstanding, for so much as I am your father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to beare that stroke with you in steering your ship, as that vpon any information I maie command you as your father, and correct you as my sonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

There be here that sit at this boord, far more sufficient personages for so great charge than you are. But what then? If I should cast this burthen on their shoulders, it might be that hereafter they would be so farre with enuie carried, as they would percase hazard the losse of one of their owne eyes, to be assured that I should be deuiued of both mine eyes. But for so much as the case toucheth your skin as nere as mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, because (as I said before) I rest in the winter, and you in the spring of your yeares, and now I am resolved date by date to learne rather how to die in the feare of God, than to lue in the pompe of the world, I thinke you will not be so bainesfiche, as to stab your selfe thorough the bodie, onely to scarifie my skin with the point of your blade. Wherefore (my sonne) consider, that it is easie to raze, and hard to build, and in all your affaires be schooled by this boord, that for wisdom is able, and for the entier affection it beareth your house, will be found willing, to lesson you with sound and sage aduise. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counsell they must rule you. My sonne, you know that my late maiestie lieth my talke: othertwise I would haue grated longer

on this matter. For a good tale maie be twice told, and a sound aduise (if it were iterated) taketh the deeper impression in the attentive hearer his mind. But although my fatherlie affection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust your god inclination asketh it to be shorter; and vpon that assurance, here in the presence of this honourable assemble, I deliuer you this sword. ¶ Thus he spake for his last farewell with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he God, imbailed the counsell, committed them to God, and immediatlie after he was imbarked.

But although with his graue exhortation the fierer hearts of his aduersaries for a short spirt calmed, yet notwithstanding they turned some after all this gate *Glossopari* vnto a further fetch, saying that this was nothing else but to dazzell their eyes with some sugling knache, to the end they should aduertise the king of his total speeches: adding further, that he was too too small that could not speake well. And to force the perperied treasons they laied to his charge, with further surmises they certified the counsell of England, that the earle before his departure furnished his owne piles and forts with the king his artillerie and munition taken forth of the castell of Dublin. The earle being examined vpon that article before the counsell, although he answered that the few potguns and chambers he toke from thence, were placed in his castell to strengthen the boorders against the inrodes of the Irish enimie; and that if he intended any treason, he was not so foolish, as to fortifie walles and stones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands: yet notwithstanding he deliuered his speeches by reason of his palseie, in such staggering and making wise, that such of the counsell as were not his friends, persuading the rest that he had sunke in his owne tale, by imputing his lisping and dragging answer rather to the gilt of conscience, than to the infirmite of his late maiestie, had him committed, untill the king his pleasure were further knowne.

But before we wade any further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it would be noted, that the earle of Kildare, among diuerse hidden aduersaries, had in these his later troubles foure principall enimies that were the chiefe means & causes of his ouerthrow, as in those daies it was commonlie bytuted. The first was John Alen archbishop of Dublin, a gentleman of a good house, chapleine to cardinall Wolseie, & after by the cardinall his means constituted archbishop of Dublin, a learned prelat, a good houlholder, of the people indifferently beloued, and more would haue bene, had he not ouerbulied himselfe in supplanting the house of Kildare. And although it were knowne, that his first grudge towards the Giraldins proceeded from the great affection he bare his lord and master the cardinall, in so much as he would not sticke, were he able, for the pleasuring of the one to wound the other; yet such occasions of greater hatred after ensued (namely for that he was displaced from being lord chancellor, & Cromer the primate of Armagh by Kildare his bytiss settled in the office) as notwithstanding the cardinall his combe was cut in England, yet did he persist in pursuing his wonted malice toward that fa.

The second that was linked to this confederacie, was sir John Alen knight, first secretaire to this archbishop, after became master of the rolles, lastlie lord chancellor. And although sir John Alen were not of kin to the archbishop, but onely of the name; yet notwithstanding the archbishop made so great reckoning of him, as well for his forward in matters of weight, as for his faithfulness in affaires of trust, as whatsoeuer exploit were executed by the one, was

Kildare last
sent into
England.

his brother
misconduct.

he is actiue
for taking
him by the
collere.

Kildare con-
mitted.

Kildare the
chief cause
John Alen
archbishop of
Dublin.

John Alen
knight.

for which he med to haue bene deuised by the other. The thirde of this crew was Thomas Canon, secreta-
rie to Skeffington, who thinking to be reuenged on
Kildare for putting his lord and maister beside the
cushin, as he surmised, was verie willing to haue an
ore in that bote. The fourth that was suspected to
make the murther, was Robert Cowlie, first bailiffe
in Dublin, after seruant to the ladie Margaret Fitz-
giralde, countesse of Desmond and Ossio, lastlie ma-
ster of the rolles in Ireland, and finally he deceased
at London.

This gentleman for his wisdome and policie was
well esteemed of the ladie Margaret countesse of
Ossio, as one by whose aduise she was in all hir af-
fares directed. Whereupon some suspitious persons
were perswaded and brought in mind, that he was
the sower of all the discord that rested betwene the
two brethren Kildare and Ossio: as though he
could not be voted in the fauour of the one, but that
he must haue professed open hatred vnto the other.
These foure, as birds of one feather, were supposed
to be open enemies to the house of Kildare, bearing
that swaie in the commonwealth, as they were not
occasioned (as they thought) either to craue friend-
ship of the Geraldines, or greatlie to feare their ha-
tred and enimitie. There were beside them diuerse o-
ther secret underminers, who wrought so cunning-
lie vnder the thumbe, by holding with the hare, and
running with the hound, as if Kildare had prosper-
ed, they were assured, their malice would not haue
bene in manner suspected: but if he had bene in his
affaires stabled, then their fine deuises for their fur-
ther credit should haue bene apparented. Wherefore
the hearing of his backe friends not onelie surmi-
sed, but also manifested by Kildare, the lord Tho-
mas being iustice or vicechepitie in his fathers ab-
sence, setcht both the Alens so roundlie ouer the hips,
as well by secret drifts as open taunts, as they were
the more egerlie spured to compasse his confusion.
For the lord iustice and the counsell, with diuerse of
the nobilitie, at a sollemne banquet discoursing of
the auenicie of houses, and of their armes, sir John A-
len spake to the lord iustice these words.

My lord, your house giueth the marmoset, whose
propertie is to eat his owne taile. Meaning thereby
(as the lord Thomas supposed) that Kildare did vse to
pill and poss his friends, tenants & retainers. These
words were no sooner spoken, than the lord Thomas
striking the ball to Alen againe, answered, as one
that was somewhat slipper tongued, in this wise. You
saie truely sir, indeed I heard some saie, that the mar-
moset eateth his owne taile. But although you haue
bene sed by your taile, yet I would aduise you to be-
ware, that your taile eat not you. Shortly after this
quipping gamegall, the lord iustice and the counsell
rode to Drogbeda, where hauing for the space of
three or foure daies sojourned, it happened that the
counsellors awaited in the counsell chamber the go-
uernour his comming, vntill it was hard vpon the
stroke of twelue. The archbishop of Dublin ratolie
digesting the vicechepitie his long absence, said: My
lords, is it not a prettie matter, that all we shall staie
thus long for a bote? As he vttered these speeches, the
lord iustice vnlike was comming vp the staires,
and at his entrie taking the words hot from the bi-
shop his mouth, and iterating them verie coldlie, he
said: My lords, I am heartlie sozie, that you staied
thus long for a bote. Whereat the prelat was appal-
led, to see how vnhappy he was gald with his owne
caltrop. These & the like cutting speeches inkindled
such coles in both their stomachs, as the flame could
not anie longer be smothered, but at one clift or o-
ther most haue fumed. The enemies therefore hauing
twelning kindled the dough that should haue bene

baked for the Geraldines bane, deuised that secret
rumors should spinkle to and fro, that the earle of
Kildare his execution was intended in England;
and that vpon his death the Lord Thomas and all his
bloud should haue bene apprehended in Ireland. As
this false mattering flue abroad, it was holpen for-
ward by Thomas Canon, and others of Skeffington
his seruants, who sticked not to write to certeine
of their friends, as it were, verie secret letters, how
that the earle of Kildare their maister his secret eni-
mie (so they toke him, because he got the gouerne-
ment ouer his head) was already cut thort, as his
issue presentlie should be: and now they trusted to see
their maister in his gouernment, after which they
fore longed, as for a preferment that would in short
space aduantage them. Such a letter came vnto the
hands of a simple priest, no perfect Englishman, who
for hast hurled it amongst other papers in the chim-
nies end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it bet-
ter at more leisure. The same verie night, a gentle-
man retreating to the lord Thomas, the lord iustice or
vicechepitie, as is before specified, toke by his lodg-
ing with the priest, and sought in the morning when
he rose for some paper, to dila on his strait stock-
ings; and as the diuell would, he hit vpon the letter,
bare it alwaie in the hole of his stocke, no earthly
thing misdeeming. At night againe he found the pa-
per vntrussed, and musing thereat he began to poze
on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and
the apprehension of the lord Thomas. To hisse go-
eth he in all hast, brought the letter to James de la
Hyde, who was principall counsellor to the lord Tho-
mas in all his doings. De la Hyde hauing scantlie
ouerread the letter, making more hast than god
sped, posted to the lord Thomas, imparted him that
letter, and withall putting fire to flar, before he diued
to the bottome of this trecherie, he was contented to
swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by so-
thing by the tenor of the letter, as by inciting the
lord Thomas to open rebellion, cloking the odious
name of treason with the zealous reuengement of
his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie
defence of his owne person.

The lord Thomas being yongfull, rash, and head-
long, and assuring himselfe that the knot of all the
force of Ireland was twisted vnder his girdle, was
by de la Hyde his counsell so far caried, as he was
resolved to cast all on sir and seauen. Wherefore ha-
uing confedered with O'neale, O'conor, and other
Irish potentats, he rode on saint Barnabes daie,
accompanied with seauen score horsemen in their
shirts of maile, through the citie of Dublin, to the
Dam his gate, cross ouer the water to saint Marie
abbete, where the counsell according to appointment
waited his comming, not being priue to his in-
tent: onelie Cromer the lord chancellour excepted,
who was secretlie aduertised of his reuolt, and there-
fore was verie well provided for him, as hereafter
shall be declared. This Cromer was a graue
prelat, and a learned, well spoken, mild of nature, no-
thing wedded to factions, yet a wellwiller of the
Geraldines, as those by whose means he was aduan-
ced to dignitie. When the lord Thomas was set in
counsell, his horsemen and seruants rusht into the
counsell chamber armed and weaponed, turning
their secret conference to an open parlie. The coun-
cell hereat amazed, and silence with securitie com-
manded, the lord Thomas in this wise spake.

Thomas Fitzgiralde his rebellious oration.



Dislouer inturionlie we be hand-
led, and forced to defend our selues in
armes, when neither our seruice nor our
god meaning towards our prince his
crowns

The occasion
of Thomas
Fitzgiralde
his rebellion.

James
de la Hyde

Cromer
lord chan-
cellor.

crostone auasteth: yet saie not hereafter, but in this open hostilitie which here we professe and proclame, we haue shewed our selues no villaines nor churles, but warriours and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine; I receiued it with an oath, and haue vsed it to your benefit. I should staue mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoiance. Now haue I need of mine owne sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge, alreadie bathed in the Giralduines blood, and now is newlie whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore saue your selues from vs, as from open enemies, I am none of Henrie his deputie, I am his fo, I haue more mind to conquer than to gouerne, to meet him in the field than to serue him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cause thereto, would ioine in this quarrell (as I hope they will) then should he be some able (as I trust he shall) for his crueltie and tyrannie, for which the age to come may lawfully scode him by among the ancient tyrants of most abhominable and hatefull memorie.

Having added to this shamefull oration manie other slanderous and foule tearmes, which for diuerse respects I spare to pen, he would haue surrendered the sword to the lord chancellor, who (as I said before) being armed for the lord Thomas his coming, and also being loath that his blacknesse should seme disloiall in refusing the sword, or his stewardnesse ouer cruell in snatching it upon the first proffer, toke the lord Thomas by the wrist of the hand, and requested him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheekes, to giue him for two or three words the hearing, which granted, the reuerend father spake as followeth.

The chancellor his oration.

My lord, although hatred be commonlie the handmaiden of truth, because vsing him that plainelie expresteth his mind, to be for the more part of most men disliked: yet notwithstanding I am so well assured of your lordship his good inclination towards me, and your lordship so certaine of mine entire affection towards you, as I am emboldened, notwithstanding this companie of armed men, frelie and frankelie to utter that, which by me declared, and by your lordship followed, will turne (God willing) to the auail of you, your friends, allies, and this countrie. I doubt not (my lord) but you know, that it is wisdom for any man to looke before he leape, and to sowe the water before his ship hull thereon, & namely where the matter is of weight, there it behooueth to follow sound, sage, and mature aduise. Therefore (my lord) sith it is no malgame for a subiect to leue an armie against his prince: it lieth your lordship in hand to breathe longer on the matter, as well by forecasting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by reuoluing the hope wherewith you are fed. What should moue your lordship to this sudden attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but secretlie muttered, not manifestlie published. And if I should grant you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in some respect to be commended: yet reason would you should suspend the reuenge until the certaintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it standeth with the dutie and allegiance of a good subiect (from whom I hope in God you meane not to differ your selfe) not to spurne and kicke against his prince, but contrariwise, if his souereigne be mightie, to feare him;

The subiects
dutie to-
wards his
king.

if he be profitable to his subiects, to honour him: if he command, to obeye him: if he be kind, to loue him: if he be victorious, to pittie him: if he be a tyrant, to beare with him: considering that in such case it is better with patience to bow, than with stubburnnesse to breake. For sacred is the name of a king, and odious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God shielded; the other in hell forged, and by the diuell executed. And therefore who so will obserue the course of histories, or weigh the iustice of God in punishing malefactors, shall easily see, that albeit the sunne shineth for a time on them that are in rebellion: yet such sweet beginnings are at length clasped by with sharpe & sorrow ends.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armour against your king, it resteth to discusse whether you be able (though you were willing) to annoie your king. For if among meane and puiuat foes it be reckoned for folie, in a secret grudge to professe open hatred, and where he is not able to hinder, there to shew a willing mind to hurt: much more ought your lordship in so general a quarrell as this, that concerneth the king, that toucheth the nobilitie, that apperteineth to the whole commonwelth, to forsaie the king his power on the one side, & your force on the other, and then to iudge if you be able to cocke with him, and to put him beside the cullyon; and not whilst you strue to sit in the saddle, to lose to your owne vndoing both the horse and the saddle.

King Henrie is knowne to be in these our daies so puissant a prince, and so victorious a warrior, that he is able to conquer forein dominions: and thinke you that he cannot defend his owne? He taineth kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne subiects? Suppose you conquer the land, do you imagine that he will not recouer it? Therefore (my lord) flatter not your selfe ouermuch, repose not so great assistance either in your troope of horsemen, or in your band of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers. What face shewer they put now on the matter, or what successe shewer for a season they haue, because it is easie for an armie to banquish them that do not resist: yet hereafter when the king shall send his power into this countrie, you shall see your adherents like slipper changelings plucke in their hounes, and such as were content to beare you by the chin as long as you could swim, when they espie you sinke, they will by little and little thinke from you, and percase will bucke you ouer head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your sailles, doubt not but diuerse will anerre vnto you and sed on you as crows on carion: but if anye storme happen to bluster, then will they be sure to leaue you post alone sticking in the mire or sands, hauing least helpe when you haue most need. And what will then inue of this. The branches will be pardoned, the root apprehended, your honour diffained, your house atainted, your armes reuerfed, your manours razed, your doings examined; at which time God knoweth what an hartburning it will be, when that with no colour may be denied, which without shame cannot be confessed. My lord, I powre not out oracles as a soothsayer, for I am neither a prophet, nor the sonne of a prophet. But it may be, that I am some frantike Callandra being partener of his spirit in forecasting the truth, and partaker of his misfortune in that I am not (when I tell the truth) beleued of your lordship, whom God defends from being Idiamas.

Weigh therefore (my lord) the nobilitie of your ancestors, remember your father his late exhortation, forget not your dutie vnto your prince, consider the estate of this poore countrie, with what heaps of curstles you shall be loden, when your soul-

The name of
a king sacred.

Rebellion
from heauen
it springeth.

Callandra
a prophetess.

diets

diers shall rife the poore fubiects, & fo far indamage the whole relme, as they are not yet bozne that shall hereafter feele the smart of this vppone. You haue not gone fo far but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offense as yet not ouer heinous, cleare to his clemencie, abandon this headlong folie. Which I craue in most humble wife of your lordship, for the loue of God, for the dutie you owe your prince, for the affection you beare the countrie, and for the respect you haue to your owne safetie, whom God defend from all traitorous & wicked attempts.

Having ended his oration, which he set forth with such a lamentable action, as his cheekes were all beblubbered with teares, the bozemen, namelie such as vnderstood not English, began to diuine what the lord chancelor ment with all this long circumstance; some of them reporting that he was preaching a sermon, others said that he stood making of some herotical poetrie in the praise of the lord Thomas. And thus as euerie idiot shot his foolish bolt at the wise counsellor his discourse, who in effect did nought else but drop pretious stones before hogs, one Ward de Melan, an Irish rithmour, and a rotten sheepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Irish verses, as though his tong had run on pattens, in commendation of the lord Thomas, inuesting him with the title of Silken Thomas, because his horsemens iacks were gorgeouslie imbrodered with silke: and in the end he told him that he lingered there ouerlong. Whereat the lord Thomas being quickened, did cast his eie towards the lord chancelor, & said thus.

The reple of Silken Thomas.

MY lord chancelor, I come not hither to take aduise what I should do, but to giue you to vnderstand what I mind to do. It is easie for the sound to counsell the sicke: but if the sore had smarted you as much as it felleth me, you would be percase as impatient as I am. As you would wish me to honour my prince, so dutie willeth me to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will with such tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my destruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitors haue bene before him. But if it be my hap to miscarie, as you seme to prognosticat, catch that catch may, I will take the market as it riseth, and will chose rather to die with ballantnesse and libertie, than to liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as strong as he is, and as weake as I am, I shall be able like a fleshy boome to itch the bodie of his kingdome, and force him to scratch deepele before he be able to pike me out of my seame. Wherefore my lord, I thanke you for your good counsell, and were it not that I am too crabb'd a note in descant to be now tuned, it might be that I would haue warbled sweeter harmony than at this instant I meane to sing. ¶ With these wordes he rendered by the sword, and flung a waile like a beebem, being garded with his brutish digne of baineslike rebels.

The counsell sent secretlie vpon his departure to master maior and his brethren, to apprehend (if they conuenientlie might) Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats. But the warning was so skarbortow, the enimie so strong, the citie (by reason of the plague that ranged in towne and in countrie) so dispeopled, as their attempt therein would seme but vaine and fruitlesse.ouer this, the weaker part of the rebels

would not pen by themselves within the citie wals, but stood houering aloofe off towards Dismantowne græne, on the top of the hill where the gallies stood (a fit centre for such a circle) till time they were aduertised of their capteine Thomas his returne. This open rebellion in this wise denounced; part of the counsell, namelie Alen archbishop of Dublin & Fin- glasse chiefe baron, hied with bag and baggage to the castell of Dublin, whereof John White was constable, who after was dubbed knight by the king in England, for his toozthie seruice done in that vppone.

Thomas & his crew, supposing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they should find no blocke to stumble at sauing the earle of Ossorie, agreed to trie if by any allurements he could be traund to their confederacie. And forsomuch as the lord James Butler was linked with Thomas Fitzgiralde in great amitie and friendship, it was thought best to giue him the onset, who if he were wonn to swaie with them, they would not weigh two chips the force of his father the earle of Ossorie. Thomas forthwith sent his messengers and letters to his cousine the lord Butler, couenenting to diuide with him haile the kingdome, would he associat him in this enterpryse. Wherevpon the lord Butler returned Thomas his brokers with this letter.

The lord Butler his letter to Thomas Fitzgiralde.

TAKING pen in hand to write you my resolute answer, I muse in the vertue first line by what name to call you, my lord, or my cousine: seeing your notorious treason hath dissained your honour, and your desperate lewdnesse shamed your kindred. You are so liberall in parting stakes with me, that a man would wene you had no right vnto the game: so importunat in crauing my companie, as if you would persuade me to hang with you for good fellowship. Do you thinke that James was so mad, as to gape for gogions; or so vngriuous, as to sell his truth for a peece of Ireland? Were it so (as it cannot be) that the chickens you reckon, were both hatched and feathered: yet be shou sure, I had rather in this quarell die thine enimie, than liue thy partener. For the kindnesse you proffer me, and god loue in the end of your letter, the best waie I can I purpose to requite, that is, in aduising you, though you haue fetcht your feaze, yet to looke well per ye leape. Ignorance and errour, with a certeine opinion of dutie, haue caried you vniawares to this follie, not yet so ranke but it maie be cured. The king is a vessell of bountie & mercie, your wordes against his maiestie shall not be accounted malicious, but rather belched out for heat and impotencie, except your selfe by heaping offenses disconuert a mischeuous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitzgiralde nettled with this round answer, was determined to inuade the countrie of Bilkennie, first forcing an oath vpon the gentlemen of the pale: and such as would not agree thereto he took prisoners. Fingall, which was not before acquainted with the recourse of the Irish enimie, was left open to be preided and spoiled by the Toles, who were therein assisted by John Burnell of Balgriffin, a gentleman of a faire liuing, settled in a good battle soile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoid of wit, were it not that he was ouertaken with this treason. The Dublinians hauing notice that the enimie made hanoche of their neighbors of Fingall, issued out of the citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bridge of Bilmatinan. And hauing insounte-

Ward de Melan.

Silken Thomas.

Perrie lord of Ossorie.

Thomas rendered by the sword.

Fin- glasse. John White.

Fingall spoiled.

John Burnell of Balgriffin.

The Chronicles of Ireland.

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The Dublinians discontented.

Patrike Fitzsimons slain.

Defenders sent from Thomas to Dublin.

Francis Herbert sent into England and Eustace of Balicullan.

The archbishop of Dublin meaneth to saile into England. Bartholomew Fitzgiralde.

1534 Teling. Waffer.

red with the Irish nére the wood Salcocke, what for the number of the rebels, and the lacke of an expert capteine to lead the armie of Dublin in battell raie, there were fourescore of the citizens slaine, and the prieste not rescued. In this conflict, Patrike Fitzsimons, with diuerse other good householders, miscaried.

This victorie bzied so great an insolencie in Thomas Fitzgiralde, as he sent his messengers to the citie, declaring that albeit they offered him that iniurie, as that he could not haue free passage with his companie to & fro in the pale, & therefore would he vse the benefit of his late slairnith, or be answerable in lust reuenge to their due desert, he might by law of armes put their citie to fire and sword: yet this notwithstanding, if they would but permit his men to laie siege to the castell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would undertake to backe them in such favourable wise, as the stoutest champion in his armie should not be so hardie, as to offer the basest in their citie so much as a killip. The citizens considering that the towne by reason of the sicknesse was weakened, and by this late overthrow greatlie discouraged, were forced to make a vertue of necessitie, by lighting a candle before the duell, till time the kings pleasure were knowne; to whom with letters they posted one of their aldermen named Francis Herbert, whom shortly after, the king for his seruice dubbed knight, infeofing him with part of Christopher Eustace of Balicullan his lands, who had vnadvisedlie a foot in this rebellion. But before the citizens would returne answer to Thomas as touching this message, they secretlie aduertised maister John White constable of the castell of this vnlawfull demand.

The constable weighing the securitie of the citie, little regarding the force of the enemie, agreed willingly thereto, so that he might be sufficientlie stozed with men and vittels. John Alen archbishop of Dublin, fearing that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the castell, bzake his mind touching his sailing into England, to one of his seruants named Bartholomew Fitzgiralde, whom notwithstanding he were a Ciraldine, he held for his trustiest and inwardest counsellor. Bartholomew undertaking to be the archbishop his pilot, untill he were past the barre, encouraged his maister to imbarke himselfe hard by the Dams gate. And as they were hulling in the channell that evening, they were not warie, untill the barke strake on the sands nére Clontarfe.

The archbishop with his man stole secretlie to Tartaine, there meaning to lurke untill the wind had serued to saile into England, where he scarcelie six houres sojourned, when Thomas Fitzgiralde knew of his arrivall, and accompanied with James de la Hyde, sir John Fitzgiralde, Oliver Fitzgiralde his vnckles, timelie in the morning, being the eight and twentieth of Iulie, he posted to Tartaine, beset the house, commanded John Teling and Nicholas Waffer to apprehend the archbishop, whom they haled out of his bed, brought him naked in his shirt, barefooted, and bareheaded, to their capteine. Whom when the archbishop espied, incontinentlie he kneeled and with a pittifull countenance & lamentable voice, he besought him for the loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his present calamitie, and what malice sooner he bare his person, yet to respect his calling and vocation, in that his enemie was a christian, and he amongst christians an archbishop.

As he spake thus, bequeathing his soule to God, his bodie to the enemies mercie, Thomas being stricken with some compassion, & withall indamed with

desire of reuenge, turned his horse aside, sailing in Irish (*Birwenne boddough*) which is as much to saie in English, as Away with the churle. or Take the churle from me: which doubtles he spake, as after he declared, meaning the archbishop should be detained as prisoner. But the cattifs that were present, rather of malice than of ignorance, misconstruing his words, murdered the archbishop without further debate, bzained and hacked him in gobbets, his blood with Abell crying to God for reuenge, which after befell to all such as were principals in this horrible murder. The place is ever since hedged and imbeded on euerie side, ouergrowne and unfrequented for detestation of the fact. This Alen (as before is declared) was in seruice with cardinall Wolseie, of deepe iudgement in the law canon, the onelie match of Stephen Gardiner, an other of Wolseies chaplains, for auoiding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, beadie hated of the Ciraldines for his maisters sake & his owne, as he that crossed them diuerse times, and much bzided both father and son in their gouernements, not vnlike to haue promoted their accusations, and to haue bene a forger of the letter before mentioned, which turned to his final destruction.

The rebels hauing in this execrable wise imbeded their hands in the archbishop his blood, they rode to Houth, toke sir Christopher lord of Houth prisoner, & upon their returne from thence, they apprehended maister Luttrell chiefe iustice of the common pleas, conueying him with them as their prisoner. The Dublinians during this space, hauing respite to pause sent into the castell by night sufficient stozes of vittels, at which time, John Fitzsimons, one of their aldermen, sent to maister constable twentie tun of wine, foure & twentie tun of beere, two thousand bzie ling, sixtens hogheads of powdered beere, and twentie chambers, with an iron chaine for the bzaw bzidge of the castell that was newlie forged in his owne house for the auoiding of all suspition. The castell being with men, munition, and vittels abundantly furnished, answer was returned to Thomas Fitzgiralde, purporting a consent for the receiving of his souldiours. Which granted, he sent thither James Field of Luske, Nicholas Waffer, John Teling, Edward Houks (who was likewise a pirat scowring the coast, and greatlie annoyng all passengers) Broad and Burcell, with an hundred souldiours attendant on them, as on their capteins. These valiant kutterkins planted nére Bresson his innes, right ouer against the castell gate two or three falcons, hauing with such strong rampiers intrenched their companie, as they little weighed the shot of the castell. And to withzawe the constable from discharging the ordinance, they threatened to take the youth of the citie, and place them on the top of their trenches for maister constable to shot at, as at a marke he would be loth to hit.

The English pale in this wise weakened, the citizens appeased, and the castell besieged, Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats were resolved to trie if the lord Butler would stand to his daughtie letter; and sith he would not by faire means be allured, he should be (maugre his head) by foule means compelled to assist them in this their generall attempt. Thomas upon this determination, being accompanied with Oneale, diuerse Scots, James de la Hyde, his principall counsellour, John de la Hyde, Edward Fitzgiralde his vnckle, sir Richard Walsh parson of Loughfelowie, John Burnell of Balgriffin, James Cernon, Walter Walsh, Robert Walsh, Maurice Walsh, with a maine armie, innaded the erle of Desfoxe and the lord Butler his lands, burnt and wasted the countrie of Bilkennie to Thomas towne, the

Then archbishop of Dublin murdered at Tartaine.

The lord of Houth taken prisoner. Justice Luttrell slain.

The castell of Dublin besieged.

Field, Waffer, Teling, Houks.

Thomas Fitzgiralde used the countrie of Bilkennie.

more inhabitants being constrained to shunne his
force, rather than to withstand his power.

Fitzgerald his approach towards these confines
hunted, the earle of Ossory, and his son the lord But-
ler, with all the gentlemen of the countie of Kilkennie,
assembled nere Jeripon, to determine what or-
der they might take, in withstanding the invasion of
the rebels. And as they were thus in parle, a gentle-
man of the Butlers accompanied with sixtene hor-
slemen, departed secretly from the folkemote, & made
towards Thomas Fitzgerald and his armie, who
was then ready to encampe himselfe at Thomas
towne. When the chalenger was escried, and the cer-
taine number knowne, sixtene of Fitzgerald his
houslemen did charge him, and presentlie followed
them seven score horslemen, with two or three ban-
ners displayed, pursuing them untill they came to
the hill where all the gentlemen were assembled, who
being so suddenly taken, could not stand to bicker;
but some fled this waie, some that waie, the earle
was scattered from his companie, and the lord But-
ler unhware was hurt: whom when such of the rebels
knew as favoured him, they pursued him but coldlie,
and let him escape on horsebacke, taking his waie
to Downmore (nere Kilkennie) where he late at
surgerie.

During the time that Thomas with his armie
was ransacking the erle of Ossory his lands, Francis
Herebert returned from England to Dublin
with the king and counsels letters to maister Shil-
lingforth their maior, and his brethren, with letters
likewise to maister White the constable, to with-
stand (as their dutie of allegiance bound them) the
traitorous practises of Thomas and his complices,
and that with all speed they should be succored upon
the sight of these letters. Maister Thomas Fitz-
simons recorder of the citie, a gentleman that shew-
ed himselfe a polittike and a comfortable counsellor
in these troubles, paraphrasing the king his gracious
letters, with diuerse good and sound constructions,
emboldened the citizens to breake their new made
league, which with no traitor was to be kept. The
aldermen and communalitie, with this pithie persua-
sion easilie weighed, gave forth with order, that
the gates should be shut, their percullices dismounted,
the traitors that besieged the castell apprehended,
flags of defiance upon their walls placed, and an o-
pen breach of truce proclaimed.

Field and his companies (who did not all this
while batter aught of the castell, but onlie one hole
that was boied through the gate with a pellet, which
lighted in the mouth of a demie canon, planted with
in the castell) understanding that they were betrayed,
began to shrinke their heads, trusting more to their
heales than to their weapons: some ran one way,
some another, diuerse thought to haue bene housed
and so to lurke in Lozels den, who were thrust out by
the head and shoulders: few of them swam ouer the
Liffie, the greater number taken and imprisoned.
Forthwith post upon post rode to Thomas Fitz-
gerald, who then was riding the countie of Kil-
kennie, certifieng him that all was mard, the fat
was in the fire, he brought an old house about his
owne eares, the Ballocks of Dublin kept not touch
with him, the English armie was ready to be shipt,
Herebert with the king his letters returned; now it
stod him upon to shew himselfe a man or a mouse.
Thomas with these tidings amazed, made speedie
repaire to Dublin, sending his pursuants before
him, to command the gentlemen of the English
pale to mete him with all their power nere Dub-
lin. And in his waie towards the citie, his companie
toke diuerse children of the Dublinians, that
kept in the countie (by reason of the contagion that

then was in the towne) namelie Michael Fitz-
simons, Patrike Fitzsimons, William Fitzsimons,
all sons to Walter Fitzsimons late maior, at which
time was also taken James Stanthurst, with di-
uerse other yonglings of the citie.

Having marched nere Dublin, he sent doctor
Trauerse, Peter Lince of the Knoke, and Oliver
Grace, as messengers (so I maie not rightlie
fearme them ambassadors) to the citizens, who cros-
sing the Liffie from the blacke friers to the kefe, ex-
plained to the maior and aldermen their errand, the
effect whereof was, either to stand to their former
promise, or else to restore to their captaine his men,
whom they wrongfullie detained in goale. The first
and last point of this request statlie by the citizens
denied, the messengers returned, declaring what
cold intertainment they had in Dublin. Thomas
herewith frieng in his greafe, caused part of his ar-
mie to burne the barke wherein Herebert sailed from
England: which done without resistance, the bestell
road at anchor nere saint Marie abbeie, they in-
denozed to stop all the springes that flowed vnto the
towne, and to cut the pipes of the conduits, where-
by they should be destitute of fresh water. Shortly
after, they laid siege to the castell in the Shipstreet,
from whence they were basilie by the ordinance
seized, and all the thatcht houses of the street were
burnt with wild fire, which maister White deuised,
because the enimie should not be there rescued.

When no butter could sticke on their bread, in
that part of the citie, the greater number of the
rebels assembled to Thomas his court, and marched
to saint Thomas his street, rasing downe the parti-
tions of the row of houses before them on both sides
of the street, finding none to withstand them: so the
inhabitants fled into the citie, so that they made a
long lane on both the sides like a gallerie, covered
all ouer head, to shield as well their horslemen as
their footmen from gunshot. This done they burnt
the new street, planted a falcon right against the
new gate, and it discharged, pearced the gate, and
kild an apprentice of Thomas Stephens alderman,
as he went to bring a balon of water from the high
pipe, which by reason the springes were damd by, was
at that time dyie. Richard Stanton, commonlie
called Dicke Stanton, then gailor of the new gate,
a good seruitor, an excellent markeman, as his va-
liant seruice that time did approue. For besides that
he gald diners of the rebels as they would skip from
house to house, by causing some of them with his
peece to carrie their errands in their buttocks; so he
perceiued one of the enimies, leueling at the win-
dow of spike at which he stod: but whether it were,
that the rebell his powder failed him, or some gimball
or other was out of frame, Stanton toke him so
trulie for his marke, as he strake him with his bul-
let fall in the forehead vnder the bryn of his scull,
and withall turned by his heeles.

Stanton not satisfied with his death, issued out
at the wicket, stript the barlot mother-naked, and
brought in his peece and his attire. The desperat-
nelle of this fact disliked of the citizens, and great-
lie stomached by the rebels, before Stanton retur-
ned to his standing, the enimies brought faggots &
fiers to the new gate, and incontinentlie fired them.
The townesmen perceiuing that if the gate were
burnt, the enimies would be encouraged upon hope
of the spoile, to venter more fiercelie; than if they
were incountred without the walls, thought it expe-
dient presentlie to charge them. To this exploit they
were the more egerlie moued, because that notwithstanding
Thomas his souldiours were manie in
number; yet they knew that the better part of his
companie bare but hollow hearts to the quarrell:
for

Messengers
sent to Dublin
Trauerse.
Lince.
Grace.

Dublin beles-
ged.

The ship-
street fired.

Richard
Stanton.

Faggots laid
vnto the
new gate.

The erle of
Ossory fleth.
The lord
Butler
wounded.

Francis Here-
bert returns
with from
England.
Shilling-
forth.

Thomas
Fitzsimons.

His league to
be kept with
strangers.
The Dublin-
ians broke
with Tho-
mas Fitzgi-
rald.

Field and his
companies ta-
ken.

The youth of
Dublin taken
prisoners.

for the number of the wise gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the citie, the most part of those arrivels, which were shot over the walles, were unheeded, and nothing annoied them: some shot in letters; and foretold them of all the treacherous stratagems that were in hammering.

That espied the citizens, and gathering the faintnesse of his soldiours thereby, blazed abroad upon the walles triumphant newes, that the king his armie was arrived: and as it had bene so in deed, suddenly to the number of foure hundred rushed out at the new gate, through flame and fire upon the rebels, who at the first sight of armed men, wearing no lesse but the truth was so, otherwise assured, that the citie would neuer dare to encounter them, gave ground, forsooke their capitaine, dispersed and scattered into diuerse corners, their falcon taken, an hundred of their stoutest Galloglasses slain. Thomas Fitzgiralde fled to the graie friers in St. Francis his street, there coucht that night, unknowne to the citie, untill the next morning he stole privilie to his armie not far off, who stood in wonderfull feare that he was apprehended.

Thomas his courage by this late overthrow somewhat cooled, and also being assuredly told, that a fleet was espied a farre off, bearing full saile towards the coast of Ireland, he was some intreated, having so manie irons in the fire, to take eggs for his monie: & withall, having no forren succor, either from Paulus tertius, or Charles the first, which daily he expected, he was fore quailed, being of himselfe, though strong in number of soldiours, yet unfurnished of sufficient munition and artillery, to stand & withstand the king his armie in a pitcht field, or a maine battell. Upon this & other considerations, to make as false weather as he could, he sent James de la Hyde, Auncle of the Knocke, William Bath of Dollardstowne, doctor Trauerse, Thomas Field of Wainstone, as messengers to the citizens, to treat with them of a truce, who being let in at the new gate, repaired to William Kellie his house, where maister masor and his brethren were assembled. The articles propounded by them to the citizens, were these.

1. That Thomas Fitzgiralde his men, who were detained in prison, should be redelivered.
2. Item, that the citizens should incontinently deliver him at one payment, a thousand pounds in monie.
3. Item, that they should deliver him five hundred pounds in wares.
4. Item, to furnish him with munition and artillery.
5. Item, to addresse their favorable letters to the king for their capitaine his pardon, and all his confederats.

The masor and aldermen, having ripellie debated the tenour of these articles, agreed, that maister Fitzsimons their recorder should answer unto the first, that they would not sticke to let his servants at libertie, so he would redeliver them the youth of the citie, which was nothing else in effect, but ty for tat. As for the second and the third demand, they were so greatlie by his warres impoverished, as they might hardlie spare monie or wares. And as touching implements for warre, they were neuer such fond niddicoches, as to offer any man a rod to beat their owne talles, or to betake their massines unto the custodie of the wolues, maruelling much that their capitaine would so farre overshoot himselfe, as to be taken with such apparant repugnantie. For if he intended to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, and to make them humble meanes to his highnesse for the obtaining of his pardon, he ought ra-

ther to make sute for some good bellam pard ment for the ingrossing thereof, than for inquisition and artillery to withstand his prince: When for that the unlaifull demands rejected, they would willingly descend to the first and lastas well requesting him to deliver them the youth of the citie, as to submit himselfe and his companie to the king his mercie promising not onlie with their fauorable letters, but also with their personall presence to stand there, as far as in them late; his humble sute to the king and counsell.

As they parted thus to and fro, William Bath of Dollardstowne a student of the common lawes spake: My masters, what madely all this long circumstance? Let vs all drinke of one cup. Which words were shortly after by Sheddington his arriual so crookedly glofed, as by drinking of a stone cup he lost the best ioint of his bodie. For albeit he on his trial he construed his words to import an vniforme consent towards the obtaining of Fitzgiralde his pardon, yet all this could not colour his matter in such wise, but that he and Cusack of Walsentowne were executed at the castle of Dublin. The messengers knowing their capitaine to be at a losse, were agreed to take the offers of the first & last conditions, and that to the accomplishing of these articles hostages should be given of either part. The messengers delivered to the citizens doctor Trauerse & others, the citizens delivered them Richard Talbot, Alzeman, Rochford, & Kerrie. These were committed to the custodie of David Sutton of Kabyde, who redelivered them to the citizens immediately after upon the certaine rumoz of Sheddington his repaire.

Thomas grovone to this point with the Dublinians raised his siege, caused his artillery to be conveyed to Houth, marching after with his armie; to the end he might as well bulch the English ships if they durst anerre the coast, as to bicker with the soldiours upon their arriual. But before he toke his sojourn into Houth, he rode to Spainoth, to see that the castle should be of all sides fortified, where being done to understand, that a companie of white cotes with red crosses landed at Dublin secretly in the dead of the night, and also that another band arrived at Houth, and were ready to march towards Dublin, he posted incontinently with two hundred horsemen towards the water side, encountered nere Clontarke, the Hamertons, two valiant and courageous gentlemen, having in their companie foure score soldiours, where they fought so valliantly for their liues, as so few footmen could haue done against so great a troope of horsemen: for they did not onlie mangle and hacke diuerse of the rebels, but also one of the Hamertons wounded Thomas Fitzgiralde in the forehead. Some report that one of the Spulgranes, who was of kin to Fitzgiralde, was slain in this conflict, whose death he is said to haue taken greatlie to hart. The rebelles fled with the slaughter of the English: bled with all speed to Houth, shot at the ships that rode at anchor, caused them to flee from thence, & to make towards Skerri, where staid both the Eglesbys, and the Dacres, with their horsemen. Kouks, Fitzgiralde his pirat, was sent to scoure the coast, who toke an English barke laden with verie faire gelobings, and sent them to his capitaine. After that Thomas had returned with this bodie, and the spoile of such as were slain to Spainoth, Sir William Byereton knight with his sonne John Byereton, was infused at Houth with two hundred & fiftie soldiours verie well appointed, and maister Salisburie with two hundred archers.

Lastlie landed at the ship, neare the bridge of Dublin, Sir William Sheddington knight lord depute,

The citizens
bicker with
the rebels.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
flees.

De la Hyde.
Auncle.
Trauerse.
Field.

The articles
propounded to
the citizens.

The citizens
answer these
articles.

William
Bath.

Cusack of
Walsentowne.

Richard
Talbot.
Alzeman.
Rochford.
Kerrie.

David Sutton.

The white
cotes landed
at Dublin.

The Hamertons.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
wounded.

Skerris.
Dacres.

English
pirates.

Sir William
Byereton.
John Byereton.

Salisbury.

Letters of
thanks from
the Dublin
and
the lord of
Trim
to the
governor
of the
castell.

Thomas
Fitzgerald
goth toward
Connagh
the castell of
Shamagh
de-
leged.

the william
Bereton
summoneth
the castell.

Christopher
Parese be-
cometh the
castell of
Shamagh
deleged
for
the
governor.

the lord
petit
captaine
to
the
castell
when

putie, whome the Irish call the gunner, because he was preferred from that office of the king his master gunner to governe them, and that they can euill bosome to be ruled of anie that is but meanlie bozne. The maior and aldermen receiued the gouernor with shot, and great solemnitie, who yielding them hartie thanks for their true and loiall seruice, deliuered them the king and counsell his letters, purporting the same effect in writing that he before expressed in words. Barnwell lord of Trimleslowe, who had the custodie of the sword, did surrender it to sir William Sheffington, according to the meaning of the king his letters patents on that behalfe.

Thomas Fitzgiralde hauing intelligence that the whole armie was arrived, warded the castell of Spalnoth so stronglie, as he toke it to be impregnable. And to the end he might giue the gouernor battell, he rode towards Connagh, to leuie all such power of the Irish, as either for wages, or for goodwill he could win to assist him. The lord deputie forewarned of his drift, marched with the English armie, and the power of the pale to Spalnoth, and laid siege to the castell on the north side towards the park. But before anie peace was discharged, sir William Bereton, by the deputie his appointment, did summon the castell, offering such as kept it to depart with bag and baggage, and besides their pardon to be liberallie rewarded for their good and loiall seruice. But such as warded the castell, scornfullie scoffing the knight his offer, gave him hartie thanks for his kindnesse which they said proceeded rather of his gentleness than of their deserting, wishing him to keepe by in soe such liberall offers for a dærs peare, and to write his commendations home to his friends, and withall, to keepe his head warme, for at their hands he was like to haue but a cold lute. Fitzgiralde not to take such heape of their safetie, in that they were assured, that he and his fellows should be sooner from the siege raised, than they from the hold removed.

Upon this round answer the ordinances were planted on the north side of the castell, which made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight: yet the castell so warlike on each side inclosed, as the rebelles were imbarred from all egress and regress. Christopher Parese fosterbrother to Thomas Fitzgiralde, to whome of speciall trust the charge of the castell was chieflie committed, proffering his voluntarie seruice (which for the more part is so thanklesse and vnano- tie as it sinketh) determined to go an ale beyond his fellows, in betraying the castell to the gouernor. In this resolution he shot a letter indosed to the lord deputie, the effect whereof was, that he would deuisse means the castell should be taken, so that he might haue a summe of monie for his paines, and a competent staie during his life. This motion by letters to and fro agreed upon, Parese caused such as kept the ward, to swill and boll so much, as they noised all the night like grunting hogs, little misdreming that whil- lest they slept, anie Judas had bene waking within the castell.

The occasion of this extraordinary exceeding was colozed, for snatching into the castell a field pece the daie before from the armie, for which they kept such pot-reuels, and triumphant carousing, as none of them could discern his beds head from the beds foot: Parese, taking his tide and time, made signe to the armie, betwene the twilight and dawning of the daie, who hauing scaling ladders in a readinesse, would not ouerslip the oportunitie offered. Holland, petit captaine, or schiltburie, was one of the foremost in this exploit, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by milshay into a pipe of feathers, where he was by to the arme pike, so stiffelie sticking therein,

and also vnwealdie in his armor, as there could not helpe himselfe neither in nor out. Sir William Bereton and his band hauing scaled the wals eried on a sudden, saint George, saint George. These drunken swads that kept the castell thought that this shout was nought else but a draine, till time they espied the walles full of armed men, and one of them with all perceling holl and thus intangled in the pipe, be- stowed an arrow upon him, which by god hap did misse him. Holland forthwith releued by his fellows, shot at the other, and strake him so fall under the skull, as he left him sprawling. The resistance was faint, when the souldiours entered, some yielding themselves, others that withstood them kaine. Sir William Bereton ran vp to the highest turret of the castell, & advanced his standard on the top thereof, notfiling to the deputie, that the fort was his. Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beds, so manie goodlie hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such braue furniture, as tralie it was accounted (for household stuffe and vtensiles) one of the richest earle his houses under the crowne of England. The lord deputie entred the castell in the after none, vpon whose repaire, James de la Hyde, and Watward, two shipp- ing men of the earle his chappell, that were taken prisoners, prostrated themselves on the ground, pitifullie warbling a song, named *Dulcis amica*.

The gouernour ransomed with the sweet and deli- cat voices, at the instance of Gerald Ailmer chiefe iustice, and others of the counsell pardoned them. Christopher Parese not misdoubting but that he should haue bene dabo knight for his seruice done that daie, presented himselfe before the gouernour, with a cherefull and familiar countenance: as who should saie, Here is he that did the deed. The deputie verie colbrie & halfe sternelie casting an eie towards him said: Parese, I am to thanke thee on my ma- ster the king his behalfe, for this thy proffered seruice which I must acknowledge to haue bene a sparing of great charges, and a saving of manie valiant souldiours liues to his highnesse: and when his maiestie shall be thereof aduertised, I dare be bold to saie that he will not let thee lacke during thy life. And because I maie be the better instructed how to reward thee during my gouernement, I would gladlie learne, what thy lord and master bestowed on thee. Parese set a gog with these mild speeches, and supposing the more he recked, the better he should be rewarded, lest not untold the meanest god turne that euer he receiued at his lords hands. Why Parese (quoth the deputie) couldest thou find in thine heart to betraye his castell, that hath bene so good lord to thee? True lie, thou that art so hollow to him, wilt neuer be true to vs. And there withall, turning his talke to his officers, he gaue them commandement to deliuer Parese the summe of monie that was promised him vpon the surrender of the castell, and after to chop off his head. Parese at this cold salutation of Farewell & be hanged, turning his simpering to whinnying said: My lord, had I wist that you would haue dealt so freitlike with me, your lordship should not haue knowne this fort with so little bloudshed as you did.

Whereat master Wolfe, a gentleman of worth, Wolfe, and one that retained to that old earle of Antragh, standing in the prease, said in Irish, *Antragh*, which is as much in English as *Wolfe*, whereof grew the Irish proverbe, to this daie in the language used, *Do late quoth Wolfe, as we saie, Beware of had I wist, or After meat mullard, or You come a daie after the fauce, or Better done than said.* The deputie asked them that stood by: what was that he spake? Master Wolfe willing to expound his owne words, slept forth and answered: My lord, I said nothing, but that Parese is seized of a towne nere the water side

Bereton sca-
leth the wals.

Bereton ad-
uanceth his
standard.

The lord de-
putie entere
the castell.
James de la
Hyde.

Gerald Ail-
mer.

Parese com-
meth before
the gouernor.

A notable
indgement.

Wolfe.

Antragh.

The pronerbe
Do late quoth
Wolfe.

W. tra.

Barre behead.

The deputie returneth to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgiraldo marcheth towards Wainoth.

Wiereton left to defend Dublin.

Calloghestes taken and slain.

Edmund Deine escapeth.

Thomas and his compaignie flee.

Fitzgiraldo his stratagem.

William Sento. Rice Spawell. Edward Griffith.

side named Walter, and I would gladly know how he will dispose it before he be executed. The governor not mistrusting that master Wolfe had glofed (so) if he understood the true signification of the term, it was verie like that too late had not bene so sharpe to Barre, but too sone had bene as sowe to him) willed the monie to be told to Barre, and presentlie caused him to be cut shorter by the head: declaring thereby, that although for the time he imbraced the benefit of the treason, yet after he could not digest the treacherie of the traitor.

The deputie having left a garrison in the castell, returned with the armie triumphantlie to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgiraldo not misdoubting but such as he left in the castell were able to stand to their tackle, lenied a huge armie in Decidur his countrie, and in Connagh, to the number of seven thousand, marching with them towards Wainoth, minding to have remoued the king his armie from the siege: but being certified, that Barre his fosterbrother yelded up the castell to the deputie, the better part of his compaignie gaue him the slip. All this notwithstanding he made with such as would stick to him to Clane. The lord deputie hauing intelligence of his approach, left sir William Wiereton at Dublin to defend the citie, & marched with the armie to the Spaas, where he took seven score of Thomas his Calloghestes, and lead them all vnarmed toward Johnstowne. The scoutwatch espiong Thomas to march nere, imparted it to the gouernour, who presentlie commanded each man to kill his prisoner before the charge, which was dispatched only Edmund Deine escaping mother naked by sight to Thomas his compaignie, leauing his shirt in his keepers hands. Both the armies aduanced themselves one against the other, but the hoysmen of either side could not charge, by reason of a marish or quakemire that parted them. Wherefore the deputie caused two or three field peeces to be discharged, which scattered Thomas and his rabblement, inso much as he neuer in such open wise durst after beate up head in the English pale, but rather by starts and sudden stratagems would nosh and then gall the English. As when the castell of Rathmigan was wone, which was sone after the surrender of Wainoth, he caused a broue of cattell to appeare timelie in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the fort, suspecting it to be a botie, were trained for the more part out of the castell, who were surprised by Thomas, that late hard by in ambush, and the greater number of them slaine.

Another time he fired a village hard by Crim, and deuised such of his hoysmen that could speake English, being clad and hoysed like northerne men, to ride to Crim, where a garrison late with hue and cry, saing that they were capteine Salisburie his souldiours, and that the traitor Thomas Fitzgiraldo was burning a village hard by. The souldiours suspecting no couinage issued out of the towne, who were by his men charged, & a great number of them slaine, some chased to the towne, and forced to take sanctuarie in the churchyard, which in those daies was highlie reuerenced. These and the like knacks, vied Thomas, being for his owne person so well guarded, and for defect of a maine armie so naked, as neither he was occasioned to feare the English, nor the English forced to weigh him. During this time, there arrived with a fresh supplie of hoysmen & archers, sir William Sento knight & his son, sir Rice Spawell knight, sir Edward Griffith knight, who were dispersed to sundrie parts of the pale to defend the countrie from the enemies inuasion. When the heat of this rebellion was in this wise alluaged, the lord deputie finding out no deuise to apprehend the capteine, imployed his industrie to intrap his confederats.

Burnell of Walgriffin perceiving all go to wacke fled to Spounser, where he was taken by the lord Butler vicount Charles, and being conuicted to England was executed at Tiburne. Doctor Trauers, who was left as hostage with the citizens, was by them deliuered to the lord deputie, and after with Rous the pirat executed at the gallows on W. mantowne greene.

Sir Walter de la Hyde knight and his wife the ladie Cennet Custace were apprehended, & brought as prisoners by master Blabson bicetreafuro from their towne of Poiclar to the castell of Dublin, because their sonne and heire James de la Hyde was the onelie buyer of all this rebellion: who as the gouernour suspected, was set on by his parents, & named by his mother. The knight & his wife, lieng in duress for the space of twelue moneths, were at several times examined, & notwithstanding all presumptions and surmises that could be gathered, they were in the end found gittelle of their sonne his follie. But the ladie was had in examination apart, and testified by meanes to charge her husband with his sonne his rebellion, who being not wone thereto with all the meanes that could be wrought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be rackt; and so with extremitie to be compelled, whereas with gentleness he could not be allured to acknowledge these apparent treasons, that neither his husband nor he could without great shew of impudencie denie.

The gentlewoman with these continuall stomes heartbroken, deceased in the castell: from thence her bodie was remoued vnto the greie friers with the deputie his commandement, that it should not be interred, vntill his pleasure were further knowne; adding withall, that the carcase of one who was the mother of so arrant an archtraitor, ought rather to be cast out on a dunghill to be carrion for rauen and dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be laid in anie christian graue. The corps lieng foure or five daies in this plight, at the request of the ladie Cennet Colving, wife to sir John White knight, the gouernour, licenced that it should be buried. Sir William Shelsington a seuerate and byright gouernour died shortly after at Kilmannan: to whom succeeded lord deputie the lord Leonard Greie, who immediatlie vpon the taking of his oth marched with his power towards the countie of Spounser, where Thomas Fitzgiraldo at that time remained. With Fitzgiraldo sir William Wiereton skirmished so ferrelie, as both the sides were rather for the great slaughter disabled, than either part by anie great victorie furthered. Master Wiereton therefore perceiving that rough nets were not the fittest to take such peart birds, gaue his aduise to the lord deputie to grow with Fitzgiraldo by faire means to some reasonable composition. The deputie liking of the motion, craved a parlee, sending certaine of the English as hostages to Thomas his campe with a protection directed vnto him; to come and go at will and pleasure. Being vpon this securitie in conference with the lord Greie, he was persuaded to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, with the gouernours faithfull and vndoubted promise that he should be pardoned vpon his repaie into England. And to the end that no treacherie might haue bene imdeined of either side, they both receiued the sacrament openlie in the campe, as an infallible seale of the covenants and conditions of either part agreed.

Wherevpon Thomas Fitzgiraldo rose against the willes of his counsellors; dismissed his armie, & rode with the deputie to Dublin, where he made short abode when he sailed to England with the favourable letters of the gouernour and the counsell. And as he would haue taken his iournie to Wainoth, where the

Wiereton of Walgriffin taken and executed. Trauers executed.

Rous executed.

Walter de la Hyde and his ladie Cennet Custace apprehended.

Cennet Colving deceased.

Shelsington deceased.

Leonard Greie lord deputie.

Wiereton skirmished with Fitzgiraldo.

Thomas Fitzgiraldo submitted himselfe to the deputie.

The sacrament receiued.

Thomas sailed into England.

the court laie, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London waie, and conueied with hast to the tower. And before his imprisonment was bnted, letters were posied into Ireland, streidlie commanding the deputie vpon sight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitzgiralde his vnckles, and to see them with all speed conuenient shipt into England. Which the lord deputie did not slacke. For hauing sealed thre of the gentlemen at Kilmannan, immediate after their banquet (as it is now and then seen, that sweet meat will haue souze sauce) he caused them to be manacled, and led as prisoners to the castle of Dublin: and the other two were so roundly snatcht by in villages hard by, as they soner felt their owne captiuitie, than they had notice of their brethrens calamitie. The next wind that serued into England, these five brethren were imbarked, to wit James Fitzgiralde, Walter Fitzgiralde, Oliver Fitzgiralde, John Fitzgiralde, and Richard Fitzgiralde. Thre of these gentlemen, James, Walter, and Richard, were knowne to haue crossed their nephew Thomas to their power in his rebellion, and therefore were not occasioned to misdoubt anie danger. But such as in those daies were enemies to the house, incensed the king so fere against it, persuaading him, that he should neuer conquer Ireland, as long as anie Giraldine breathed in the countrie: as for making the pathwaie smooth, he was resolved to lop off as well the good and sound grapes, as the wild and fruitlesse berries. Whereby appeareth how dangerous it is to be a rub, when a king is disposed to sweepe an alleie.

Thus were the five brethren sailing into England, among whom Richard Fitzgiralde being more boldly than the rest of his brethren, & one that was much giuen to the studies of antiquitie, wailling his inward griefe, with outward mirth comforted them with cheerefullnesse of countenance, as well persuaading them that offended to repose affiance in God, and the king his mercie, and such as were not of that conspiracie, to relie to their innocencie, which they should hold for a more safe and strong barbicane, than anie rampire or castell of brasse. Thus solacing the sille mourners sometime with singing, sometime with singing, sometime with grans and pittie as popethegmes, he craved of the otwmer the name of the barke; who hauing answered, that it was called the Coto, the gentleman fere appalled thereat, said: How god brethren I am in utter despaire of our returne to Ireland, for I beare in mind an old prophesie, that five earles brethren should be caried in a Cowes bellie to England, and from thence neuer to returne.

Whereat the rest began afresh to howle and lament, which doubtlesse was pittifull, to behold five ballant gentlemen, that durst meet in the field five as sturdie champions as could be picked out in a realme, to be so suddentlie terrified with the bare name of a wooden coto, or to feare like lions a sille cocke his combe, being moued (as commonlie the whole countrie is) with a baine and fabulous old wiues dreame. But what blind prophesie soener he read, or heard of anie superstitious belidame touching a coto his bellie, that which he foretold them was found true. For Thomas Fitzgiralde the third of Febyuarie, and these five brethren his vnckles, were dyawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, which was incontinently bnted as well in England and Ireland, as in fozen soiles. For Donnicke Potowe, that was sent from Thomas to Charles the first, to craue his aid towards the conquest of Ireland (like as Chale in Crauill, otherwile called Charles Kelmold, was directed to Paulus tertius) presenting the

saire hobbies, was aduertised by his maiestie that he came too late, for his lord and master and five of his vnckles were executed at London the third of Febyuarie: howbeit the emperor procured king Henrie to pardon Donnicke Potowe. Which notwithstanding he obtained, yet would he not returne to Ireland, but continued in Portingale, hauing a ducket a daie of the emperor during his life, which he ended at Lisbonne.

James de la Hyde the chiefe counsellor of Thomas Fitzgiralde, fled into Scotland and there deceased. To this miserable end grew this lewd rebellion, which turned to the utter vndoing of diuers ancient gentlemen, who trained with saire words into a soles paradise, were not onelie dispossessed of their lands, but also deprivied of their liues, or else forced to forsake their countries. As for Thomas Fitzgiralde, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tiburne, I would wish the carefull reader to understand that he was neuer earle of Kildare, although some writers, rather of error than of malice, terme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father liued in the tower, when he was in open rebellion, where for thought of the yong man his follie he died; and therefore Thomas was attainted in a parliament holden at Dublin, as one that was deemed, reputed, and taken for a traitour before his fathers decease, by the bare name of Thomas Fitzgiralde. For this hath bene obserued by the Irish historiographers euer since the conquest, that notwithstanding all the presumptions of treason, wherewith anie earle of Kildare could either faintlie be suspected or vehementlie charged; yet there was neuer anie earle of that house read or heard of, that bare armour in the field against his prince. Which I write not as a barrister hired to plead their cause, but as a choncler moued to declare the truth.

This Thomas Fitzgiralde (as before is specified) was borne in England, vpon whom nature potoyed beantie, and fortune by birth bestowed nobilitie: which had it bene well employed, & were it not that his rare gifts had bene blemished by his later euill qualities, he would haue proued an impe worthie to be ingrafted in so honorable a stocke. He was of stature tall and personable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall somewhat ruddie, delicate in each lim featured, a rolling tong & a rich viterance; of nature flexible and kind, verie lone caried where he fancied, easilie with submission appeased, hardlie with stubbornnesse wieted, in matters of importance an headlong hotspur: yet neuertheless taken for a yong man not deuoid of wit, were it not (as it fell out in the end) that a sole had the keeping thereof.

But to returne to the course of the historie. When Thomas and his vnckles were taken, his second brother on the father his side, named Girald Fitzgiralde (who was after in the reigne of quene Marie restored to the earldome of Kildare, in which honour as yet he liueth) being at that time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirtene yeares of age, late sick of the small pocks in the countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Girald Fitzgiralde. Thomas Leuouise, who was the child his scholemaster, and after became bishop of Kildare, mistrusting vpon the apprehension of Thomas & his vnckles, that all went not currant, wapt the yong patient as tenderlie as he could, and had him conueied in a claiffe with all speed to Whalie, where sojourning for a short space with his sister the ladie Marie Fitzgiralde, until he had recovered his perfect health, his scholemaster caried him to Dorn his countrie, where making his aboad for a quarter of a yeare, he travelled to Obien his countrie in Spounster, and hauing there remained for halfe a

James de la Hyde.

Thomas Fitzgiralde was not earle of Kildare.

1. St. pag. 434.

No earle of Kildare. bare armour at some time against his prince.

The description of Thomas Fitzgiralde.

The aduertures of the yong Fitzgiralde son to the ladie Grep countesse of Kildare.

Donoare. Thomas Leuouise.

Elenor Fitzgiral. yeare, he repaired to his aunt the ladie Elenor Fitzgiral, who then kept in Spac Cartie Keagh his late husband his territories.

This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwaies knowne and accounted of each man, that was acquainted with hir conuersation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse, in all hir actions vertuous and godlie, and also in a good quarell rather stout than stiffe. To hir was Ddoneil an importunate suiter. And although at sundrie times before she seemed to shake him off, yet considering the distresse of hir yong innocent nephue, how he was forced to wander in pilgrimtwisse from house to house, eschuing the punishment that others deserved, smothered in his tender yeares with aduersitie, before he was of discretion to intoe anie prosperitie, she began to incline to hir lower his request, to the end hir nephue should haue bene the better by his countenance shouldered, and in fine indented to espouse him; with this caveat or prouiso, that he should safe-ly shield and protect the said yong gentleman in this calamitie. This condition agreed vpon, she rode with hir nephue to Ddoneil his countrie, and there had him safetie kept for the space of a yeare.

But shortly after the gentlewoman either by some secret friend informed, or of wisdoms gathering that hir late married husband intended some treacherie, had hir nephue disguised, clozing him like a liberall and bountifull aunt with seven score porteguses, not onelie in valour, but also in the selfe same coine, incontinentlie shipped him secretlie in a Biztons vessell of saint Malouse, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, maister Leurouse, and Robert Walsh sometime seruant to his father the earle. The ladie Elenor hauing thus to hir contentation bestowed hir nephue, she expostulated verie sharpelie with Ddoneil as touching his villanie, protesting that the onlie cause of hir match with him proceeded of an especiall care to haue hir nephue countenanced: and now that he was out of his lath that minded to haue betrayed him, he should well vnderstand, that as the feare of his danger moued hir to annect to such a clowdisly curmudgen: so the assurance of his safetie should cause hir to sequester herselfe from so butcherlie a cutthroat, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patch hired, to sell or betraie the innocent blood of his nephue by affinitie, and hers by consanguinitie. And in this wise trussing by bag and baggage, she forsooke Ddoneil and returned to hir countrie.

The passengers with a prosperous gale arrived at saint Malouse, which notified to the gouernour of Britaine, named monsieur de Chasteau Brian, he sent for the yong Fitzgiral, gaue him verie hartie intertainment during one moneths space. In the meane season the gouernour posted a messenger to the court of France, aduertising the king of the arriual of this gentleman, who presentlie caused him to be sent for, and had him put to the Dolphin named Henrie, who after became king of France. Sir John Mallop (who was then the English ambassadour) vnderstanding the cause of the Irish fugitiue his repaire to France, demanded him of the French king, according to the new made league betwene both the princes: which was, that none should keepe the other his subiect within his dominion, contrarie to either of their willes; adding further, that the boie was brother to one, who of late notorious for his rebellion in Ireland was executed at London.

To this answered the king, first that the ambassadour had no commission from his prince to demand him, & vpon his maiestie his letter he should know moze of his mind: secondlie that he did not deteine him, but the Dolphin staid him: lastlie, that how

grienoulle Doener his brother offended, he was well assured, that the illie boy neither was nor could be a traitor, and therefore there rested no cause while the ambassadour should in such wise craue him; not doubting that although he were deliuered to his king, yet he would not so far swarie from the extreame rigor of iustice, as to imbue his hands in the innocent his blood, for the offense that his brother had perpetrated. Maister Mallop herevpon addrested his letters to England, specifying vnto the counsell the French kings answer. And in the meane time the yong Fitzgiral hauing an inkling of the ambassadour his motion, fled secretlie to Flanders, scantlie reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke, one of maister Mallop his men, did not onelie pursue him, but also did ouertake him as he sojourned in the said towne.

Wherevpon maister Leurouse, and such as accompanied the child, kept to the gouernour of Valencie, complaining that one Sherelocke a sneaking spie, like a pikethanke promoting varlet, did dog their master from place to place, and presentlie pursued him to the towne: and therefore they be sought the gouernour, not to leaue such apparant villanie unpunished, in that he was willing to betraie not onelie a guiltlesse child, but also his owne counterman, who rather ought for his innocencie to be plied, than for the desert of others to egerlie to be pursued. The gouernour vpon this complaint fore incensed, sent in all hast for Sherelocke, had him suddenlie examined, and finding him vnable to color his lewd practise with anie warrantable defense, he laid him by the heeles, reuwarding his hot pursute with cold intertainment, and so remained in gaole, vntill the yong Fitzgiral requiting the prisoner his vnnatural crueltie with vnderferued courtesie, humble be sought the gouernour to set him at libertie. This byunt escaped, Fitzgiral travelled to Burels, where the emperor kept his court.

Doctor Bates being ambassadour in the low countries, demanded Fitzgiral of the emperor on his maister the king of Englands behalfe. The emperor hauing answered that he had not to deale with the boy, and for ought that he knew was not minded to make anie great abode in that countrie, sent him to the bishop of Liege; allotting him for his pension an hundred crownes monethlie. The bishop interteined him verie honozable, had him placed in an abbete of monks, & was so carefull of his safetie, that if anie person suspected had travelled within the circuit of his glæbe, he should be streitlie examined whether he would, or from whence he came, or vpon what occasion he travelled that waie. Hauing in this wise remained at Liege for halfe a pere, the cardinall Pole (Fitzgiral his kinsman) sent for him to Rome. Wherevpon the gentleman as well with the emperor his licence, as with surrendring his pension, travelled to Italie, where the cardinall would not admit him to his companie, vntill he had attained to some knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherefore allowing him an annuitie of three hundred crownes, he placed him with the bishop of Verona, and the cardinall of Spantua, and after with the duke of Spantua. Leurouse in the meane while was admitted through the cardinall Pole his procurement, to be one of the English house in Rome, called saint Thomas his hospitall.

Robert Walsh, vpon his maisters repaire to Italie, returned to Ireland. Fitzgiral hauing continued with the cardinall, and the duke of Spantua, a yeare and an halfe, was sent for by the cardinall Pole to Rome, at which time the duke of Spantua gaue him for an annuall pension 300 crownes. The cardinall greatlie reioiced in his kinsman, had him

The ladie Elenor's liberalitie.

Fitzgiral's suiteth to France.

Chasteau Brian.

Sir John Mallop demandeth Fitzgiral.

The king denieth him.

Fitzgiral's flight to Flanders.

James Sherelocke, one of maister Mallop's men.

Sherelocke's examination.

Crueltie requited by courtesie.

Doctor Bates.

The emperor's pension to Fitzgiral.

Cardinall Pole's licence for Fitzgiral.

Leurouse's admission into the English hospitall.

Robert Walsh's returne to Ireland.

cardinal
made his
way to
the king
of Ireland.

carefullie trained by in his house, interlacing with
such discretion his learning and studies with exerci-
ses of activitie, as he should not be after accounted
of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of ac-
tive gentlemen for a dead and dumpy meacocke.
If he had committed anie fault, the cardinall would
secretlie command his tutors to correct him, and all
that notwithstanding, he would in presence dandle
the boie, as though he were not punitie to his punish-
ment; & upon his complaint made, he bled to checke
fitzgerald his maister openlie for chastising so se-
verellie his prettye darling.

In this house he rested three yeares together in the
cardinall his house, and by that time having slept so
far in yeres (for he was pricking fast upon nineteene)
as he began to know himselfe, the cardinall put him
to his choise, either to continue his learning, or by
travelling to seeke his adventures abroad. The young
stripling (as usuallie kind doth creepe) rather of na-
ture addicted to ballantines, than wedded to bookish-
nelle, choosed to be a traveller: and presentlie with the
cardinall his licence repaired to Naples: where sal-
ling in acquaintance with knights of the Rhodes,
he accompanied them to Spalta, from thence he sail-
ed to Tripolie (a fort appertaining to the aforesaid
order, coasting upon Barbarie) and there he abode
six weekes with Spounbillion, a commander of the
Rhodes, who had the charge of that hold.

At that time the knights served valiantlie against
the Turks and miscreants, spoiled and sacked their
villages and townes that late were the water side,
toke diuerse of them prisoners, and after sold them
to the christians for bondslaves. The young fitzgi-
rald returned with a rich bottie to Spalta, from thence
to Rome, having spent in this voyage not fullie one
yeare. Beyond was the cardinall to heare of his pro-
sperous exploits: and for his further advancement
he inhaused his pension of three hundred crownes, to
three hundred pounds, over and above three hundred
crownes that the duke of Mantua allowed him.
Shortlie after he preferred him to the service of the
duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he con-
tinued maister of his house three yeares, having also
of the duke three hundred duckets for a yearellie pen-
sion during life, or untill he were reposed; in like
manner as the cardinall Spole and the duke of Man-
tua in their annuities had granted him.

During the time that he was in service with the
duke of Florence, he travelled to Rome a shooning,
of set purpose to be merrie: and as he rode on hun-
ting with cardinall Fernesse the pope his nephew, it
happened that in chasing the bucke he fell into a pit
nine and thientie fathoms deepe, and in the fall for-
aking his horse within two fathoms of the bottom, he
toke hold by two or three roots, griping them fast, un-
till his armes were so wearie, as he could hang no
longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himselfe
to God, he let go his gripe by little and little, and fell
sollie on his horse, that in the bottom of the pit late
starke dead, and there he stood by to the ancles in
water for the space of three houres. When the chafe
was ended, an exceeding good greyhound of his na-
med Grifhound, not finding his maister in the com-
pante, followed his tract untill he came to the pit,
and from thence would not depart, but stood at the
bottom incessantlie howling. The cardinall Fernesse
and his traine missing fitzgerald, made towards
the dog, and surueieng the place, they were ve-
relie persuaded that the gentleman was squished to
death.

Having therefore posted his servants in hast to
a village hard by Rome (named Trecappan) for
ropes and other necessaries, he caused one of the
companie to glide in a basket downe to the bottome

of the hole. Fitzgerald resued with his presence,
and willing to be removed from so darkesome a
dungeon to the open aire, besought the other to lend
him his rowne, whereupon he was haled by in the
basket: as well to the generall admiration of the
whole companie, as to the singular gratulation of
the cardinall and all his friends, rendering most har-
tie thanks unto God his diuine maiestie, for pro-
tecting the gentleman with his gracious guerdon.
And thus surceadling to treat anie further of his ad-
ventures, untill the date of time traine my pen to
a longer discourse, I will returne to the inhabitants
of the English pale, who after the death of Thomas
fitzgerald, through rigor of iustice and the due ex-
ecution of lawes were greatlie molested. For ouer
this, that such as were knowne for open and appa-
rant traitors in the commotion, were for the more
part executed, or with round summs fined, or from the
realme exiled: certeine gentlemen of worship were
sent from England, with commission to examine
each person suspected with Thomas his treason, and
so according to their discretion, either with equitie
to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all such as
they could proue to haue furthered him in his dislo-
all commotion. Commissioners were these: Sir
Anthonie Sentleger knight, Sir George Panlet
knight, maister Spolle, and maister Barnes. Such
about this time was there a parlement holden at
Dublin before the lord Leonard Crete lord deputie,
beginning the first of Aprill, in the eight and thwen-
tith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight.

Commis-
sioners sent to
Ireland:

Their names
Parlement
1539

In this parlement there past these
acts following.

For the attainder of the earle of
Kildare, and Thomas Fitz-
gerald, with others.

For the succession of the king &
quene Anne.

Of absenties, wherein was
granted to the king the inhe-
ritance of such lands in Ire-
land, whereof the duke of Rox-
folke & George Talbot earle
of Waterford & Salop were
seised, with the inheritances
of diuerse other corporations
and couents demurrant in
England.

For the repeale of Poynings act.
Authorizing the king his heirs
and successors to be supream
head of the church of Ireland.
That no subiects or resiants of
Ireland shall pursue or com-
mence, vse or execute anie ma-
ner of prouocations, appeales
or other processe from the see
of Rome, vpon paine of incur-
ring the premunire.

Against such as slander the king,
or his heirs apparant.

For the first fruits.

Of Sir Walter de la Hyde knight
his lands in Carbeire granted
to the king.

How persons robbed shall be re-
stored to their goods.

Restreining tributs to be gran-
ted to Irishmen.

B. ij. Against

fitzgerald
travelling to
Naples.

Cruselle.

Spounbillion.

fitzgerald re-
turned to
Rome.

The cardinall
granted
fitzgerald
pension.

He is maister
of the house
to the duke of
Florence.

He is maister
of the house
to the duke of
Florence.

His grey-
hound
followed
him out.

Trecappan.

An act

Against proctors to be any member of the parlement.

Against marieng or fostering with or to Irishmen.

Against the authoritie of the see of Rome.

For the twentieth part.

For the English order, habit, and language.

For the suppressing of abbeyes.

An act. For the lading of wools & flockes.

For the proofe of testaments.

Of faculties.

Declaring the effect of Poynings act.

Of penall statutes.

For the werres vpon Barou, and other waters in the countrie of Kilkennie.

For the personage of Dongar.

For leasers of come.

As for the old earle of Kildare, who in this parlement was atteinted for diuerse presumptions, in the preamble of the said act rehearsed, certeine it is, that the reuolt of his sonne Thomas Fitzgiralde smot him so depelie to the heart, as vpon the report thereof he deceased in the tower, wishing in his death-bed that either he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his hainelesse boy had neuer liued to raise the like commotion. This earle, of such as did not stomach his proceedings, was taken for one that bare himselfe in all his affaires vertie honorable, a wise, deepe, and far-reaching man: in war ballant without rashnesse, and politike without treacherie. Such a suppressor of rebels in his gouernement, as they durst not beare armes to the annoiance of anie subiect, whereby he heaped no small reuenues to the crowne, enriched the king his treasure, garded with securitie the pale, continued the honor of his house, and purchased equie to his person. His great hospitalitie is to this daie rather of each man commended, than of anie one followed. He was so religiouslie addicted vnto the seruice of God, as what time soeuer he trauelled to anie part of the countrie, such as were of his chapel should be sure to accompanie him. Among other rare gifts, he was with one singular qualitie indued, which were it put in practise by such as are of his calling, might minister great occasion as well to the abandoning of flattering carrie tales, as to the staied quietnesse of noble potentates.

For if anie whispered, vnder benedicite, a sinister report or secret practise, that tended to the distaining of his honor, or to the perill of his person, he would stricte examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were past, or to come. If it were said or done, he was accustomed to laie soze to his charge, where, and of whome he heard it, or how he could iustifie it. If he found him to halt in the proofe, he would punish him as a pikethanke inakebate, for being so malicouslie caried, as for curtieng fauour to himselfe, he would labor to purchase hatred to another. But if the practise were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then would he suspend the credit, vntill such warie secretie, as vntill the matter came to the pinch, the aduersarie should thinke that he was most ignorant, when he was best poulded. As being in Dublin forewarned, that John Dorkan with certeine desperat harlets conspired his destruction, & that they were determined

to assault him. vpon his returne to Spaineth, he had one of his seruants named James Grant, that was much of his pitch, and at a bluth did somewhat resemble him, attired in his riding apparell, and named lie in a scarlet cloake, wherewith he died to be clad. Grant in this wise masking in his lords attire, rode as he was commanded in the beaten high waie towards Spaineth, with six of the earle his seruants attending vpon him. The conspirators awaiting towards Lucan the coming of the earle, encountered the disguised lord, and not doubting but it had bene Kildare, they began to charge him: but the other amazed therewith, cried that they toke their marke amisse; for the earle rode to Spaineth on the further side of Liffie. Wherewith the murderers appalled, fled a waie, but incontinentlie were by the earle apprehended, sustaining the punishment that such cattifes deserved.

This noble man was so well affected to his wife the ladie Greie, as he would not at anie time buy a sute of apparell for himselfe, but he would sute her with the same stuffe. Which gentlenesse he recompensed with equall kindnesse. For after that he deceased in the tower, she did not onelie euer after liue as a chaste and honorable widow; but also might lie before she went to bed, she would resort to his picture, & there with a solemne conge she would bid her lord goodnight. Wherby may be gathered with how great loue she affected his person, that had in such price his bare picture. An other act that did passe in this parlement touching absentees, proceeded of this occasion. Maister Girald Ailmer, who first was chiefe baron of the exchequer, after chiefe iustice of the common pless, was occasioned, for certeine his affaires, to repaire vnto the court of England. Where being for his good seruice greatlie countenanced by such as were in those daies taken for the pillars of the weale publike, namely of the lord Cromwell; it happened that through his lordship his earnest meanes, the king made maister Ailmer chiefe iustice of his bench in Ireland. This advancement disliked by certeine of Waterford and Weisford, that were not friends to the gentleman, they debated him in such despitefull wise, as the earle of Shrewsburie, who then was likewise earle of Waterford, was by their lewd reports caried to challenge the king, so far as with his dutie of allegiance he durst, for bestowing so weightie an office vpon so light a person, being such a simple John at stile as he termed him, no wiser than Patch the late lord cardinall his sole.

The king heretvpon expostulated with the lord Cromwell, who being thoughtlie acquainted with the gentleman his rare wisdom, answered: that if it would stand with his maiesties pleasure to enter into conference with him, he should be sure to find him no babe, notwithstanding the wrong informations of such as labored to thwart or crosse him. Whereto the king vpon further leasure agreed, and shortly after (according to his promise) bestowed two or thre houres with maister Ailmer: who vpon the lord Cromwells forewarning, was so well armed for his highnesse, as he shewed himselfe in his discourse, by answering *Ad omnia quare*, to be a man worthy to supplie an office of so great credit. In this conference the king demanded him, what he toke to be the chiefe occasion of disorder in Ireland, and how he thought it might best be reformed: Tru lie and it like your maiestie (quoth Ailmer) among sundrie reasons that might be probable alleged for the decaye of that your kingdome, one chiefe occasion is, that certeine of your nobilitie of this your realme of England are seized of the better part of your dominion in Ireland, wherof they haue so lit-

The old earle of Kildare his death before his death.

His seruice.

His hospitalitie and devotion.

The old earle of Kildare his death before his death.

The ladie Greie dwelleth to his husband.

Struth D.

le

the hope, as for lacke of their presence, they suffer the said lands to be overrun by rebels and traitors. Wherefore if your highnesse would proude by act of parlement, that all such lands, which by reason of their absence may not be defended, should be to your highnesse by the consent of the nobilitie and commonalte granted, you might thereby enrich your crowne, repress rebels, and defend your subiects from all traitorous inuasion.

The king tickled with this plausible deuise, pailed maister Almer hartie thanks for his good counsell, and in this parlement had the tenure thereof put in effect. Which rebounded chaſtly to the lord of Shrewsburie his disadvantage, as one that was possessed of diuerſe ancient lordships and manors in that countrie. Some after this parlement, Dneale imagining that he was able to make his partie good against the English pale, conspired with Dneale Maggadneth, Macgahan, Mac Kollen, Dhanlan, and other Irish lords, and on a sudden inuaded the pale, came to the Pauan, burnt all the towne of ech ſore confining, after marched to Taragh, mustering with great pride his armie upon the top of the hill: and hauing gathered together the spoile of the pale without resistance, he began to recule northwards, making his full account to haue gone his waie scotfree.

The lord Leonard Greie being then lord deputie, for calling the woork, certified the king & counsell of Dneale his rebellion, and withall humble besought a fresh supplie of souldiours to assist the pale in resisting the enimie, and that sir William Bhereton, (who was discharged & returned to England) should be sent into Ireland, as one that for his late seruice was highly commended of the countrie. The king and counsell condescending to the deputie his request, appointed sir William Bhereton to this other with speed, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie souldiours of Cheshiremen. In which seruice the gentleman was found so prest and readie, that notwithstanding in mustering his band he fell by his mishap off his horse, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than he would retire homewards, he appointed the mariners to hale him by to their barke by pullics, and in such impotent wise arrived in Ireland, suppressing the febleness of his bodie with the contagious valor of his mind.

The lord deputie in the meane while marched with the force of the pale, the maior & the citizens of Dublin to Drogheda: from thence likewise accompanied with the maior & towneſmen, he marched northward to Bellahoe, where Dneale & his companie on the further side of the water late incamped with the spoile of the pale. The deputie by spies and secret messengers heretof certified, caused the armie to trauell the better part of the night, inſomuch as by the dawnning of the daie they were nere to the riuers side: where hauing elcricd the enimies, namlie Maggadneth, and the Galloglasses that were placed there to keepe the freights (for Dneale with a maine armie lurked not farre off) they began to set themselves in battell arraie, as men that were resolved with all hast and good speed to supplie the enimie with a sudden charge.

At which time James Fleming baron of Slane (commonlie called Blacke James) garbed with a round companie, as well of horsemen as of footmen, humble besought the deputie to grant him that baie the honor of the onset. Whereto when the lord Greie had agreed, the baron of Slane with cheerefull countenance imparted the obtaining of his sute, as pleasant tidings to Robert Halsepennie, who with his ancessors was standardbearer to the house of Slane. But Halsepennie seeing the fur-

ther side of the water so beset with armed Galloglasses as he took it, as likelie an attempt to case down the strongest fort in Ireland with a flipp, as to rush through such quicke iron walles, flatlie answered the baron, that he would rather disclaime in his office, than there to giue the onset where there rested no hope of life, but an assured certaintie of death. And therefore he was not as yet so wearie of the world, as like an headlong hotspur, voluntarilie to run to his utter and undoubted destruction. Wherefore he besought his lordship to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his death to baseness of courage, but to warrenesse of safetie, although he knew none of staied mind, but would sooner chole to sleepe in an whole sheepe his pelt, than to walke in a toznelion his skin, namelie when all hope of life was abandoned, and the certaintie of death assuredlie promised.

The baron with this answer at his wits end rode to Robert Betoa of Dolownoe, brake with him as touching Halsepennie his determination, & withall requested him (as he did tender his honor) now at a pinch to supplie the roune of that dastardlie coward, as he did terme him. Betoa to this answered, that though it stood with good reason, that such as heretofore tasted the sweet in peace, should now be contented to sip of the sowre in war: yet notwithstanding, rather than the matter should to his honor lie in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lie in the water; & withall being surpasinglie mounted (for the baron gaue him a choise horse) he took the standard, & with a sudden shot, hauing with him in the foreranke spabe of spabestowne (who at the first brunt was slaine) he dong into the water, and charged the Irish that stood on the farther shore. After followed the gentlemen and peomen of the pale, that with as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with courage resisted their assault. To this stoutnesse were the enimies more boldlie picked, in that they had the aduantage of the shore, and the gentlemen of the pale were constrained to bicker in the water.

But the longer the Irish continued, the more they were disadvantaged; by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplie, as their enimies could not anie longer withstand them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forsake the banke, and to giue the armie free passage. The English taking hart upon their faintnesse, brake through the Galloglasses, slue Maggadneth their captaine, pursued Dneale with the remnant of his lords, leauing behind them for lacke of safe carriage the spoile of the pale, scantlie able to escape with his owne life, being egerlie pursued by the armie untill it was sunne set. In this hote conflict Patheo King, Patrike Barnewall of Kilmallocke, sir Edward Bafnet priest, who after became deane of saint Patriks in Dublin, and was swoorne one of the priue counsell, and Thomas Fitzsimons of Carduffe, were reported to haue serued verie valiantlie. Moreover, James Fitzsimons maior of Dublin, Michaele Curleie maior of Drogheda, Girald Almer chiefe iustice, and Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in the field.

But of all others, the lord Greie then lord deputie, as he was in authoritie superiour to them all, so in courage and manlinesse he was inferiour to none. He was noted by the armie to haue endured great toile and paine befoze the skirmish, by posting bareheaded from one band to an other, debasing the enimies inhanſing the power of the pale, depeeling the revolt of rebellious traitors, extolling the good quarrell of loiall subiects, offering large rewards, which with as great constancie he perfozmed, as with liberalitie he promised. Quere this, he bare himselfe so affable to his souldiours, in bling them like friends

Robert Betoa.

Spabe of spabestowne slaine.

The Irish discomfited. Dneale put to flight.

King. Barnewall. Bafnet. Fitzsimons.

The maiors of Dublin and Drogheda dubbed knights. Almer. Talbot.

The valiantnesse of the lord Greie.

Greie res.

the william Bhereton sent into Ireland.

the william Bhereton sent into Ireland.

the lord of Bellahoe.

James Fleming baron of Slane.

Robert Halsepennie.

friends and fellows, and terming them with courteous names, and mowing laughter with pleasant concepts, as they were incensed as well for the love of the person, as for the hatred of the enemy, with resolute minds to bicker with the Irish. In which could the deputie was as forward as the most, and bequit himselfe as valiant a seruitor as the best.

The gouernor, turning the oportunitie of this skirmish to his aduantage, shortly after rode to the north, preiding & spoiling Dneale with his confederats, who by reason of the late ouerthrow were able to make but little resistance. In this fornie he raised saint Patrick his church in Downe, an old ancient citie of Ulster, and burnt the monuments of Patrick, Brigide, and Colme, who are said to haue bene there intomed, as before is expressed in the description of Ireland. This fact lost him sundrie hearts in that countrie, alwaies after detesting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Whereupon conspiring with such of Downe as were enemies to his gouernment, they booke by diuerse complaints against him, which they did exhibit to the king and counsell. The articles of greatest importance laid to his charge were these.

The lord Greie accused.

The articles that were laid to his charge.

1. Inprimis, that notwithstanding he were stridlie commanded by the king his maiestie, to apprehend his kinsman the pong Fitzgiralde, yet did he not onlie disobey the kings letters as touching that point by plateng bopépe, but also had priuie conference with the said Fitzgiralde, and late with him two or thre seuerall nights before he departed into France.

2. Item, that the chiefe cause that moued him to inuegle Thomas Fitzgiralde with such fauour promises, proceeded of set purpose to haue him cut off, to the end there should be a gap set open for the pong Fitzgiralde to aspire to the earldome of Kildare.

3. Item, that he was so greedilie addicted to the pilling and polling of the king his subjects, namelie of such as were resiant in Downe, as the beds he laie in, the cups he dranke in, the plate with which he was serued in anie gentlemans house, were by his seruants against right and reason packt vp, and caried with great extortion abwaie.

4. Item, that without anie warrant from the king or counsell, he prophaned the church of saint Patrick in Downe, turning it to a stable, after plucked it downe, and thipt the notable ring of bells that did hang in the steeple, meaning to haue sent them to England: had not God of his iustice prevented his iniquitie, by sinking the vessel and passengers therein the said belles should haue bene conueied.

These and the like articles, were with such odious presumptions coloured by his accusers, as the king and counsell remembryng his late faulcs, and forgetting his former seruices (for commonlie all men are of so hard hap, that they shall be soner for one trespass condemned, than for a thousand good deserts commended) gaue commandement that the lord Greie should not onelie be removed from the gouernment of the countrie, but also had him beheaded on the tower hill the eight and twentieth of June. But as touching the first article, that brought him most of all out of conceipt with the king, I moued question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor thereof were true or false: His lordship thereto answered *Bona fide*, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receiued message or letter from him. Whereby maie be gathered, with how manie dangers they are intwaped that gouerne prouinces, wherein diligencc is tchacht with hatred, negligence is laden with talwnts, seueritie with perils menaced, liberalitie with thanklesse

The lord Greie beheaded.

1541

The lord Greie guilty of the first article.

The dangers that happen to gouernors of prouinces.

kindnesse contemned, conference to undermin ing framed, flatterie to destruction forged, each in countenance smiling, diuerse in heart pouting, open saluting, secret grudging, gaping for such as shall succeed in gouernment, honouring magistrates with cap and knee as long as they are present, and carping them with tongue and pen as soon as they are absent.

The lord Leonard Greie (as is aforesaid) discharged, sir William Bereton was constituted lord iustice, whose short gouernment was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Dneale fell to a reasonable composition, yet other of the Irish lordings, namelie Dconbur and his adherents, that are content to liue as subjects, as long as they are not able to hold out as rebels, conspired together, and determined to assemble their power at the hill of Howze in west Meth, and so on a sudden to ransacke the pale. The lord iustice shortly with accompanied with the armie, and with two thousand of the pale, of which no small number were ecclesiasticall persons, made towards the rebels, who upon the approach of so great an armie gaue ground, and dispersed themselves in woods and marishes. The lord iustice this notwithstanding inuaded Dconbur his countrie, burnt his tenements, & made all his trenches with the multitude of pioners so passable, as foure hundred carts, beside light carriages, were led without let thorough the countrie. Dconbur some after submitted himselfe, & sent his sonne Cosmach to the lord iustice as hostage for his future obedience and loialtie to the king his highnesse. After this fourtie was ended, sir Anthonie Senteleger knight of the order was constituted lord deputie, and sir William Bereton lord high marshall, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be marshall, travelling by the lord deputie his appointment to Aimerike to bzing in James earle of Desmond, who stood upon certeine tickle points with the gouernor, ended his life in that iournie, and lieth intomed at Kilkennie in the quier of saint Kennie his church. In the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Senteleger, in which there passed these statutes following; namelie.

Sir William Bereton lord iustice.

Dconbur his sonne Cosmach sent to the lord iustice.

Henrie.

1541

An act

That the king and his successors to be kings of Ireland, for graie merchants.

That the plantife maie abridge his plaint in assise.

That consanguinity or affinity, being not within the fifth degree, shall be no principall challenge.

That maketh it felonie to anie man to run awaie with his master his casket.

For the aduiliating of precontracts in marriage.

For all lords to distreine upon the lands of them holden, & to make their auowzie, not naming the tenant, but their land.

For capacities.

For seruants wages.

For ioint-tenants.

For recouerie in auoiding leases.

For tithes.

For attournements.

This parlement was proroged untill the fifteenth of February, and after was continued at Aimerike before

before the said deputie, at which time there passed
for the adournment of the par-
lement, and the place to hold
the same, and what persons
shall be chosen knights and
burgeises.

An act for the election of the lord iu-
stice.

Touching mispleading and teoy-
failes.

For lands given by the king.
For the suppression of Kilmai-
nan and other religious hou-
ses.

1543

This parlement was likewise proroged, and af-
ter was continued and holden before the said gover-
nour at Dublin, the first daie of November, in the
fourte and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie
the eight, wherein there passed these acts; namelie:

An act for the division of Meryth into
two thires.

An act for persons standing bound in a
ny court for their apperance;
and being in seruice, to be dis-
charged by writ.

This parlement was further proroged untill the
seuenteenth of Aprill, and at that time before the said
gouvernour it was holden and ended, in which there pas-
sed an act touching the manour and castell of Don-
garuan to be united and annexed to the crowne for
ever. To this parlement resorted diuerse of the Ir-
ish lords, who submitting themselves to the deputie
his mercie, returned peaceable to their countries.
But James earle of Desmond sailed into Eng-
land, and before the king and counsell purged him-
selfe of all such articles of treason as were falselie
laid to his charge: whose cleare purgation and hum-
ble submission the king accepted verie gratefullie.
Shortlie after Desmond his returne homeward, the
great O'neale was created earle of Tiron, and his
base sonne M'athew O'neale baron of Dongaruan.
For in those daies John O'neale, commonlie called
Shane O'neale, the onelie sonne lawfullie of his bo-
die begotten, was little or nothing esteemed.

James earle
of Desmond.

Shane earle
of Tiron.

Shane crea-
ted earle of
Clencare.
1544
The Irish
first say to the
king of Bul-
longne.

Shane petitione
in pursuance
of the statute.

O'neale hauing returned to Ireland with this
honour, and the king his fauor, when with certeine
other Irish lords sailed into England, submitting
their liues and lands to the king his mercie. This
when was at that time created earle of Clencare,
in which honour his posteritie hitherto resteth. Short-
lie after the returne of these lords to their countrie,
king Henrie being fullie resolved to besiege Bul-
longne, gaue commandement to sir Anthoine Sent-
leger deputie, to leade an armie of Irishmen, and
with all expedition to send them to England. To
these were appointed captaine the lord Potore, who
after was dubb knight, Surlocke & Finglasse, with
diuerse others. They mustered in saint James his
parke seven hundred. In the siege of Bullongne
they stood the armie in verie good sted. For they were
not onelie contented to burne and spoile all the villa-
ges thereto adioining, but also they would range
twentie or thirtie miles into the maine land, and ha-
ving taken a bull, they used to tie him to a stake, and
scorching him with faggots, they would force him to
rore, so as all the cattell in the countrie would make
towards the bull, all which they would lightlie lead
awake, and furnish the campe with fozze of befe.

If they took anie Frenchman prisoner, lest they
should be accounted couetous, in snatching with
them his entier bodie, his onelie ranfome should bee
no more but his head. The French with this strange

kind of warfaring astonishd, sent an ambassadoz to
king Henrie, to learne whether he brought men
with him or diuels, that could neither be wonne with
rewards, nor pacified by pitie: which when the king
had turned to a least, the Frenchmen ever after, if
they could take anie of the Irish scattering from the
companie, bled first to cut off their genitals, and
after to torment them with as great and as linge-
ring paine as they could deuise.

10 After that Bullongne was surrendred to the king, a French
there incamped on the west side of the towne be-
yond the haven an armie of Frenchmen, amongst
whome there was a Spanishall Colias that depar-
ted from the armie, and came to the bynke of the
haven, and there in setting and daring: wise chalen-
ged anie one of the English armie that durst be so
hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And al-
best the distance of the place, the depth of the haven,
the narnesse of his companie imboldened him to

20 this chalice, more than anie great valour or pith
that rested in him to induce a combat; yet all this
notwithstanding, an Irishman named Nicholl
Welsh, who after reteined to the earle of Kildare,
loathing and disdainning his proud brags, flung into
the water, and swam ouer the riuer, fought with the
challenger, strake him for dead, and returned backe
to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his
mouth, before the armie could overtake him. For
which exploit, as he was of all his companie highlie
commended, so by the lieutenant he was bountiful-
lie rewarded.

Nicholl
Welsh.

Such about this time the earle of Lennor, verie
wrongfullie inquired in Scotland, and forced to for-
sake his countrie, became humble petitioner to
king Henrie, as well to releue him in his distressed
calamitie, as to compasse the means how he might
be restored to his lands & liuing. The king his high-
nesse moued with compassion, posted the earle ouer
to Ireland, with letters of especiall trust, command-
ing sir Anthoine Sentleger then deputie, to assist
and further the Scottish outcast, with as puissant an
armie as to his contentation should seme good. The
deputie, vpon the receipt of these letters, sent for
James Butler earle of Dymond and M'erie, a no-
ble man, no lesse politike in peace, than valiant in
warres, made him priuie to the king his pleasure;
and withall in his maiesties name did cast the charge
hereof vpon the said earle, as one that for his tried
loyaltie was willing, and for his honour and valour
able to attempt and atchieue so rare and famous an
exploit. The lord of Dymond as willing to obeie, as
the gouernour was to command, leuied of his te-
nants and reteiners six hundred Gallowglasse,
four hundred hearnes, three score horsemen, and
four hundred and fortie foot: so in the whole he mu-
stered on Dymantowne greene nere Dublin, six-
tene hundred souldiours.

1545
The earle of
Lennor at-
tended by king
Henrie.

James But-
ler earle of
Dymond.

The lord deputie yelding his honour such thanks
in words, as he deserved indeed, leuied in the pale
sixtene hundred souldiours more, to be annexed to
the earle his companie.ouer them he constituted
sir John Crauers capteine, but the erle of Dymond
was made generall of the whole armie. When the
souldiours were with munition and victuals about-
duntlie furnished, the earle of Dymond and the earle
of Lennor took shipping at Sheriffe, hauing in their
companie twentie and eight ships well rigged, suffi-
cientlie manned, and stronglie appointed. From
thence they sailed northwards, and rode at anchoz
without the haven of Wolsket beyond Harceger-
gus. Where hauing remained hulling without the
mouth of the haven, contrarie to the aduise of the ma-
sters of their ships (who prognosticated the speeie ap-
proch of a storme, and therefore did wish them to
take

Sir John
Crauers
knight.

The earle of
Dymond and
the earle of
Lennor in
danger to be
drowned.

take a good harb'rough) it hapned that the said night there arose so boisterous a tempest, that the whole fleet was like to haue bene ouerwhelmed. The mariners betaking their passengers and themselves to the mercie of God, did cut their maine masts, let slip their anchors, and were weather driven to the haven of Dunbaitaine in Scotland, whereas they were like to run their ships on ground, and consequently they all should either haue bene plunged in the water, or else haue bene slaine on the land by a great number of Scots that awaited their approach. God with his gracious clemencie preventing their imminent calamitie, sent them not onlie a wished caline, but also a prosperous gale of wind, that blew them backe in safetie to the Irish coast, from whence they were scattered.

The earle of Lennor aduertised by certeine of his friends that met with him on the sea, that the Scots (contrarie to their promise) dealt verie double with him (for although they gaue their word to surrender to him the castell of Dunbaitaine, yet they did not onlie forfesse that hold, but also were readie to encounter with his souldiours upon their arrivalls) he concluded to returne to Ireland. The earle of Dymond verie loath that so great an attempt should take so little effect, dealt with him verie earnestlie, notwithstanding his counsell were beliaied to invade his enemies, and his lordship should be sure to find the armie so forward in assisting him in so famous an enterpryse, as they would thew themselves moze willing to bicker with his foes in Scotland, than without skirmishing to returne to Ireland. For the earle of Dymond was of this nature, that as he would not begin anie martiall boyle rashlie or unadvisedlie, so he would not seeme to put it by lightlie or easilie.

Further, whereas the earle of Lennor stood in hope, that the lord of the out Isles would aid him, it was thought by Dymond not to be amisse, to expect his comming; and so joining his companie to the armie, there rested no doubt, but that the Scottish enemies would be forced to plucke in their hoznes, although at the first blush they seeme to set a good face on the matter. Lennor somewhat with this persuasion carried, gaue his consent to expect the lord of the out Isles determination, who notwithstanding all the fets of the enterpryse were detracted, would not slip from his word, but personallie sailed to the Irish fleet, with three gallees well appointed. The noble man with such martiall triumphs was received, as warlike souldiours could on the sea asoꝝd him. But of all others, both the earls gaue him heartie intertainment for his true & honorable dealing, that to be as good as his word, would not seeme to shrinke from his friend in this his aduertise. And shortly after as they craued his aduise what were best to be done, either to land in Scotland, or else to returne homeward, his flat resolution was at that time to retire, because their drift was detected, their feined friends fainted, the castles were fortified, and the shoares on all parts with swarms of Scots peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie to giue out in open rumors, that they meant not at anie hand to invade Scotland, but to retire to their countrie.

And after that the Scottish souldiours should be dismissed, which would be incontinent upon their returne, by reason of the excessive charges: then might the earle of Lennor with lesse preparation, and moze security give a fresh onset, that the enemies should sooner feele his force, than heare of his arrivall. Dymond and Lennor upon this determination landed with the greater part of the armie, and appointed the ships to bend their course to Dublin. The lord of the out Isles and his three gallees sailed with the fleet,

for he was not able by reason of the feebleness of his boote to trauell by land, or scantlie further to prosecute his life, which he ended at Houth presentlie upon his arrivall, and was with great solemnitie buried in saint Patricks his church at Dublin, upon whose death this epitaph following was framed:

*Patrique manique mea patria dum redditur exul,
Exul in externa coror & ipse mori.*

Both the earls marched with the armie on foot to Carregfergus, where they brake companie. For Lennor and sir John Trauers taking as he thought the shorter but not the safer waie, travelled through the Ardes with the number of five hundred souldiers, where the Irish inhabitants skirmished with them, and put them to such streit plunges (for they would gladlie haue seen what a clocke it was in their budgets) as they wished they had not parted from the rest of the armie. The earle of Dymond with his souldiers (which were a thousand five hundred, as before is expressed) marched on foot to Belefast, which is an arme of the sea, a quarter of a mile broad or little lesse. And albeit their wether were bitter and overnipping, and no small parcell of the water were congeled with frost, yet the earle and his armie waded over on foot, to the great danger as well of his person, as of the whole companie, which doubtlesse was a valliant enterpryse of so honorable a personage. From thence he passed to Strangford, and through Lecale to Donnalke, where he discharged his souldiers, and having presented himselfe to the gouernour at Dublin, he rode homewards to the countie of Kilkennie.

Shortly after sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie and the earle of Dymond fell at debate, inasmuch as either of them laid articles of treason one to the others charge. The chiefe occasion of their mutuall grudge proceeded of certeine new and extraordinary impositions, wherewith the deputie would haue charged the subjects. Whereat the earle of Dymond as a zelous defender of his countrie began to bicke, & in no sort could be wone to agree to anie such unreasonable demand. Hereupon Dymond, perceiving that the gouernour persisted in his purpose, addressed letters of complaint to such as were of the priuie councill in England: which letters were by one of sir Anthonie his friends intercepted at sea, and presented to him to be perused. Sir Anthonie having ouer read the writings, sent master Balnet in post hals with the packet to Kilkennie, where the earle of Dymond kept his chiefe masse, requesting his lordship to take in good part the opening of his letters. Which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaint, than in anie sort to imbar his writings from comming to the counsels hands.

The earle answered that his quarell was so good, his dealing so open, as he little weighed who took a view of his letters. And for his part what he wrote he meant not to vntwiste; but in such sort as they came from the gouernour, they should be sent to the councill: and if their honours would allow anie subiect to be so hardie, as to intercept and open letters that were to them indozed, he could not but digest anie such iniurie that they would seeme to beare. With this answer Balnet returned, and the earle performed his promise. Whereupon the gouernour and he were commanded to appeare before the priuie councill in England, where they were sundrie times examined, and their accusations ripelie debated. In fine, the councill equallie to both parts in their complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due defect of both their lofall seruices, than the vaine presumption of their mutuall accusations, wrapped by their quarels & made them both friends, with such indifferencie, as neither part should be made either

The earle of Dymond his property.

The lord of the out Isles saileth to the earle of Lennor.

Dymond and Lennor land.

His epitaph.

The Irish skirmish with the earle of Lennor.

The earle of Dymond his valiant travelling.

The deputie and Dymond at debate.

Dymond his letters intercepted.

The lord deputie and Dymond sent to England.

either with aile collied or ailed; as with aile foile dedefed.

And for so much as Sir John Allen knight their lord chancellor of Ireland, was found to linge in this controuersie, by plaling (as it was supposed) more craftilie than wiselie, with both the parties, in that he seemed to be rather a fosterer of their malice, than an appeaser of their quarrells; he was likewise sent for into England; and being kept by the countess in his tale, was committed to the Fleet, where in he remained along time. In this trouble the earle of Desmond was greatly aided by Sir William Wolfe knight a worshipfull gentleman, borne in the citie of Waterford, who deserveth in deed the praise of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, to be of great credit in the court, and was highlie in King Henrie his grace; which he wholie vsed to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abused to the animosance of his foes. This gentleman was verie well spoken, mild of nature, with discretion stout, as one that in an vsight quarell would beate his coles; yet some in an intricate matter gruelled, being found at all assaies to be of a pleasant and pfect wit. Having lent the king his signet to seale a letter, who having potyred erimies ingrailed in the seale; why how now Wolfe (quoth the king) what hast thou lye here? And if it like your maiestie, quoth Sir William, a louse is a rich cote, for by giving the louse, I part armes with the French king, in that he giueth the fleur de lice. Whereat the king hartlie laugh-

ed, to heare both pretilie so, biding a saynt (namelie proceeding from a prince) was suddenly turned to so pleasant a conceit.

After the agreement made betwene Desmond and Sentleger, the earle his seruants (which he kept at that time in his linerie to the number of fiftie) be sought his lordship to take at the Limehouse his part of a supper, which they provided for him. The noble man with honour accepting their dutifull offer, supped at their request, but not to their contentation at the place appointed. For whether it were that one caiffe or other did poison the meat, or that some other false measures were used (the certieintie with the reuenge whereof to God he is referred) the noble man with chiefe and due of his seruants pfectlie that night sickened: one James Wolfe the earle his steward, with fiftene of his fellows died, the remnant of the seruants recovered. But their lord, whose health was chiefe to be wished, in the flower of his age, deceased of that sicknesse at the house in Holborne, much about the eight and twentieth of October, and was buried in saint Thomas of Acres his church, whose death bred sorow to his friends, little comfort to his aduersaries, great losse to his countrie, and no small griefe to all good men.

This earle was a goodlie and personable noble man, full of honour, which was not onelie lodged inwardlie in his mind, but also he bare it outwardlie in countenance: as franke & as liberrall as his calling required, a deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather stout than stubborne, bearing himselfe with no lesse courage when he resisted, than with honorable discretion where he yielded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that procured vnlawfull quietnesse before vsight troubles, being notwithstanding of as great wisdom in the one, as of valour in the other. An earnest and a zealous vpholder of his countrie, in all attempts rather respecting the publike weale than his priuat gain. Whereby he bound his countrie so greatlie vnto him, that Ireland might with good cause wish, that either he had neuer bene borne, or else that he had neuer deceased; so it were lawfull to craue him to be

immortal: that by course of nature was framed mortal: And to giue salient proofe of the entire affection he bare his countrie, and of the zealous care he did take thereon, he wrote in his death-bed his soule to God, his estate to christian buriall; and his hart to his countrie, declaring thereby, that where his mind was settled in his life, his hart should be there intained after his death. Which was according to his will accomplished: for his hart was buried to Ireland, and lieth ingrailed in the quare of the cathedrall church in Dublinne, where his ancestors for the most part are buried. Upon which his loving legacie this epitaph following was devised:

*Cor patrie fixum videmus, iam vultum illi.
Post mortem patria que parauerat venit.
Non sine corde valet mortalis vivere quisquam.
Vix tua gens vita permixta absque rina.
Qua licet infelix extincto corde fructus.
Attamen optato viuere corde neguit.
Ergo quid hoc faciat? Quem re non possit amorem?
Cordi ut tam charo reddere corde vellet?*

The effect of which said epitaph is thus Englished:

The liuing hart where laie ingrauen
the care of countrie deere,
To countrie liuelesse is reftord
and lies ingrauen here.
None hartlesse liues, his countrie then
alas what ioies is left,
Whose hope, whose hap, whose hart he was
till death his life bereft.
And though the soile here shrowds the hart,
which most fit wither enioye,
Yet of the change from nobler seat,
the cause dooth it annoie.
What honour then is due to him,
for him what worthe rite?
But that edi hart with hartiest loue,
his worthiest hart may quite?

This earle was of so noble a disposition, as he would sooner countenance and support his poore well willer in his aduersitie, than he would make or fauore vpon his wealthie friend in prosperitie. Having bid at London (not long before his death) the ladie Grete countesse of Wilbare to dinner, it happened that a soldier, surnamed Dooye, who lately returned freshly from the emperor his warres, came to take his repast with the earle before the messenger. When the earle and the countesse were set, this soldier, uttering his whole then standing on the solado high, placed himselfe right ouer against the countesse of Wilbare, hard by the earle of Desmond his elbow, as though he were halle fellow well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent saucinesse of the malapert soldier (who notwithstanding might be borne withall, because an vnbidden guest knoweth not where to sit) be sought him courteously to giue place. The earle, when the other arose, taking vpon him the office of a gentleman vsher, placed in Dooye his seat, his cousin Edward Fitzgerald, now lieutenant of his maiesties pensioners, who at that time being a yong stripling, attended vpon his mother the countesse, and so in order he set euerie gentleman in his degree, to the number of fiftene or sixtene: and last of all the companie, he licenced Dooye if he would, to sit at the lower end of the table, where he had scantlie elbow room.

The countesse of Wilbare, perceiving the noble man greatlie to stomach the soldier's presumptuous boldnesse, nipt him at the elbow, and whispering softly, be sought his lordship not to take the matter so hot, because the gentleman (she ment Dooye) knew that the house of Wilbare was of late attained, and that his children were not in this their calamitie in such wise to be regarded. So a ladie (quoth the earle

this epitaph.

The kindnes
of James earle
of Desmond to
his friends.

Edward
Fitzgerald.

earle with a loud voice, and the tears trilling downe his heeres, saie not so, I trust to see the day, when my young cousin Edward, and the remnant of your children (as little reckoning as he maketh of them) shall disdaine the companie of anie such knapiache. Which prophete fell out as true as he foretold it, onelie saying that it stood with God his pleasure to call him to his merite before he could see that day after which doubtlesse he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Kilbare.

Sir Anthome
Senteleger re-
turneth lord
deputie.

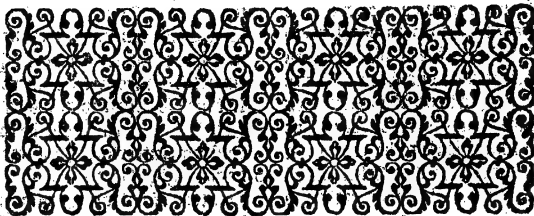
After this noble earle his untimelie decease, Sir Anthome Senteleger was returned to Ireland lord deputie, who was a wise and a warie gentleman, a valiant seruitor in war, and a good iudicior in peace, properly learned, a good maker in the English, having grauntie so interlaced with pleasantnesse, as with an exceeding god grace he would attaine the one without pouting dampnesse, and exercise the other without loathsome lightnesse. There fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as lord deputie had the presentation. When diuerse made suit to him for the benefice, and offered with dishonestie to buy that which with safetie of conscience he could not sell,

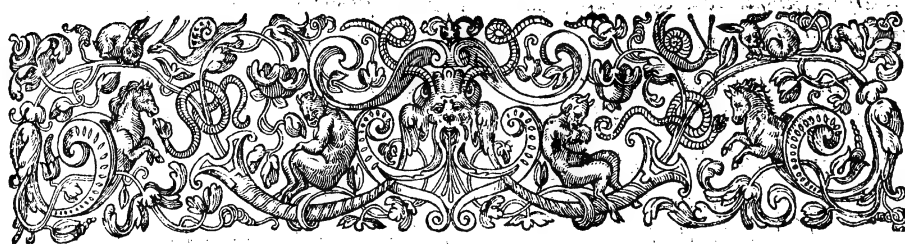
he answered merelie, that he was resolved not to commit simonie: yet notwithstanding he had a nag in his stable that was worth fortye shillings, and he that would giue him fortye pounds for the nag, should be preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleasure vttered, than of anie unconscionable meaning purposed to haue done.

His gouernement had bene of the countrie deare well liked, were it not that in his time he began to assesse the pale with certeing new impositions, not so profitable (as it was thought) to the gouernors, as it was noisome to the subiects. The debating of which I purpose to referre to them, who are discourters of publike estates, and the reformers of the commonwealth, praising to God, that he with his grace direct them so faithfullie to accomplish the duties of god magistrates, that they gouerne that poore battered Island to his diuine honour, to his maiesties contentation, to the suppressing of rebels, to the vpholding of subiects, and rather to the publike weale of the whole countrie, than to the priuat gaine of a few persons, which oftentimes falleth out in profe to the ruine and vndoeing of the weaker.

Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine instructions directed me, and my leasure serued me, haue I continued a parcell of the Irish historie, and haue stretcht it to the reigne of Edward the sixt. Wherevpon I am forced to craue at thine hands pardon and tolerance: pardon for anie error I shall be found to haue committed, which vpon friendlie admonition I am readie to reforme: tolerance, for that part of the historie which is not continued, till time I be so furnished and fraughe with matter, as that I may emploie my trauell to serue thy contentation.

FINIS.





THE SVPPLE OF THIS Irish Chronicle, continued from the death of king Henrie the eight, 1546, vntill this present yeare 1586, in the 28 yeare of hir maiesties *reigne, sir Iohn Perot residing deputie in Ireland.*

By Iohn Vowell aliàs Hooker of the citie
of Excester, gentleman.



*S from the time of Giraldus Cambren-
sis (the best deserued and exact writer of the
conquest and state of Ireland in his time, few
or none haue followed and continued any per-
fect course of that historie vntill the death
of king Henrie the eight, and the begin-
ning of king Edward the sixt 1546; and
therefore no certeine knowledge nor assurance
can be yelded, nor set downe either of the quiet
gouernement in time of peace, or of the troublesome state in times of
warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records,
which were verie slenderlie & disorderlie kept, or out of some priuat mens
collections and pamphlets, remaining in some od and obscure places: euen
so the like from that time vnto these presents hath happened and is fallen
out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due ob-
seruations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie
the memoriall, sauing the things so latelie doone are not altogether out of
remembrance, and some yet liuing that can remember some things doone in
their times. And yet that is so vncerteine, and euerie man so varieth one
from the others reports, that no man can well therevpon set downe a perfect
and so exact a course as the nature of an historie requireth, and as it ought
to be doone. He therefore that vpon such vncerteinties shall intermedle
and*

The Preface.

and undertake the penning, much more the printing of such an uncerteine, confused, and intricate discourse, must looke and be assured to be subiect to manie cauls and reproches: which thing discouraged me the writer hereof to intermedle at all in this historie. Neuerthelesse, this worke requiring a supplie, and my selfe being earnestlie required to doo something herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue searched and collected to set downe in this short discourse and rhapsodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not so full as the worke requireth, nor so sufficient as to the satisfaction of the reader, nor yet so answerable to the nature of an historie as is necessarie and requisit: yet let the good will of the writer be his discharge from reproch, and be an occasion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full measure in matter and truth: that this historie may haue his perfection, the reader satisfied, and this writer acquitted.

John Hooker, aliàs Vowell.





THE SVPPLE OF THE Irish Chronicles extended to

this present yeare of our Lord
1586, and the 28 of the reigne of
queene Elisabeth.



for Edward
Bellingham
advised by
pate.

1547
for Edward
Bellingham
advised by
pate.

3 martin
Dublin.

for Edward
Bellingham
advised by
pate.

for Edward
Bellingham
advised by
pate.

for Edward
Bellingham
advised by
pate.

for Edward
Bellingham
advised by
pate.

After the death of king Henrie the eight, sir Anthony Senteleger knight, was reuoked; who deliuered by the sword at his departure vnto sir William Baffon knight; and he was lord iustice, vntill such time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent ouer to be deputie. This man was seruant to king Edward the first, and of his private chamber: a man verie well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout & valiant, and did verie worthilie direct his gouernment. In his time there was a mint kept in the castell of Dublin, which being at his commandement, he was the better able to do good seruice to the king his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In the ciuill gouernment he was carefull to place learned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a speciall eie for the doing of their offices; as he had the like care for god and expert capteins, to serue in the martiall affaires. And for the more speedie seruice to be done therein at all times needfull, he kept sundrie stables of horses: one at Leighlin, one at Ler, and some in one place and some in another, as he thought most meet for seruice. And whatsoeuer he had to do, or what seruice soeuer he meant to take in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so private, as none should haue anie vnderstanding thereof, before the verie instant of the seruice to be done; and for the most part, whensoeuer he took anie iournie in hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what place he would ride, or what he would do. It happened that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Where vpon calling vnto him his companie as he thought good, and without making them acquainted what he minded to do, took horse & rode to Leighlin bridge. The abbete there (being suppressed) he caused to be inclosed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horses, and there he furnished himselfe and all his men with horses and other furniture, and forthwith rode in to Dounstret, vnto the house of the earle, being then

Christmas; and being vnlooked and vnthought of, he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by the fire, and there took him, and caried him with him to Dublin.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and in apparell, hauing for want of god nurture as much god maners as his kernes and his followers could teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did so instruct, schoole, and informe him, that he made a new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie in maners, apparell, and behauiours appertaining to his estate and degre; as also to the knowledge of his dutie and obedience to his soueraigne & prince; and made him to kneele vpon his knees sometimes an houre together, before he knew his dutie. This though it were verie strange to the earle, who hauing not bene trained vp in anie ciuillie, knew not what appertained to his dutie and calling: neither yet of that authoritie and maiestie the king his soueraigne was; yet when he had well digested and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe most happie that euer he was acquainted with the said deputie, and did for euer after so much honor him, as that continuallie all his life time at euery dinner and supper, he would praye for the good sir Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where soeuer he trauelled, he would be chargeable to no man; but would be at his owne charge. It happened that traouelling the countrie, he was lodged on a night in vicount Saltinglaffes house, where all things were verie plentifulle provided for him: which the vicount thought to haue giuen and bestowed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he commanded his steward to paie & discharge all things, thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused his interteinement; saying: The king my maister hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me therein for my charges and expences: wherefore, I neither maie nor will be burdalous nor chargeable to anie other man. He was verie equall & carefull in the gouernement, as few before him the like; as well in matters martiall, as polittike, magnanimous and couragious: in the one, to the appalling of the enimie; and as seuer & vpright in the other, to the benefit of the commonwelth. For neither by flatterie could he be gained, nor by biterie be corrupted.

The earle of
Desmond was
taken in his
house.

The earle is
rude without
nurture.

The earle is
instructed in
ciuillie.

The earle
praieth for
sir Edward
Bellingham.

The lord
deputie would
be chargeable
to none.

The good
gouernment of
this deputie.

Sir Edward
Bingham
well beloved.

1548
Sir Francis
Bian lord
iustice.

Sir Francis
Bian married
the countess
of Desmond,
and was bur-
ied at Water-
ford.

1549
Sir William
Babston
lord iustice.

1550
Sir Anthonie
Sentleger
lord deputie
the second
time.

1551
Sir James
Cross lord
deputie.

1552
Sir Antho-
nie Sentle-
ger lord de-
putie the third
time.

A fallall des-
tine to euerie
god gouernoz
to be flander-
ed.

1555
The lord
Fitzwaters
made lord de-
putie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie and
Coywen lords
iustices.

ted; he was feared for his severity, and beloved for his integrity; and no gouernoz for the most vntuer-
salitie better reported of than was he. But as ver-
tue hath the contrarie to enemie, so he found it true:
for he was so enuied at, and that rebellious nation
not boking so wozhie a man, who travelled all the
waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of
themselves, and of their duties; and also to reforms
that corrupt state of gouernement, that great prac-
tises and deuises were made for his reuocation; and
matters of great importance informed and informed
against him. Whereupon, before two yeares en-
ded of his gouernement, he was reuoked, and Sir
Francis Bian made lord iustice. At his coming
into England, great matters were laid onto his
charge: but he so effectually did answer the same,
that his maiesties doubtfulness was resolved; & he
not onelie cleared, but also better liked than euer he
was before, & should haue bene sent backe againe,
had he not alleged his infirmities; the which was a
fistula, and other god reasons, which were accepted
for his excuse. Sir Francis Bian had married the
countesse of Desmond, and by that meanes he was
a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in
the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was
but short, & no great matters could in so short a time
be done by him. After his death, Sir William Bab-
ston had the sword deliuered unto him, and he con-
tinued lord iustice, untill that Sir Anthonie Sentleger
came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second
time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & ex-
perience he had god skill and did well gouerne: yet
there remained some coles of the fire in his first go-
uernement vntouched; and within a shorter time
than thought of, he was reuoked: and Sir James
Cross was sent ouer to supplie the place; his euill
successes in god attempts did not answer his va-
lour and god deserts.

And albeit the time of his gouernement were
not long, yet it continued untill the death of king
Edward the first, and then he was called home, and
Sir Thomas Cusacke and Sir Gerard Elmer were
appointed lords iustices, who iointlie gouerned the
estate, untill quene Marie sent ouer Sir Anthonie
Sentleger; who now the third time was lord de-
putie. This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and
vprightlie in a god conscience, and being well ac-
quainted in the courtes of that land, knew how to
moe to with the enemies, and how to staie all magi-
strates and others in their duties and offices: for
which though he deserved well, and ought to be be-
loved and commended: yet the old practises were re-
newed, and manie slanderous informations were
made and inueighed against him: which is a fallall
destine, and inueitable to euerie god gouernoz in
that land. For the more paines they take in tillage,
the worse is their harvest; and the better be their ser-
uices, the greater is the malice and enuie against
them; being not vnlike to a fruitfull apple tree, which
the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels he hur-
led at him. Well, this man is called home, and the
lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie.
At Sir Anthones coming ouer, great matters
were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduer-
sities he had, which verie eagerly pursued the same a-
gainst him: wherein he so answered, that he was
not onelie acquitted; but also gained his discharge
for euer to passe ouer and into so vnthankfull
a land.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a
short time of his being there, was sent for into Eng-
land. And in his absence, Sir Henrie Sidneie
then tresuroz at warres, and doctor Coywen, were
for a time ioint lords iustices: but verie shortly af-
ter,

a commission was sent to Sir Henrie Sidneie to
be sole lord iustice, and so continued alone untill the
lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Suffer, came againe
and resumed his former office of deputie. After
that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to do with
the Dnele. For the whole north part of Ireland be-
gan to be briquetted, and for preventing of sundrie
inconueniences, which might grow by the Scotch
Ilanders in aiding the said Dnele, the lord de-
putie made a iourneie and vofage into the said Isles,
to loine them into his friendship. In his absence,
he constituted Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice; but
after that he had done his businesse, he returned a-
gaine to Dublin, where he remained and continued
in his office untill the death of quene Marie, and
then he passed ouer into England, and left Sir Hen-
rie Sidneie to be lord iustice now the fourth time.
And after some time spent there, and quene Eliza-
beth now settled in the imperiall crowne of Eng-
land, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of
Ireland to performe those seruices, which before he
had taken in hand: who did verie great god ser-
uice against the Irishie, and by meanes he toke
the Dnele, and kept him prisoner in the castell of
Dublin: but yet before he could do bying the
same to perfection, he was reuoked into England,
and left the land in a verie broken state; which was
committed to Sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made
lord iustice. But his gouernement being not well liked,
choise was made by his maiestie and the
councell of Sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the
honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place,
who then was lord president of Wales.

This man had bene before a long seruitor in
that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares bene trea-
suroz at warres, which is the second office vnder the
lord deputie in that land; as also had bene lord iu-
stice solie and iointlie foure times. Great was his
knowledge, wisdom, and experience both of that
land, and of the nature, manners, and disposition of
the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others
in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue
the gouernement of them. He was therefore called
from out of Wales, where he then resided in his go-
uernement unto the court: and there after con-
fidence had with his highnesse, and with the councell;
he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, be-
ing the seventh yeare of his maiesties reigne, in the
yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he received of
his maiestie a booke of instructions signed with his
owne hand, dated the first of October 1565, the
seventh yeare of his reigne aforesaid, concerning
the principall articles for his gouernement & direc-
tion, which chiefly consisted in these points.

First, that there should be a bodie of a councell
established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the
gouernement of the same realme in times of peace
and of warre; and whose names were then particu-
larly set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of
them should before their admission be sworn by the
said lord deputie, according to the accustomed man-
ner: with an exhortation, that for somuch as his
maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence
in their wisdomes, aduises, god counsels, and ser-
uices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises,
assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and
consulation, concerning the state of that realme.

And they likewise, considering the place and au-
thoritie whereunto his maiestie had called the said
Sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold his place in that realme:
they should yeld that obedience and reuerence unto
him, as to such a principall officer doth appertene.
And then they both together, to haue a speciall care
and regard to the gouernement, which was com-
mitted

The Dnele
and all the
north part
of Ireland

1558
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
iustice the
fourth time

1557
The earle
of Suffer lord
lieutenant

1564
Sir Nicholas
Arnold lord
iustice

1565
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
president of
Wales

A booke of
instructions
signed with
his owne
hand

A councell
to be establi-
shed

sed in foure articles that doo orderlie hereafter fol-
low.

The said foure articles were these.

Gods lawes
to be kept, and
Christian reli-
gion to be
vnto.

Learning of
the scriptures
to be mainte-
ned.

The church
latter not to
be alienated.

The lawes to
be vnto admi-
nistrated.

Shiriffes to
be appointed in
euerie shire.

The garrisons
to be looked
vnto.

Wardens to be
appointed in
euerie county.

The regard
to be had of
the manerling
reuenues.

The euerie
shiriffes
to be appointed
in euerie shire
to be made
the account.

Shiriffes
to be appointed
in euerie shire
to be made
the account.

Shiriffes
to be appointed
in euerie shire
to be made
the account.

First, that they should faithfullie and
earnestlie regard the due and reue-
rend obseruation of all Gods lawes
and ordinances, made and established
for the maintenance of the true christian faith and
religion among his people; and that all meanes
should be vsed, as well by doctrine and by teaching,
as by god examples, that deuotion and godlinesse
might increase, and contempt of religion might be
restrained, punished, and suppressed. That learning
in the scriptures might be maintained and increased
among the cleargie, and that for the reliefe of the ec-
clesiasticall state, no alienations nor waikes of the
lands pertaining to anie church or college, should be
alienated: neither anie impropriations of benefi-
ces be put in vze: besides sundrie other articles in-
cident to this effect.

2 The second was, that the administration of law
and iustice should duly and vprightlie be executed,
without respect of persons: that inquirie be made
what notable faults are in anie of the iudges, or o-
ther ministers of the law: that vnfit persons male
be removed from their places, and some sufficient
persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the
same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in
euerie countie, and to execute their offices vpright-
lie, according to the lawes of England.

3 The third, that the garrisons and men of warre
be well ordered to the benefit of the realme, and re-
pelling of disordered subiects and rebels: that they
do line according to the orders appointed, without
oppression of the good and true subiects. That there
shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster
made either by the lord deputie, or by such commis-
sioners as he shall appointe make and indifferent for
that purpose; who shall make inquirie of the num-
ber of the souldiours vnder euerie capteine; for the
sufficiency of their persons, their horses, armors,
and weapons, and other their necessities: and how
they were paid of their wages, and whether they
were Englishmen or not.

4 The fourth article was, whether there had bene
had a due care & regard to the preservation of the
reuenues of the crowne, & for the recouerie of that
which is withholde. And whether euerie of the offi-
cers appointed for the receiuing of anie part of the
said reuenues, as namelie the receiuers of rents,
shiriffes, exchequers, collectors of the subsidies, cu-
stomers, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and
of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and
such others, did yearelie make and answer their ac-
counts; and besides sundrie other articles incident
to euerie of these principals.

After that he had receiued this booke, and his com-
mission, he prepared himselfe with all the expedition
he could, to follow the great charge committed vnto
him: which being done, he repaired to his mate-
stie and toke his leaue: and to his farewell, he gaue
him most comfortable speeches and good counsels,
promising his fauor and countenance to all his well
doings, and a consideration for the same when time
should serue. The like leaue he toke also of the
lords of the counsell, who in like order gaue him the
like farewell: and these things done, he departed
towards the sea side, where after he had taried a long
time for a good wind and passage, he toke ship, and
arrived in Ireland the thirtieth of Ianuarie, about
fue miles from Dublin, and from thence he trauck
led to Dublin: where he was most honorablie recei-

ued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lord iustice, and the
whole counsell; together with the maior and his bre-
thren of that citie. And the people in great troops
came and saluted him, clapping and shooting with all
the iote that they could deuise.

The next fundae then next following, being the
seuenth daie of his arrivall, and the twentieth of the
moneth, he accompanied with the lord iustice and
counsell, repaired to the high church in the citie na-
med Chyises church; where after that the divine ser-
vice was done, he toke his oth, receiued the sword,
and assumed vpon him the gouernement: and wher-
with he made a most pittie, wise, and eloquent ora-
tion, which consisted vpon these speciall points. The
first, what a precious thing is god gouernement, and
how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and
countries do flourish and prosper, where the same
is orderlie, in equitie, iustice, and wise doime, directed
& gouerned. Secondlie, what a continuall care the
queenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onelie
for the god guiding & ruling of the realme of Eng-
land, but also of Ireland; which she so earnestlie de-
sireth, and wisheth to be preserved, as well in peace
as in warre: that she hath made great choise from
time to time of the most graue, wise, and expert
counsellors for the one; and the most valiant, skill-
full, and expert men of armes for the other: that
both in peace and warres, the publike state of the
commonwealth, and euerie particular member
therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in
safetie vnder his gouernement. And for the per-
formance thereof, his maiestie ouer and besides the
reuenues of the crowne of Ireland, did pearcelie
far aboute anie of his progenitors, expend of his
owne cofers out of England, great masses of mo-
ne, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All
which his excellencie expenses and continuall cares
he made the lesse account of; so that his realme and
subiects of Ireland might be preserved, defended,
and gouerned.

Lastlie, notwithstanding his maiestie might haue
made better choise of manie others, who were bet-
ter able to hold his place in this realme, both for ho-
nor, wisdom, and experience: yet his pleasure
was not to cast this heauie charge and burden vpon
him. Which he was the more vnwilling to take
vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the
more vnablen & weakie he was to susteine the same.
Nevertheless, being in god hope, and well promised
of his highnesse fauor and countenance in his well
doings, and hauing his confidence in them his high-
nesse counsellors associated vnto him, to ioinie, aid,
and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is
the more readie to take the sword in hand; in hope
that this his gouernement shall be to the glorie of
God, the honor of his maiestie, the benefit of the com-
monwealth, and the preservation of the whole realme
and people of the same. And so making his earnest
request to the said lords present, for their continuing
with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in
this his maiesties seruice, he made an end of his
speeches.

The said counsellors, hauing well considered the
great value and weight of this his graue and wise o-
ration, did most humble thanke his lordship for the
same, and promised in all dutifullnesse, faith, and o-
bedience to performe and attend what soeuer to them
in anie wise should appertene. These things done,
they all conducted the said lord deputie in all honora-
ble manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common
people in euerie street and corner meeting him, and
with great acclamations and iote did congratulat
vnto his lordship his comming among them in that
office. Immediatlie after the performance of all
the

fulle receiued
into Dublin.

The benefit of
god gouerne-
ment.

The queenes
maiesties con-
tinuall care for
Ireland.

The queens
maiestie ex-
pendeth
yearelie out of
his owne cof-
ers for Ire-
land sundrie
thousand of
pounds.

The congres-
sation of the
people.

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The broken
state of Ire-
land.

The English
pale wasted
and spoiled.

The soldiers
beggerlie and
out of order.

The misera-
ble state of
Leinster.

The fertile
soile of the
countie of
Kilkennie
made wast.

Downfall by
civill war de-
stroyed.

Thomond all
wasted by ci-
vill warres.

Connagh de-
voured by ci-
vill warres.

The gentle-
men all impo-
werished.

Witther weat-
hie and rich.

the solemnities, pertaining to these actions, he called and assembled all those persons which his highnesse had appointed, admitted, and allowed to be of his maiesties private counsell for that realme, and did sweare them according to the accustomed manner. Then from time to time they assembled and met, consulting and deliberating what waie and order were best to be taken for repairing of that broken common- weale and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogether infected with sores and bites, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health. And surely if the state of that land was ever miserable and in perill to be overthrown: it was neuer more like than at these present times; for as for the English pale, it was overwhelmed with infinite numbers of caterpillers, who daily by spoiles and robberies haue deuoured and wasted the same: whereby the people intuerfallie were so pored, and the commons in such extreme penurie, that they had not houses, armes, nor weapons to defend them, nor apparell, bittels, nor any other necessities to releue them; the soldiers so beggerlie that they were most intolerable to the people, and for want of inuolencie, losencie and idlenesse, that vniuersal remedie were the more speedie, they would be past correction: and so much the worse, because manie of them were alied in marriage, and companies of the Irish: who the more they were affected to them, their trust and seruice more doubtfull to his maiestie. The prouince of Leinster and they altogether most miserable, the Wols, Obzines, Kinshelaghies, Doolies, Dmoughs, Carenaughys, the Poyzes, and the residue in their accustomed manners wholly bent to spoiles and all mischiefs, no place of any safetie remaining for the good subiect; especiallie in the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, became of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie few being left to inhabit the same.

Downfall, the inhabitants there likewise for the most part being followers to the earle of Desmond, and following his wars against the erle of Dymond, made that prouince, and especiallie the counties of Tipperarie and Kierie, being wealthy and rich, to become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom his maiestie was or could be assured. Notwithstanding experience had taught them, and they assured, that no waie was for their recouerie and safetie so good and assured, as to humble themselves, and to become his highnesse loiall and obedient subiects: yet as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, contented themselves rather with a beggerlie life to be miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace and assured. The prouinces also of Thomond altogether almost wasted by the warres betwene the earle there and sir Donnell Obzien. Dymond likewise by reason of dissention betwene the earles of Desmond and Dymond, and by the daily inuasions and prizes of Piers Grace was almost wasted and inhabited.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie rich and wealthy, and well inhabited, is wasted with the wars betwene the erle of Clanrichard and Mac William Enter: the Irish counties all wasted and impouerished, partly by reason of their dissimulations, societies, and conferences with the rebelles, and partly by the particular discords among themselves. Finally, all the gentlemen throughout, were by the daily prizes made upon them and their tenants so impouerished & distressed, that they were not able to mainteine and releue themselves nor their families. The prouince of Ulster for wealthy

and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselves, but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of receipt of all the prizes and spoiles from out of the other prouinces: but as for loialtie, dutifullnesse, and obedience to his maiestie, they were most disloiall, rebellious, and disordered. For after that Shane O'neile by blood and murder had gotten the maiestie, he alone then ruled the roste, who in pride exceeded all the men upon the earth, abiding no superior, nor allowing any equall. And here it were not amisse, but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and cause why the said Shane did first breake out from his due obedience, and did shake off the government of his maiestie, which (as farre as the writer hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here followeth.

Con O'neile, the first earle of Eiron, had two sonnes, O'athew and this Shane or John. And king Henrie the eight hauing good liking of this Con O'neile, and to reteine and keepe him a good subiect, he being a mightie man, and of great power in his countrie, he made and created him earle of Eiron, and his eldest son O'athew he made baron of Dunganon, and the remainder of the said earledome to the said O'athew, and to the heirs male of his bodie. This Shane being the second brother, and of an aspiring mind, envied his elder brother, and in no wise could he brooke him, but from time to time seeketh occasions to quarrell and fall out with him, and in the end most traitorously and vnnaturallie murdered him: their father yet liuing, who did not so much lament and bewaile the same, but began much more to distrust of his owne safetie. Nevertheless, it is not known that the said Shane did offer him any violence, but when he was dead, although he had no right to succeed into the earledome, by reason that O'athew his elder brother had left sons behind him, who by the letters patents and course of the common law were to succeed the grandfather: yet Shane usurped the name of O'neile, and entred into his fathers inheritance according to the Irish manner, among whom the custome is, that the eldest in years of the name of any house or familie doth succeed his ancestor, vniuersal at the time of his death he had a son of the full age of one and twentie years. And thus hauing perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he scorneth at the English gouernement, and after the Irish manner proclaimeth himselfe O'neile, and the capteine of his countrie, refuseth likewise all obedience to his maiestie, and breaketh out into open rebellion.

Sir Henrie Sidnete then lord iustice, in the absence of the erle of Sussex, being aduertised of these stirs, taketh aduise of the counsell what was best to be done. And then it was agreed, that the said lord iustice should take his journey towards Dundalke, for the fortifying of the English pale, and should send a messenger to Shane O'neile, who then lay at a lordship of his about six miles from Dundalke, and to will him come to Dundalke to his lordship: which was done. But Shane returned his answer, praieing pardon, and also most humbly requested his lordship that it would please him to chysen a son of his, & be his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to do all things in seruice for his maiestie, as his lordship should command and appoint. This answer at the first was not thought good, nor yet honorable to the lord iustice so to do, until the said Shane had first come and submitted himselfe. But when it was considered what great inconueniences might insue, if his request were denied; it was agreed that the said lord iustice should condescend vnto his request. And accordinglie vpon the last of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, he went vnto the said Shanes

Shane O'neile.

The countie of Shane O'neiles residence.

Con O'neile made earle of Eiron.

Shane his party the next of O'neile. The Irish custome in succession.

Shane O'neile breaketh into rebellion.

Shane O'neile praieing pardon for the same.

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Shane's house, and there his lordship and Jaques
Tellingfield were godfathers, and having performed
the baptizing of the child, they both had conference of
the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his do-
ings, did allege for his defense sundrie articles as fo-
loweth.

First, he said that Spathe the baron of Dungan-
non was the sonne of one Bellaie of Dundalk, a
smith by occupation, begotten and bozne during the
spousals of the said Bellaie, and one Alton his wife,
and that the said Spathe was alwaies taken and
reputed to be the sonne of the said Bellaie, untill he
was of the age of sixteen yeares or thereabouts: at
which time Con O'Neill his father, upon the saleng
of the said Alton, that he was the father of the said
Spathe, did accept and take the said Spathe to be
his sonne, & gave him the name of Fardarotigh.

And here understand you the wickednesse of this
countrie; which is, that if anie woman do mislike
hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall have
all such children as were bozne of hir bodie during
their abode together, except such as the shall name to
be begotten by anie other man: which man so named
shall by their custome have the said child: and so
it should seeme to be meant of this point. Also
the said Spathe did upon this the affirmation of
his mother sake to usurpe the name of a seigniorie
of the O'Neilles, and the dominions appertaining to
that seigniorie and surname. Also that there be above
a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise
yield to this the claime of Spathe, although he for
his owne part would be contented therewith. Also
he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that
should intitile the sonne of the said baron to the said
lands are bitterlic void, because that Con O'Neill
father to the said Shane had no other right nor inter-
est to that countrie, but during his owne life: and
therefore without the consent of the lordes and inha-
bitants of that countrie, could make no surrender
nor conveyance, whereby he might be enabled to take
and have the said lands by force of letters patents.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English
pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie
person, be of anie force or value, untill that an inqui-
sition be taken of the lands so given before that the
letters patents do passe: which in this case neither
was, nor could be done, sith the countrie of Eiron
is no shire ground. Also if the said lands should accor-
ding to the quenes lawes descend to the right heire,
then in right it ought to descend to him, as next heire
being mulierlic bozne; and the other not so bozne.
Also he saith, that upon the death of his father lord
of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the
custome of the countrie did assemble themselves to-
gether, and by a common consent did elect and chose
(without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to
be O'Neill, as the most worthy and ablest of that
countrie. Which election by the custome of the coun-
trie hath bene alwaies used without anie confirma-
tion, asked of the kings and quenes of England.
Also he saith that as O'Neill he claimech such authori-
ties, iurisdicions, and duties upon his men & coun-
trie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessors,
and which duties for the most part are recozded, and
remaine in writing. When the lord iustice had at
full heard these articles, and considered well of them
together with the counsell, made answer unto Shane
that the matter was of great weight and impor-
tance, & which neither he nor the counsell could deter-
mine of themselves, before hir maiestie were made
private and acquainted therewith; and therefore in the
meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and
to shew himselfe a dutifull subject unto hir maiestie,
nothing doubting but that he should have and re-

ceive at hir hands, what should be found meet, right,
and iust.

And so having used manie good and frendlike
speeches and exhortations unto him, the said Shane
promised to use and behave himselfe well and ho-
nestlie, & as to his dutie should apperteine; they de-
parted in verie frendlike manner. And thus in such
wisdom and politike manner the lord iustice hand-
led the matter, that by tempering and gaining of
time all matters were pacified, and so continued un-
till the coming over of the earle of Sussex lord de-
putie: who then of a new took the matter in hand,
and he did so cruelly and severely follow the same,
that he overmatched Shane O'Neill. But it so greet-
ed the said Shane, that notwithstanding he disem-
bled and gave a good countenance, & promised welk
yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed
nothing: but as the wolfe which often casteth his
haire but neuer changeth his conditions, was one
and the same man or rather wolfe, and therefore
tyrannized and used most crueltie, and of all others
most disloyall and disobedient; to the deputie would
he not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with
him, but at his owne pleasure.

The quenes maiestie in some termes he would
honor, but in dedes he denied all obedience, subtil
and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but
in the residue of the daie verie uncerteine and un-
stable, and much given to excessive gulping and sur-
fetting. And albeit he had most commonlie two
hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dun-
dun, & had his full fill therof, yet was he never sa-
tisfied, till he had swallowed by marvellous great
quantities of like bagh or Aqua vite of that coun-
trie: whereof so unmeasurable he would drinke and
boute, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie,
which by that meanes was most extremelie infla-
med and distempered, he was oftentimes conueied (as
the common report was) into a deepe pit, and stan-
ding upright in the same, the earth was cast round
about him up to the hard chin, and there he did re-
maine untill such time as his bodie was recovered
to some temperature: by which meanes though he
came after in some better plight for the time, yet his
manners and conditions daily worse. And in the
end his pride joined with wealth, drunkennesse, and
insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannize
ouer the whole countrie, greatlie it was feared that
his intent was to have made a conquest over the
whole land. He pretended to be king of Ulster, even
as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the ma-
ner of the great Turke, was continually garded
with six hundred armed men, as it were his Jani-
saries about him, and had in readinesse to bring into
the fields a thousand horsemen, and four thousand
footmen. He furnished all the peasants and husband-
men of his countrie with armour and weapons, and
trained them up in the knowledge of the wars: and
as a lion hath in awe the beasts of the field, so had he
all the people to his becke and commandement, be-
ing feared and not beloued.

Which meanes and waies were practised and
used by the lord deputie and counsell for the pacifying
and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time
to time sent unto him; for and about the same, who
sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as
backwards and untoward. All the residue of Ire-
land there was the lesse doubt to recover them, by
reason that they by their owne civil wars had con-
sumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this
man, small or no hope at all, unless he might be cha-
stised, and with force be reduced to conformities.
Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the
matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking

Shane recei-
ved the said
letters patents
and the lord
iustice.

The children
of Shane
did against
the title of
Spathe to be
O'Neill.

The wicked-
nesse of the
countrie.

Shane
did upon this
the affirmation
of his mother
sake to usurpe
the name of a
seigniorie of
the O'Neilles.

Shane O-
Neill promi-
sed to be
quiet.

Shane O'Neill
became a
tyrant and
a rebel.

Shane O'Neill
a drunkard
and a surfer-
ter.

Shane O'Neill
buried in the
ground after
his drunken-
nesse.

Shane O-
Neill's force.

The peasants
in Ulster train-
ed up in
warre.

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Dolls set be
twene Ire-
land & Lon-
don.

The misera-
ble state of
Ireland.

No God nor
religion in
Ireland.

of him alwaie. And bicause in these troublesome times, it were meet advertisements should go to and from hir maiestie and counsell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to them, order was taken for the more speedie conuenance of letters reciproke, there should be set posts appointed betwene London and Ireland. This was then the present state of all Ireland, altogethers depoured with robberies, murders, riots, reasones, etuill and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to hir highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and townes: and yet the one being gentlemen and living by their lands, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decayed; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impouerished, and brought to such extremitie, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselves.

And among all other the most intollerable miseries vniuersallie reigning, this one exceeded all the rest, that there was scarce a God knowne; and if knowne, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroyed & vnconquered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as sheepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. When where neither God is knowne, the prince obetied, no lawes currant, no gouernement accepted, and all things inforced in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdom: Wherefore sir Henrie Sidneye now lord deputie, & the counsell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which laie them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, daillie assembled themselves; & deuised the best waie what might be to be taken herein. Wherein his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chiefest of the counsell, then ioined to assist him in counsell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decayed men; and the lord deputie himselfe diuinen to deuisse, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuertheless it was concluded and agreed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the O'Neill and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the state and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and oportunitie would serue thereunto.

At this present time the earles of Desmond and Desmond were in England, and the quarrels and controuersies growen betwene them were daillie examined before the lords of the counsell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And bicause their assertions were so contrarious and vncertaine in denieng and affirming, as no proceeding could be had for a finall end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their doings were best knowne, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the counsell both the said earles submitted themselves to the quenes maiestie order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound ech of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder hir highnesse broad seale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the forsaide examinations. But in the meane time whilst these things were in doing in England, sir John of Desmond, in verie outrageous and disordered manner, fired & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Desmond, which things were verie shortlie after appeased. In these troublesome daies Mac Artimore an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, and principall man of his sept in Downshire, hauing verie great possessions, and late still in

peace and did nothing at all, neither toke he partie with one whom he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appearance misliked both their doings.

This man made his humble sute to hir maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto hir maiesties highnesse, and to recognize his dutie and allegiance to hir, and so to resume and haue a new estate thereof from hir againe, according to the orders and lawes of England. Which hir maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his state in all obedience and dutie to hir croone, did for the worthinesse of his blood & stocke, & for the greatness of his gouernement make him a baron of the parlement in that reigne; & for his further advancement created him an earle vnder hir letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane O'Neill, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of hir highnesse in aduancing such a one to that honour, and envied and maligned him that he was so honored. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all good order, bzaleng out speeches not meet nor seemelie. For (saith he) you haue made a wise earle of Mac Artimore, I keepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the quene is my lawe reigne ladie, yet I neuer made peace with hir, but at hir seeking. And where he had required to haue his parlement robes sent vnto him as earle of Aron, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a trial to be made in parlement) yet now he cared not for so meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an erle. For I am (saith he) in bloud and power better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Ulster. And as Ulster was theirs, so now Ulster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I won it, and with the sword I will keepe it. Which his words fell out true, though long he intoid not the same: and forthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, whereby he became execrable and hateful vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

Now hir maiestie, being grieved and annoyed with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him clearelie routed out, or chastised: but therein she was staied, being bozne in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to pced to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now the seeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; she gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploye his whole care, consideration, and wisdom, how such a cankered and dangerous rebell might be bitterlie extirped. And seeing the matter also to haue so manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not be well concluded: therefore she sent ouer sir Francis Anolles vicechamberleine, to confere with the lord deputie, who arrived at Dublin the seuenth of Aprill 1566, aswell concerning these matters of warre, as the whole state and gouernment of this realme. Who when he was arrived, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betwene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordinglie things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittells were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph colonell of the footmen, and sundrie other capitaine arrived with their souldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was conuenient

The earles of
Desmond and
Desmond
submit them-
selves to the
quenes order.

Sir John of
Desmond
spoileth the
earle of Des-
monds lands.

Shane O-
Neill more
correctly
written as
Shane O-
Neill

Shane O-
Neill more
correctly
written as
Shane O-
Neill

Shane O-
Neill more
correctly
written as
Shane O-
Neill

The name
of the
earle of
Clancare

Shane O-
Neill more
correctly
written as
Shane O-
Neill

Sir Francis
Anolles
arrived at
Dublin
the 7th of
Aprill

consentent to be.

likewise the archtraitor knowing what preparation was made against him, he doth the like also on his part against his maiestie; and at a ship of manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustred all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seven hundred horsemen. And glorying much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to haue conquered all Ireland withall; and that no man durst to adventure upon him: he marcheth onto the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besiegeth the same. He was no more busie to giue sundrie attempts of inuasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and he had the repulse, being with thame driven to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

Shane O'Neill besiegeth Dundalke, & is repulsed.

1565

Coronell Randalph arriveth at the Wirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

The lord deputie cometh to the Wirrie and fortifieth all things in order for the service.

O'Neill cometh near the Wirrie and offereth battle.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and inuasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much head, as a farre smaller compaignie of the English souldiers deserved commendation: which perforce and manure of his teeth compelled him to retire with thame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Iulie 1565, and the first yeare of the deputation of sir Henrie Sidneie, Edward Randalph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent ouer out of England, and arrived at the Wirrie with seven hundred men under his regiment, and he himselfe by the councill in England appointed to be the coronell. This man as soone as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Wirrie, where he remained in garrison without doing of anie thing, untill the coming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of his maiesties forces, appointed to be ioined with the said coronell, for the better service against the arrogant traitour Shane O'Neill.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that service required; he returned backe to Dublin through O'Donells countrie, and so thorough Connagh, leaving the coronell accompanied with one band of fiftie horsemen under the leading of capteine George Heruie the elder, and with seven companies of hundreds of footmen under the charges of capteine Robert Cornewall, and capteine John Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, vittels, and all other necessaries meet and requirit. Shane O'Neill who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now upon his honor and reputation, incamped himselfe about two miles from the garrison, hauing then in his armie a thousand five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. And from daie to daie he would continuallie with his horsemen houer and range the fields, and shew himselfe ready to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to adventure the same.

The coronell not liking these daile offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour unto him, and all the English nation, which were come ouer to serue against him, and now would do nothing, but were daile bearded by the enimie: notwithstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sicknesse in the campe, that his small compaignie was much weakened and vnable to serue: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remove him from his so nere a seat. Whereupon he drew out of his compaignie to the number of three

hundred men, whom he thought most meet to serue, and being accompanied with fiftie horsemen under capteine George Heruie, marched toward O'Neill's campe, who pretending a great ioy to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to incounter with them; perswading himselfe that he should that daie be maister of the field, and haue a conquest to his hearts desire.

The coronell prepareth to fight with O'Neill.

The coronell made chosse of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide the charge. O'Neill in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the coronels footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so receiued with the English shot and is galled, that he made some staie. Whereupon capteine Heruie taking his oportunitie, most valiantlie with his small band of horsemen brake in to the battell of O'Neill. Likewise coronell Randalph with his few horsemen gaue the charge upon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the seruice which he desired: but the coronell verie valiantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and whereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being affrighted and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whom the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chace about foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The coronell onelie was slaine, but capteine Heruie and diuerse of the horsemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

The valiant seruice of capteine George Heruie.

The coronell Randalph is slaine.

O'Neill and his compaignie flee, and are pursued, killed & hurt about 800.

After the death of this valiant coronell, whose funeral the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Sentlow was made coronell: under whose gouernement the garrison liued verie quietlie. For this last overthrow so quailed the spirits and courages of O'Neill and his compaignie, that they had no desire of anie further incounter with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was done: and being determined in the spring to adventure some peece of seruice, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what means, the fort and towne of the Wirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and vittels late were blotted by with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so manie of the souldiers as late sick there were burned in their beds. Whereupon the coronell calling all his capteins together, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their vittels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselves for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, sauing capteine George Heruie: for he rather did chose to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impoverish his souldiers by killing their horses (which perforce they must needs haue done) for want of shipping. And therefore euen almost against all hope he returned towards Dublin through the enimies countrie, who followed and chased him foure daies together without intermission, both with horsemen and footmen: but at length he recovered Dublin, not without great wonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about O'Neill, and in all places thorough out Ulster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best seruice of his maiestie. And yet considering the great

The lord deputie celebrateth the coronell Randalph's funerals.

The Wirrie and all the vittels and munitions are burned.

The coronell abandoneth the Wirrie, and returneth to Dublin by seas.

Capteine George Heruie returneth by land in great danger.

The lord deputie maketh a tourne into Ulster.

1566

The pusillanimitie of the O'neile.

Donnell restored vnto his possessions. The lord deputie recouereth a great countrie in Ulster vnto the crowne.

The earle of Desmond is in campe and both no hurt.

The earle of Desmond maketh his repaire to the lord deputie.

importance of the seruice, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a tourne into Ulster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certeine of the counsell, and with such captains and souldiers as he thought good: he advanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seventeenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Kosske Beagh, & so from thence he travelled through out Ulster, and passed thence vnto Athlon in Connaught, where he came the six and twentieth of October.

In this tourne the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer anie fight at all: saving once at and nere a towne not far from Clogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gaue the charge with horsemen, footmen, and certeine Scottish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horsemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Lirlough Lenough, called the Salmon, but toke his ease and durst not to giue the adventure. In this tourne the lord deputie restored Donnell to the possession of his lands and castles, kept by O'neile from him; & sundrie lords and men of the best sort submitted themselves. By which this his lordships tourne he recouered to his highnesse a countrie of foure score miles in length, and eight and fortie miles in bredth, without losse of anie man savinge Mac Swier, who being sicke died in this tourne; and savinge a few persons which by the waie vpon an occasion would adventure the winninge of a certeine Island in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittells of the enemies, and in assailing of it they were destroyed.

Immediately vpon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troubleosome state of Spounster, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to aniole at his pleasure the earle of Desmond, the lord Barrie, the lord Koch, and sir Thomas Fitzgibbon of the Decies; but he did not hurt anie man at all: savinge one Mac Donogh a rebell and a disloyall savage man. The lord deputie beinge overlaid with the continuall cares to resist O'neile, could not in person trauell into Spounster, nor yet without great perill diuide his armie: wherefore he sent capteine Herne constable of Leighlin vnto the said earle, wherby he might be aduertised of his intendement and meaning: which appeared to be but a mere insolencie and an outrage to be reuenged vpon the earle of Desmond, although the rumor was, that he would conioine with O'neile. Which report when it came to his eares, and beinge aduertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delate, toke his horse, and hauing in his companie onelie the baron of Dunboine, and capteine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whom for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships deuotion, either to go and attend him vnto Ulster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get: the lord deputie finding him vittells: and then to abide & serue in Ulster in despite of Shane O'neile; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine vpon the borders there, with such a number of horsemen, as should be appointed vnto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifullnesse to his maiestie,

as was meet for a subiect to shew to his maiestie. The deputie havinge some liking of his offers, and consideringe the sickle state of these presents, accepteth his last offer, willing him to go backe againe, and to prepare a crew of one hundred horsemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within fouretene daies: which he did; and with him came sir John Desmond, his uncle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Boyce and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, sir William Bentleger, and capteine Herne, did remaine vpon the borders, untill his lordships returne from out of his tourne in Ulster.

And as the realme at large was much infected with the cruell warres of O'neile and the troubles in Spounster; so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs vnto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against another. For Oliver Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certeine booke in writing, containinge an information of sundrie notozious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same; and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parliament, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by his maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and counsell. Likewise sir Edmund Butler and others his brother were grievously complained vpon by the ladie of Dunboine, Mac Brian Arre, Oliver Fitzgibbon, sir William Occarell, and others; for their dailie outrages, robberies, murders, preies, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appealing of such matters, and for the better ministracion of iustice, the lord deputie had bene a long tyme to his maiestie and counsell for a chancelor to be sent ouer, who at length were resolved vpon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arrived at Dublin in Iulie 1567, a notable and a singular man: by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so seuerer therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or auerted from the same: and so much good in the end ensued of his vpright, diligent, and dutifull seruice; as that the whole realme found themselves most happy and blessed to haue him serue among them. So that he taking vpon him to deale in all matters of complaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countrie, and acquitted himselfe against his maiestie.

But to returne to the L. deputie, who immediately vpon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he toke order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such convenient places vpon the frontiers, as then appertained and was most meet & convenient. The rebell on his part leaueth nothinge vndone, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great sollicitie of himselfe devised manie things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire wasted the countrie, slue manie of his maiesties subjects, and in the end besieged his highnesse towne of Dundalke: where his pride and treason were lustlie scourged, who came not with so much glorie to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leaue and lose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode vpon him: and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had disaffected him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countrie, as is before said, gained from him the last tourne, Mac Swier, a mightie man in his countrie, forsooke him, and submitted himselfe to his maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithfull seruice, and to receiue his lands and countrie at his highnesse hands.

Alexander

The earle of Desmond is in the English pale.

Oliver Sutton complaineth against the earle of Kildare.

The ladie of Dunboine complaineth against the Butlers.

Dr. Weston is made lord chancelor of Ireland.

The earle of Desmond is in the English pale.

The earle of Desmond is in the English pale.

The earle of Desmond is in the English pale.

The earle of Desmond is in the English pale.

Alexander Og and Mac Donnell offer to serue
hir maiestie, with all the Scots vnder them against
the rebell. Con Donnell late deliuered from the re-
bell, offereth seruite against him. Tirlogh Lenough
with the helps of his neighbours dailie backed the
said Dneile, that his force was quailed that waie.
The lord deputie had continuallie foure regiments
residing nere the English pale, who continuallie as
it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of
the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogheba did also
issue out, and in one morning took a piete of two
thousand kine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other
small beastes and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe
thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps
and followers, his men, some by Donnell, and some
by others to the number of thre or foure thousand
persons at times laine, himselfe discomfited, his
passages stopped, and all places of his refuge preuen-
ted, and now but one poze castell left wherein he tru-
sted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weake-
ned, and beholding his declination and fall towards,
was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe,
and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter
about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie,
and in all humble and lowlie maner to submit him-
selfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find
mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience
was so cauterised, and his hands so imbued with in-
finit and most horrible murders, bloodsheds, trea-
sons, whozdomes, drunkennesse, robberies, bur-
nings, spoiles, oppressions, and with all kinds of wic-
kednesse, that his heart was overlaid and overlau-
den with an utter despaire to obtaine anie grace or
fauor: and therefore was the moze easilie persua-
ded by those whome he took to be his friends, to trie
first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that
they would ioin and aid him in his most wicked re-
bellion. Whereupon he took his iournie towards
Clandeboie, where Alexander Og and his companie,
to the number of sir hundred persons, were then in-
camped: and for the better gaigning of his purpose,
he had a little before enlarged Charleie Wote brother
to the said Alexander, and who had bene prisoner
with him.

The Scots disguised the matter with him, preten-
ding and promising him aid and assistance: which
they ment not. For as soon as Dneile together with
Donnells wife, whom he kept, & the small companie
which he brought with him were come into the tent,
and they assured of him; they called to remembrance
the manifold iniuries which they had received at his
hands, and namelie the murdering of one James
Mac Conell, & one Mac Guille their nere cousins
and kinsmen: and being inflamed with malicious
minds to reuenge their deaths, they fell to quarelling
with the said Shane Dneile, and with their slaugh-
ter swords helved him to peeces, and slue all those
of his companie that were with him: his bodie they
wrapped in a kernes shirt, and so without all honor
was carried to a ruinous church not farre off, and
there interred; but after a few daies he was taken
vp againe by capitaine Piers, by whose deuise this
stratagem or rather tragedie was practised, and his
head was sundred from the bodie, and sent to the lord
deputie, who caused the same to be set vpon a stake or
pole on the top of the castle of Dublin. A fit end for
such a beginning, and a fitt reward for such a wicked
traitor and sacrileger: who began his tyrannie in
blood, did continue it with blood, and ended it with
blood. The lord deputie being then at Drogheba, and
aduertised of the death of this Shane, and of the iust
iudgements of God laid vpon him; for the same pro-
strated himselfe before the high and eternall God,
and gaue his most humble and hartie thanks for the

delinerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacrile-
gier and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed
that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir
maiestie and counsell, aduertising this hap and good
successe. Which done, his lordship with all speed made
his repaire into Ulster, and incamped himselfe in
the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all
the noblemen and gentlemen of Ulster being glad
that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their
repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they
which were competitors of the capitaine of Ulster,
who most humble and obedientlie presented and
submitted themselves vnto hir highnesse. And when
his lordship had set all things in such order as the
time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the
countrie, and most pithilie and effectualle instruc-
ted and perswaded them to obedience, teaching them
the great blessings of God which cometh thereby,
as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences,
miseries and calamities they had felt by the contra-
rie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he
promised shoyltie to send commissioners amongst
them, who should haue authoritie to decide all con-
trouersies betwene partie and partie (title of land
and death of man excepted.)

Also he proclaimed and commanded hir maiesties
peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen
and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed ex-
ercises: and that all men of warre should liue vpon
their owne, or vpon that which their friends with a
good will would giue them: and so publishing peace
vniuersallie, euerie man departed home iofullie.
The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and
commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who laie for
an hostage of his father, to be safely kept in the cas-
tell of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters
of commandement in that behalfe, dated the first of
Iulie 1567. The quenes maiestie being deliuered
from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Ulster
at hir commandement and disposition, was verie
desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, wher-
by the might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer
into Ireland one Robert Lath, skilfull in that art,
and that he should make the perfect descriptions of
the same. Likewise also the being aduertised of the
outrageous dealings of the earle of Desmond, in
maintaining proclaimed rebels, and continuing of
warres against the earle of Desmond (whose inso-
lencie to seeke to be reuenged vpon the said earle,
was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile
of the whole countrie, and the onelie cause of great
murders, bloodshed, and vndoing of manie people)
the willed the lord deputie by hir letters to appe-
hend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the
castell of Dublin, which was so done. And after both
he and his brother sir John of Desmond were sent
into England, and there committed to the tower.

After all the foresaid troubles and ciuill wars were
appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and good or-
der, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties
letters for his repaire into England vnto hir pre-
sence, he did accordingly prepare himselfe therevnto,
to, and by a commission vnder hir hode seale of Ire-
land did appoint doctor Welleson then lord chancelor,
and sir William Fitzwilliams treasurer at wars,
to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them
being verie well learned, iust, and bysight; the other
verie wise, & of great knowledge and experience,
in the affaires of that land. Both which two being
like well minded to do hir maiestie seruite, did most
louinglie and brotherlie agree therein, each one adui-
sing and aduertising the other according to the seuer-
all gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by
which meanes they passed their gouernment verie
well

The quene
aduertised of
Shane Dneile's
death.

The noblemen
of Ulster, be-
ing glad of
Dneile's death,
did submit
themselves.

Others giuen
by the lord de-
putie to the
noble men of
Ulster.

Dneile's sonne
is committed to
safe custodie.

Robert Lath
sent into Ire-
land to draw
a true plot of the
whole land.

The earle of
Desmond
committed to
ward, and sent
to the tower,
together with
his brother sir
John Des-
mond.

1567
Doctor Wel-
leson and sir
William Fitz-
williams
made lords
iustices.

The lord de-
putie was
at Dneile's
death.

The Dneile
was killed
at the castle
of Dublin.

Dneile his
conscience
was so cau-
terised, and
his hands so
imbued with
sinne.

Dneile's
brother
was killed
at the castle
of Dublin.

The Scots
disguised
the matter
with him.

Shane Dneile
was killed
at the castle
of Dublin.

Shane Dneile
was killed
at the castle
of Dublin.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie passed into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond.

Ed. Mulineux.

Sir Edmund Butler breaketh out into outrages.

The prioe of Spac Arrie Hore earle of Clancart.

The earle of Clancart maketh warres by on the lord Roch. James Fitzmoris maketh warre upon the baron of Lixenew.

The archbishop of Cashell in danger to be killed.

Sir Peter Carew maketh sute to hir maiestie for the recouerie of his lands in Ireland.

well and quietlie to the great contentation of hir maiestie, the commendation of themselves, and the common peace of the countrie; and so the said sir Henrie hauing placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Deconno Sligo, he was with great hono^r receiued at the court, and the other was sent to the tower. Hir maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a windowe, she saw him to come in with two hundred men attending upon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told hir that it was sir Henrie Sidneie hir deputie in Ireland. Then it is well (quoth she) for he hath two of the best officers in England. So he presented himselfe before hir highnesse, and was welcomed to hir. Neuerthelesse, after his departure, the particular grudges betwene some certaine men, brake out into great and outrageous disorders, as sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh inuasion upon Oliuer Fitzgiralde, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlawes of the Deconnos and Amores proclaimed traitors, and hauing in the field a thousand of Galloglasles, horsemen, and berres, threaten to burne the towne of Kilkennie, and spoile Dorell of his countrie. But they are also Oliuer Fitzgiralde, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuerge, leauing to seeke reuenge by armes, made their recourses to the lords iustices, and by laws requested redress. The erle of Clancart was puffed up with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Pounster, and did confederate with the Spac Swaines, Wollman Hore, and others of the Irishie of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displayed inuadeth the lord Roches countrie, and in burning of his countrie, he destroyed all the cozne therein, seven hundred shepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried a waie fiftene hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also James Fitzmoris of Desmond maketh cruel warres against the lord Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew, which albeit they were good priuie displeasures, yet troublesome to the whole countrie: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so tempore with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken upon aduertisement of hir maiesties pleasure here in. About this time one Hore a runningate preest, hauing latelie bene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arrived into Ireland, and made challenge to the same see: which being denied unto him by the archbishop which was there placed by hir maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenlie with an Irish skaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

This yeare sir Peter Carew of Mchorestrete in the countie of Deuon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onelie barons of Carew in England; but marquesses of Corke, barons of Dron, and lords of Masson Twete; and sundrie other seignories in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended unto him: he made the queens maiestie and counsell acquainted therewith, and prayed that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to follow, and by order of law to recover the same. Which was granted unto him, as also he had hir highnesse and their lordships severall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect: and willing them to aid and assist him with all such hir maiesties euidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other

god meanes they might. Whereupon he sent the writer hereof to be his agent: who hauing by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and presidents, found in hir maiesties treasure and castell of Dublin, answering and agreeing with the euidences of sir Peter Carew: then the said sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Masson, then in the possession of sir Christopher Chiers knight, and to the baronie of Dron, then in the occupation of the Caucnaughs.

The first, when it was found good in law, and sir Christopher Chiers yielded, and compounded for it: the other was trauesed before the lord deputie and counsell, and upon good and substantiall euidences, records, and proses; a decree passed by the lords of the counsell, in the behalfe of sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recovered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records do impart, about the eighteenth yeare of king Richard the second. But as for the marqueship of Corke, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Pounster then not seiled in any quietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, hauing spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arrived at Crag Fergus, in September 1568: and took the sword of gouernement upon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the counsell by their letters of the fourth of Nouember 1568, did aduertise hir maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in brieue consisted in these points immediate following.

That sir Edmund Butler had made a pzeie in Shillelagh upon Oliuer Fitzgarret, and done sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles upon his countrie: who was forthwith sent for, and refused to come, excusing that he had businesse about the execution of certaine seruices in the counties of Kilkennie, and Tipperarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferent good order, sauing some contention betwene the earle of Clancart, and Spac William Enter; and an old controuersie renewed betwene McDonnell and Deconner Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghs countrie. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Mchaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countries. As for Pounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of James Fitzmoris of Desmond, against Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Roch; and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certaine outlawes, did disorderlie spoile and pzeie the countries to feed their bellies.

The present state of Ulster the lord deputie being desirous to know the certaintie thereof, immediately upon his landing in Ireland he made a tourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishie to stand in wauering terms: whereupon he sent for Turlogh Lenogh Dneile, who yielding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat snarued from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a iourneie upon Fferneie, and in combining with the Scots, of whom he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and hardie obtained, and not untill his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the Scots

Sir Peter Carew passed into Ireland.

Sir Peter Carew by a decree recouereth the baronie of Dron.

1568 Sir Henrie Sidneie turneth lord deputie.

The state that Ireland was in.

Connagh reasonable peace.

Shomond great complaints.

Turlogh Lenogh Dneile.

Scots had put in for their localtie. Donelle quietly possessed the countie of Treconell, and continued a dutifull subject to his maiestie; saving the old grudge betwene him and Turlogh did rather increase than decaye. When lord of the land betwene Loghfoile and the Ban, being for the same sometime molested by Turlogh Lenogh, did beare with all injuries, and desired to be exempted from Turlogh, and to hold the same of the quenes maiestie. The like did the two principall men, eligible for the captainrie of Tiron, desire for their parts all the residue of Ulster in good staie and quietnesse.

Parlement
summoned at
Dublin.

The lord
chancellor his
oration.

The lord deputie after this tourneie returned to Dublin, and there, when by the aduise of the council he had disposed all things in good order concerning the gouernement: he caused the writs for summons of the parlement to be awarded out vnto euerie noble man for his apperance; & to euerie shiriffe for choosing of knights and burgeses for their like apperance at Dublin the seventeenth of Januarie, in the eleventh yeare of his maiesties reigns; at which time and daie apperance was then and there made accordinglie. On the first daie of which parlement, the lord deputie, representing his maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner vnto Christs church, and from thence vnto the parlement house: where he sat vnder the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the princelie robes of crimson veluet doubled or lined with ermin. And then & there the lord chancellor made a verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of what great effect and value, how the common societie of men was thereby maintained, and each man in his degree conserued; as well the inferior as the superior, the subject as the prince: and how careful all good common-wealths in the elder ages haue bene in this respect: who considering the time, state, and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time to time ordeine and establish most holisome lawes, either of their deuises, or drauen from some other good common-wealth: and by these meanes haue prospered and continued.

Stanhurst
chosen to be
speaker of the
lower house.

And likewise, how the quenes most excellent maiestie, as a most naturall mother ouer her children, and as a most vigilant prince ouer her subjects, hath bene alwaies, & now presentlie is verie careful, studious, & diligent in this behalfe: hauing caused this present parlement to be assembled, that by the counsell and aduise of you her nobilitie, & you her knights and burgeses, such good lawes, orders, and ordinances maie be decreed, as maie be to the honor of almighty God, the preservation of his maiestie, and of his imperiall crowne of this realme, and the safetie of the common-wealth of the whole realme: for which they were not onelie to be most thankfull; but also most careful to do their duties in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker directing his speeches to the knights and burgeses, who were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of the realme, willed them that for the auoiding of confusion, and for an orderlie proceeding in this action: they should assemble themselves at and in the house appointed for that assemble; and there to make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended, and the court adourned untill thursdaie next, the twentieth of Januarie. In the meane time, the knights and burgeses met in the lower house, and appointed for their speaker one Stanhurst, recorder of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and learned man; who vpon thursdaie aforesaid was presented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the higher house: & then he hauing done most humble his

obedience and dutie, made his oration and speech; first abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficientlie adorned and furnished with such gifts of knowledge and learning, as to such an office and calling doth appertene: wherein he was so much the more vnfit, as the cause he had in hand was of great weight and importance. And therefore he wished, if it might so seme good to his lordship, some man of more grauitie, and of better experience, knowledge, and learning might supplie the place. Neuerthelesse, for so much as he might not refuse it, he was the more willing, because he did well hope his seruice being done with his best good will, and in all dutifulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his comfort was the more, because he had to deale in such a cause, as was for the establishing of some good and holisome lawes, whereof he was a professo.

And herevpon he toke an occasion, according to the argument that was before handled by the lord chancellor, speaker in the higher house, to discourse of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what good successe there inueth to all such realmes, countries, and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled & gouerned. And when he had spoken at large hereof, there he declared what great causes that realme of Ireland had, to giue for euer most hartie thanks and praises to God for his goodnesse, in sending such a vertuous, noble, and a most godlie prince, as was his maiestie; who not onlie was careful by the sword to stand in their defense against all enemies, traitors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions: but also for their conseruation in times of peace would haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made in a parlement of themselves, as should be most expedient for the common-wealth of the same land. When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then he concluded with an humble petition, that it might please his maiestie to grant vnto them their liberties and freedoms of old belonging to euerie assemble of

a parlement. The first was, that euerie man being a member of the lower house, should and might haue free coming and going to and from the parlement: and during their abode at the same without molestation or impeachment of anie person or persons, or for anie matter then to be laid against anie of them. The second, that they and euerie of them might haue libertie to speake their minds freely to anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that parlement. Thirdlie, that if anie of the said house should misorder and misbehaue himselfe in anie vndercent manner, or if anie other person should euill treat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correction and punishment of euerie such offender should rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When he had ended his speech, and in most humble maner done his obeisance; the lord deputie hauing paused

vpon the matter, made answer to euerie particular point in most eloquent and effectual manner, which consisted in these points: Nothing misliking with the speaker for so much abasing of himselfe, because he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and verie sufficient for that place, doubting nothing but that he would performe the same in all dutifulnesse, as to him appertained. And concerning the benefit which groweth to all nations and common-wealths by the vse of the lawes; besides that daile experience did confirme the same generally, so no one nation particularlie could better anouch it than this realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope that they would accordinglie frame themselves to liue accordinglie, and also to praise for his maiesties safetie and long life, whereby vnder his they might intoe a peaceable and a quiet life in all prosperitie. And concerning the priuileges, which they

Stanhurst's
oration.

The requests
of the speaker
for allowance
of the liberties
of the parle-
ment house.

The lord
deputie an-
swereth Stan-
hurst's
oration.

requested to be allowed, forsomuch as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietlie serue hir highnesse in that assemble, to hir hono^r, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased hir maiestie so long as the were not impeached, no^r hir imperiall state derogated, that they should intoe the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adourned.

A mutinie in the lower house.

Sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and worthie to haue bene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged three speciall causes, whye he and his complices would not yeld their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundie townes, which were not coppozat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of townes coppozat had returned themselves. The third and chiefeest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such townes and coppozations, as which some of them neuer knew, and none at all were resiant & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

The resolution of the iudges.

The disliking of the iudges opinions.

The selfwill and forwardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

These matters were questioned among themselves in the lower house for foure daies togither, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more speeches, the greater hollies; untill in the end, for appeasing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: vnto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they hauing at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for townes not coppozat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and louereignes as haue returned themselves, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest vpon the shiriffes for their wrong retournes. The messenger of this answer, howsoeuer he were liked, his message could not be receiued no^r allowed: which being aduertised vnto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon hir maiesties attorneie generall was sent vnto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not be credited, neither would they be satisfied, unlesse the iudges themselves would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Upon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer no^r abide the reading thereof: but rose vp in verie disorderd manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrary to that grauitie and wisdom, which was or should be in them. Wherefore, for pacifieng of the same, the chiefe iustices of the quenes bench, and the chiefe iustice of the common pless: the quenes sergent, attorneie generall, and sollicitor, the next daie following came to the lower house, and there did as firme their former resolutions, which thought it might haue sufficed. Yet certeine lawyers who had place in that house, did not altogether like the reaf.

And albeit this matter were orderlie compassed, and sufficient to haue contented euery man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appere in the legule of that assemble, where euery bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especiallie sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the quenes maiesties profit or common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their capteinries should be taken awaie, and coine, and liuerie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices mistaking, it did euen open it selfe of a rebellion then a belying and to wards. Which in deed followed, for immediatlie after the parlement, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose.

There were two billes put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of sir Edward Poynings lord deputie, in the tenth yere of king Henrie the seuenth, which though it were meant most for their owne benefit and common-wealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the imposs for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselves verie forward & so vnquiet, that it was more like a bearebaiting of disorderd persons, than a parlement of wise and graue men. Wherewith a certeine English gentleman (the wistier hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athenrie in Connagh, who had befoze kept silence, and still so meant to haue done; when he saw these foule misorders and ouerthwarting, being grieved, stood vp, and prayed libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saying, that it was an vbiage in Bithagoras scholes, that no scholers of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, or determine, but giue eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and aduised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdom, speake, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experiance, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to haue bene altogether silent, is inforced euen of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to praye their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then vpon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse what was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subiect: and lastlie, how the quenes maiestie had most honorable and carefullie perfozmed the one, and how vndutifullie they had considered the other: for that the neither found that obedience in that land, which still liued in rebellion against hir; neither that beneuolence of the better sort, which for hir great expences spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to haue yelded vnto hir. It appered manifest in sundie things, and speciallie in this present assemble, namely one bill concerning the repeale of Poynings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet hir maiestie, of hir owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without anie of your consents, as she hath already done the like in England; saving of hir courtelie it pleaseth hir to haue it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that she might thereby haue the better triall and assurance of your dutifullnesse.

Sir Edmund Butler will be with the parliament.

The repeale of Poynings act.

The noth imposs of wines.

beneficence and goodwill towards him. But as the
hath and doth find your bent farre otherwise, so doth
the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For
notwithstanding his long services in times past, his
continuall and daile trauels, toynes, and hostings,
with the great perill of his life against the rebels for
your sake and safetie; and his endlesse troubles
and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat lites for
your quietnesse, and to you well known, he hath de-
serued more than well at your hands; yet as the un-
thankfull Israelites against Moses, the unkind Ro-
mans against Camillus, Scipio, and others; and as
the ingrateful Atheniens against Socrates, The-
mistocles, Apeltiades, and others; you haue and do
most ingratfullie requite and recompense this your
noble gouernor: against whome and his doings you
do kicke and spurne what in you lieth. But in the
end it will fall vpon you, as it hath done vnto others
to your owne shame, ouerthrow, and confusion. And
when he had spent a long time in this matter, and
proued the same by sundrie histories of other nati-
ons, he proceeded to the bill, which by sundrie reasons
and arguments he proued to be most necessarie, and
meet to be liked, allowed, and consented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his speeches, he sat
downe, the most part of the house verie well liking
and allowing both of the person and of the matter;
saying the persons before named, who did not heare
the same so attentiuely as they did digest it most
vngailetie, supposing themselves to be touched here-
in. And therefore some one of them rose vp and would
haue answered the partie, but the time and daie
was so far spent about the ordinarie houre, being
well nere two of the clocke in the afternone, that
the speaker and the court rose vp and departed. How-
beit such was the present murmuring and threat-
nings breathed out, that the said gentleman for his
safetie was by some of the best of that assemble con-
danned to the house of sir Peter Carew, where the
said gentleman then laie and resided. The lord deputie
in the meane time, hearing that the lower house
were so close, and continued together so long about
the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had bene con-
cerning the questions before proponed, and therefore
did secretly send to the house to learne and know
the cause of their long sitting. But by commande-
ment of the speaker, order was giuen to the doze-
keepers, that the dozes should be close kept, & none
to be suffered to come in or out, so long as the gen-
tleman was in deliuerie of his speeches; and after
the court was ended, it was advertised to the said
lord deputie, who thanked God that had raised vp un-
known friends vnto him in that place.


The next daie following being fridaie, asone as
the court of the lower house was set, sir Christopher
Barnelwell, and the lawyers of the English pale,
who had conferred together of the former daies
speeches, stood vp and desired hearing: who leauing
the matter in question, did in most disorderlie man-
ner inueigh against the said gentleman, affirming,
amongst other things, that if the words spoken
had bene spoken in anie other place than in the said
house, they would rather haue died than haue borne
withall. Whereupon the speaker by consent of the
residue of the house commanded them to silence, and
willed that if they had anie matter against the
said gentleman, they should present and bring it
in writing against mondaie then next following.
And for much as their dealings then were alto-
gether disordered, being more like to a bearebaiting
of loose persons than an assemble of wise and graue
men in parlement; motion and request was made
to the speaker, that he should reforme those abuses
and disordered behauiours; who not onelie promised

so to do, but also praied assistance, aduise, and coun-
sell for his doings therein, of such as were acquaint-
ed with the orders of the parlements in England. A booke of the
orders of a parlement
house impri-
nted for Ire-
land.
which was promised vnto him and performed, and
also promised that a booke of the orders of the parle-
ments used in England should in time be set forth in
print, which the said gentleman did, and presented &
bestowed the same among them in forme following.

10 ¶ The order and vsage how to
keepe a parlement in England in these
daies, collected by Iohn Vowell alias Hooker
gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Excester at
the parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Do-
mini 1571, & Elizabeth Reg. decimo tertio: and
the like used in hir maiesties realme
of Ireland.

And here you must note, that what the kings and
queenes of England do in their persons in Eng-
land, the same is done in Ireland by the lord de-
putie, and who in the like parlement robes and
vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir
maiestie there in all things.

By whom and for what cause a parle-
ment ought to be summoned and called.

 The king, who is Gods annointed, being
the head and chiefe of the whole realme,
and vpon whom the gouernement and
estates thereof do wholly and onelie de-
pend, hath the power and authoritie to call and as-
semble his parlement, and therein to sake and aske
the aduise, counsell, & assistance of his whole realme,
and without this his authoritie no parlement can
propertie be summoned or assembled. And the king,
hauing this authoritie, ought not to summon his
parlement but for weightie and great causes, and in
which he of necessitie ought to haue the aduise and
counsell of all the estates of his realme, which be
these and such like as foloweth.

First for religion, forsomuch as by the lawes
of God and this realme, the king next and immediat-
lie vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth, and
the chiefest ruler within his realms and dominions:
his office, function, and dutie is, aboue all things to
sake and see that God be honozed in true religion
and vertue, and that he and his people do both in pro-
fession and life liue according to the same.

Also that all idolatries, false religions, heresies,
schismes, errors, superstitions, & whatsoeuer is con-
trarie to true religion, all disorders and abuses, e-
ther among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, orde-
red, and redressed.

Also the assurance of the kings and queenes per-
sons, and of their children, their aduancement & pre-
serment in mariages, the establishing of succession,
the suppression of traitors, the auoiding or eschew-
ing of warres, the attempting or moving of wars,
the subduing of rebels, and pacifying of ciuill wars
and commotions, the leueng or hauing aide and
subsidie for the preservation of the king and publike
estate: also the making and establishing of good and
wholesome lawes, or the repealing and debarring
of former lawes, as whose execution may be hurtfull
or preiudiciall to the estates of the prince or com-
monwealth.

For these and such like causes, being of great
weight, charge and importance, the king (by the ad-
uise of his counsell) may call and summon his high
court of parlement, and by the authoritie therof esta-
blish and order such good lawes and orders as then
shall be thought most expedient and necessarie.

¶.

The

The order and maner how to
summon the parlement.

The king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lords and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquesses, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addressed to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Canturburie and Poike, and by them they are sent and disperied abroad to euerie particular bishop within their seuerall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the five ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie seuerall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgeses within his countie.

How and what persons ought to be
chosen for the clergie, and of their
allowances.

The bishop ought upon the receipt of the writ sent unto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appere in proper person at the parlement, unless they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or prorie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselves to appere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or prorie.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appere before him, his chancelor or officer, at a certeine daie, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appere for them, and these shall haue their commission or prorie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, conuincing of heresies, appealing of schismes, and deuising of god and goodlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reasonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualite, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the treasury of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leued for the same, according to an old order used among them.

How and what maner of knights, ci-
tizens, and burgeses ought to be chosen,
and of their allowances.

The shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue bene accustomed to send bur-

geses within his countie, that they do chose and elect among themselves two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgeses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And the head officers ought then to assemble themselves & the aldermen and common counsell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselves of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betwene the houres of eight and nine of the forenone, make proclamation; that euerie freeholder shall come into the court, and chose two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distindlie read. Whereupon the said freeholders, then and there present, ought to chose two knights accordinglie, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be seuerall indentures made betwene the shiriffe & the freeholders of the choise of the knights, and betwene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgeses & of their names, & of their mainperners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgeses under the seuerall common seales of their citie and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirtene shillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue five shillings: but now it is but three shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be given from the first daie of their iourneys towards the parlement, untill the last daie of their returne from thence. Provided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so many daies as by iourneiling six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgeses, god regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, unless he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experientie in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie utter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therefore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Civili gladio*: not because they shall come into the parlement hostile in armour, or with their swordes: but because they should be such as haue god experientie and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and realme god aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of god fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or perjured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrees of estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrees.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degree of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the tempozaltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgeses, & these be called by the names of the communalitie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do anie thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

Of the places and houses of the parlement.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he give at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wheresoever it be kept, the old vsage and maner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did grow manie inconueniencies, and therefore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which estones did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience freele, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great griefs, did diuide this one house into three houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and tempozall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgeses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelates and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will briefly subiect and declare particularlie in order as followeth.

Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degree: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hangd richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre by as the kings seat, and upon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degree. On his left hand there are two like benches, upon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betwene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale of England, or the lord

chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king, who doth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, upon which they do write and laie their bookes. In the middle rowe beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchequer, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned councell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall lawes, and all these sit upon great wooll sacks, couered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre or raile, betwene which & the lower end of the house is a bold rowe seruing for the lower house, and for all suitors that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and appertaining, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

Of the officers of the higher house, and first of the speaker, and of his office.

The chiefe officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancellor or keeper of the great seale, or lord chiefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honor of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waite of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that upon these three daies he standeth on the right hand of the king nere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration upon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bills presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clerks to be safelie kept.

All bills he must cause to be read twice before they be ingrossed, and being read thre times he must put the same to question.

If anie bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thence, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If anie bill be denied, impugned, and cleere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thenceforth re- ceined.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether side is the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If anie bill be imperfect, or requireth to be amended, he must choise a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make chose of two of the kings learned counsell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receive the same; and being returned to his place, and euerie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or done in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the aduise of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other times as he seeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recozded, & they to paie their fines, vnlesse they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or haue some iust and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clerks to make true entries & true records of all things done there, and to see that the clerks do giue and deliuer the copies of all such bills there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command euerie man of ech degree in that house to do the like.

Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentleman sergeant ought to attend vpon him, going before him with his mace, vnlesse he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also for euerie priuat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

Of the chancellor of the higher house.

The chancellor is the principall clarke of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be pass.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings seuerall courts of records to be inrolled, as namelie the Chancerie, the Kings bench, the Common ples, and the Exchequer.

All such acts as are to be imprinted, he must send to the printer.

All such priuat acts as are not imprinted, if anie man will haue the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chance^{or} to be ingrossed and sealed, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

Of the clerks of the parlement.

There be two clerks, the one named the clarke of the parlement, & the other named the clarke of the crowne. The clarke of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bills presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entries of all things there done and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to giue the same, receiuing the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must do it.

The counsell of the house he maie not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliuer vp vnto the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, sauing he may keepe a transumpt and a copie

thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, he hath three pounds.

Also for euerie bill whereof he giueth a copie, he hath for euerie ten lines a penie, according to the custome.

The clarke of the crowne, his office is to supplie the place and come of the clarke of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the clarke ought to haue.

He must giue his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & do what shall be intoided him.

All such acts as be not imprinted, if anie man will haue them exemplified vnder the brode seale, he must exemplifie them, and haue for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clerks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a board before them; their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bills which are pass both houses, and the other must read the consent or disagreement of the king.

Of the sergeants or porters of the higher house.

There is but one sergeant, which hath the charge of keeping of the doores: for though there be diuerse doores, yet the keepers thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept sweet.

He ought not to suffer anie manner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned counsell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bills or other wolle, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to haue anie thing there to do.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, vnlesse he be lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale: for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be commanded to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or sergeant hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for euerie date of the parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, fortye shillings.

Also he hath for euerie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of euerie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distinct from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, hauing foure rowes of seates one aboue an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table board, at which sitteth the clarke of the house, and there vpon laies his booke, and witheth his records. Vpon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings priue counsell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claime, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he cometh, sauing that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said counsels, the Londoners, and the citizens of Poerke do sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordinglie. Without this house is one other, in

in which the under clerks do sit, as also such as be factors and attendant to that house. And when forner the house is divided upon anie bill, then the roome is voided; and the one part of the house cometh doluine into this to be numbered.

The office of the speaker of the lower house.

The chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, ¹⁰ or the more part of them; he himselfe being one of the same number, and a man for grauitie, wisse, dome, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office, during the time of the parlement; and is to be presented to the king the third daie folowing.

His office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinaunces, vsages, and customs of the same to be firmelie kept and obserued.

When he is presented unto the king, sitting in his estate roall in the parlement house for the purpose, ²⁰ he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the lawes and of the parlement; which done, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in the parlement, may haue and inioie the ancient priuileges, customes, and liberties, as in times past haue appertained, and bene vsed in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue li- ³⁰ bertie of speeche, and freelie to utter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to anie bill or question to be proponed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free coming and going to and from the said parlement; as also during the said time of parlement; that they, nor anie of their seruants or retinue to be arrested, molested, sued, imprisoned, or troubled by anie person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or anie other of that com- ⁴⁰ panie, being sent or come to him of anie message, and do mistake himselfe in doing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but graciouelie pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and see that the clearke do enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bills as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third daie, and when for- ⁵⁰ ner he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bills, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clearke.

He ought to cause and command the clearke to reade the bills brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which done, he must breuilie rectie and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bills brought in he hath choise, which and ⁶⁰ when they shall be read: vntilke order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue three readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clearke to ingrosse the same, vntilke the same be reiected and dashed.

If anie bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house.

If when a bill is read, diuerse do rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake: neuertheless, euerie one shall haue his course to speake

if he list.

If anie speake to a bill, and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and will him to come to the matter.

If anie bill be read three times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not: saieing thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in maner & forme as hath bene read, saie *Aye*: then the affirmatiue part saie *Aye*. As manie as will not haue this bill ¹⁰ passe in maner and forme as hath bene read, saie *No*. If upon this question the whole house, or the more part, do affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the more part do denie the bill; then the same is to be dashed out, and to be reiected: but if it be doubtfull upon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the better roome, which (by the ²⁰ sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they do come in, one by one: and as upon the triall the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If upon this triall the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for other wise he hath no voice.

Also if anie of the house do misbehaue himselfe, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If anie forren person do enter into that house, the assemblie thereof being sitting, or do by arresting anie one person thereof, or by anie other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himselfe from dealing or intermedling in anie publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himselfe wholly to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to anie noble man, counsellor, or other person, to deale in anie of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his doings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to ⁵⁰ haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send anie offender, either to sergeants ward, or to the tower, or to anie other prison at his choise, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both how- ⁶⁰ les, and enacted, five pounds.

At the end, and on the last daie of the parlement, he makeeth his oration before the king in most humble maner, declaring the dutifull seruice and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humble praieing his pardon, if anie thing haue bene done amisse.

Of the clearke of the lower house.

There is onelie one clearke belonging to this house, his office is to sit next before the speaker at a table, upon which he writeth & laieeth his booke. He must make true entrie of the records and bills of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bills appointed vnto him by the speaker to be read,

read : he must read openly, plainly, and sensibly. The bills which are to be ingrossed, he must do it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the booke of the orders of the house ; he hath to deliuer the same vnto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, recetuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie priuat bill passed and enacted, fortye shillings.

He hath allowed vnto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

Of the sergeant or porter of the *lower house.*

The sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to keepe the doores of the house : and for the same he hath others vnder him, for he himselte keepeth the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and seeth the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there ; vntlesse he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person doe come, he ought to bring him in, going befoze him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to keepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to do his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carieing his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance (during the time of the parlement) is twelue pence the daie of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence ; and of euerie burgesse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the daie, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie priuat bill doe passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

Of the conuocation house.

The conuocation house is the assemblee of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons : euen so the archbishops and bishops doe sequester themselves, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and usages ; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function ; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vsed in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops doe sit all at a table, and doe discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question befoze them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or

from anie priuat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degree, which degrees are knowne by such degrees & offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned : for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a sexton, and so forth, as such officers were wont to be in the church.

The bishops doe not sit at forenone, but onelie at afternone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, doe resort and assemble themselves there at the forenones with the temporal lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie doe obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons doe vse. For being assembled together on the first daie, with the bishops, are by them willed to make chaise of a speaker for them, whom they call the prolocutor : when they haue chosen him, they doe present him vnto the bishops : and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and doth all things as the speaker of the lower house for the commons doth, as well for the ordering of the clergie of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things done among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onlie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their doings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vntlesse they be confirmed by act of parlement : but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the keeping thereof ; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) doe consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others : these shall suffice for this matter.

Of extraordinarie persons which ought to be summoned to the parlement.

Besides the personages of the former degrees, which ought to be summoned to the parlement : the king also must warne and summon all his counsellors both of the one law and of the other ; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namely the two chiefe iustices and their associates of the kings bench and the common pleas, the barons of the exchequer, the sergeants, the attorneie, the solicitor, the maister of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue counsell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtful cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceiued and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and reforme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie counsellors to the same.

They are all reteined at the kings charges.

Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namelie the chancellor of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are reteined at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is already partly declared.

Of the daies and houres to sit in
parlement.

All daies of the weeke are appointed, saving and accepted the sundaies and all principall feasts, as namelie the feast of Alhallowes daie, Christmas, Easter, Whitsondaie, and saint John the baptists daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the morning, and doth continue untill eleuen of the clocke.

They do not sit at afternoones, for those times are reserved for committees and the conuocation house.

In the morning they beginne with the common prayer and the letanie, which are openlie read in the house.

Of the king, his office and authoritie.

Having declared of all the estates, degrees, and personages of the parlement, it resteth now to speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in all, the beginning and ending, and upon whome resteth and dependeth the effect & subsistence of the whole parlement. For without him and his authoritie nothing can be done, and with it all things take effect. Nevertheless, when he calleth & assembleth his parlement, there are sundrie orders which of him are to be observed, and which he ought to see to be kept and executed, or else the parlement ceaseth to be a parlement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these be the chiefe which do insue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assigning and appointing the time, date, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least forty daies before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and provide all such officers as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens, burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the common house, or prolocutor of the conuocation house: but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, orders, and customs of the realme, as they were wont and ought to be, and the kings good advise yet not to be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow to all and euerie of the estates, and to euerie particular man lawfullie elected, and come to the parlement, all and euerie the ancient freedoms, privileges, immunities, and customs, during the parlement; as also during the times and daies, coming and going to and from the parlement: but yet the same humble to be requested of his highnesse by the speaker in his oration at the beginning of the parlement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the parlement three daies at the least, during the time of the parlement; that is to saie, the first daie, when the whole estates according to the summons make their appearance, which is called the first daie of the parlement. On the second daie, when the speaker of the common house is presented, which is counted the beginning of the parlement. And the third daie, which is the last day, when the parlement is prorogued or dissolved: for upon these daies he must be present, but in case of sickness, or absence out of the realme, for in these cases the king may summon his parlement by commission, and the same is of as good effect as if he were present in person: and as for anie other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propound to the parlement house in writing all such things & matters of charge, as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accordingly as the same shall then by the consent of all estates be advised, concluded, and agreed: so the king either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can (of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish anie bill; but accept the same as it is presented unto him from the estates of the parlement, or else altogether reiect it.

Also the king as he doth prefix and assigne the daie and time when the parlement shall begin; so also he must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall be prorogued or dissolved: which ought not to be as long as anie matters of charge, weight, or importance be in question, and the same not decided nor determined.

Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie
of the parlement, and of the orders
of the same.

The parlement is the highest, chiefe, and greatest court that is or can be within the realme: for it consisteth of the whole realme, which is diuided into three estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons, euerie of which estates are subiect to all such orders as are concluded and established in parlement.

These three estates may jointly and with one consent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, orders, and statutes for the common wealth: but being diuided, and one swarming from the other, they can do nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and his lords onelie, nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king do anie thing of auaile. And yet neuertheless, if the king in due order haue summoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not yet appeere; or if they come and appeere, yet will not do or yeld to any thing, then the king with the consent of his commons (who are represented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses) may ordeine and establish anie act or law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectual, as if the lords had giuen their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summoned and will not come, or coming will not appeere, or appeering will not consent to do anie thing, alleging some iust, weightie, and great cause; the king (in these cases) cannot with his lords deuise, make, or establish anie law, the reasons are these. When parlements were first begun & ordeined, there were no prelates or barons of the parlement, and the temporal lords were verie few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parlement, which authoritie was hitherto neuer abridged. Again, euerie baron in parlement doth represent but his owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are represented the commons of the whole realme; and euerie of these giueth not consent onlie for himselfe, but for all those also for whome he is sent. And the king with the consent of his commons had euer a sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordeine, and establish good and wholesome lawes for the common wealth of his realme. Therefore the lords being lawfully summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or consent in parlement, can not by their folie abridge the king and the commons of their lawfull proceeding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all in one house, but for the avoiding of confusion they

be now diuided into two feuerall houses, and yet nevertheless they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houses being named and counted a p[er]son of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, censure, and iudgement of a meane burgesse, is of as great auaille as is the best lordes, no regard being had to the partie who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called *p[er]s*, as it were fathers, for *P[er]* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, learned, and expert men of the land: for such were the senators of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisdom and care that was in them in governing of the common-wealth. They are also called counsellors, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good counsell, in making and deuising of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgeses, ought to be well aduised that they doe elect and choise such as being to be of that assemble, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and careful men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithfull and trustie counsellors) should doe that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, otherwise they doe great iniurie to their prince and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his coming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or sute taking effect which during that time is begun, entred, or commenced against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murder, and felonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person hauing voices in parlement, hath free libertie of speech to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to anie matter proponed; or of himselfe to propone anie matter for the commoditie of the prince and of the commonwealth: but hauing once spoken to anie bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgesse, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a layman. But if by error a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no buyer nor taker of anie rewards, gifts, or monie, either for deuising of anie bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to doe all things by rightie, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behauiour; none taunting, checking, or mistreating an other in anie vnseemlie wordes or deedes: but all affections set apart, to doe and endeavour in wise, discrete and knowledge, that which that place requireth.

Also if anie one doe offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, gables, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to anie of them by the said parlement houses, or anie of them: howbeit most commonlie the tower of London is the prison which

is most used.

Also if anie one of the parlement house be seized, sued, arrested, or attached by anie writ, attachment, or minister of the kings bench, Common pleas, Chancery, or that court so euer within this realme: the partie so troubled and making complaint there, of to the parlement house: then forth with a sergeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelie aduertising, that the partie so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said processe, and not to deale anie further against the said partie: for the parlement being the hiest court, all other courts as inferior yield and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of lites to be commenced against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, vpon paine of imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and aduised.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to keepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and done in the parlement house, to anie manner of person, vnlesse he be one of the same house, vpon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or other wise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leaue obtained of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recozded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one coming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entred and commeth in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to doe his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bare headed, and speake his mind plainlie, sensiblie, & in decent order.

If anie come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must staie at the inner doore vntill they be called in, and then being entred, must first make their obeisance; which done, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to staie vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwarde must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie, and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be done at the departure.

Also when anie knight, citizen or burgesse doe enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And you shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shewe himselfe in his apparell. For in time past, none of the counsellors of the parlement came otherwise than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men ready to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse wordes to choise such for knights

knights as be girded with the sword: yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed, but be such as be skilfull in feats of armes, and be-
sides their good advices can well serve in martiall af-
faires. And thus the Romaine senators used, who
being men of great knowledge and experience, as
well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat al-
waies in the senat house and places of counsell in
their gownes and long robes. The like also was al-
waies and hath bene the order in the parlements of
this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old
cUSTOMES, and good orders thereof were kept and ob-
served.

Also if anie other person or persons, either in
message or being sent for, doe come: he ought to be
brought in by the sergeant, and at the first entring
must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeis-
sance, and being past in the middle waie, must make
one other; and when he is come before the speaker, he
must make the third, and then do his message; the like
order he must keepe in his returne. But if he doe
come alone, or with his learned counsell, to plead a-
nie matter, or to answer to anie objection: he shall
enter, and go no farther than to the bar within the
dore, and there to doe his three obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committées
have not authoritie to conclude, but onelie to order,
reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed
unto them, and of their doings they must give re-
port to the house againe, by whome the bill is to be
considered.

Also everie bill, which is brought into the house,
must be read three severall times, and upon three se-
verall daies.

Also everie bill, which upon anie reading is com-
mitted and returned againe, ought to have his three
readings, unless the committées have not altered the
bill in anie substance or forme, but onelie in certeine
words.

Also when anie bill upon anie reading is altoge-
ther by one consent reiecte, or by voices after the
third reading overthown, it ought not to be brought
anie more to be read, during the sessions of parle-
ment.

Also if anie man doe speake unto a bill, and be out
of his matter; he ought to be put in remembrance
of the matter by the speaker onelie and by none o-
ther, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoever anie person doth speake to anie
bill, he ought to stand up, and to be bareheaded, and
then with all reverence, grauntie, and fæmelle speech
to declare his mind. But whensoever anie bill shall
be tried either for allowances, or to be reiecte: then
everie one ought to sit, because he is then as a iudge.

Also everie knight, citizen, and burgesse, before
he doe enter into the parlement, and take his place
there, ought to be sworn and to take his oath, ac-
knowledging the king to be the supreme and onelie
gouvernour of all the estates within this realme, as
also to renounce all forren potentates.

The order of the beginning and ending of the parlement.

On the first daie of the summons for the parle-
ment, the king in proper person (unless he be
sicke or absent out of the realme) being apparelled in
his roiall and parlement robes, ought to be conduc-
ted and brought by all his barons of the cleargie and
laitie, and the commons summoned to the parle-
ment, unto the church, where ought a sermon to be
made by some archbishop, bishop, or some other fa-
mous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in
like order be brought to the higher house of parle-

ment, and there to take his seat under the cloth of
estate: likewise everie lord and baron (in his degree)
ought to take his place.

This done, the lord chancellor, or he whom the king
appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh
his oration to the whole assemblie, declaring the cau-
ses whie and wherefore that parlement is called and
summoned, exhorting and persuading everie man to
do his best endeavour in all such matters as shall be
in the said parlement proponed, as shall be most ex-
pedient for the glorie of God, the honoz of the king,
and the commonwealth of the whole realme. Then he
directeth his talke unto the knights, citizens, and
burgesses, advertising them that the kings pleasure
is, that they doe repaire to their house; and there ac-
cording to the old and ancient custome, doe chuse and
elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among
themselves to be speaker for them, and giueth them
a daie when they shall present him to the king. And
these things thus done, the king ariseth, and everie
man departeth. This is accounted for the first daie of
the parlement.

The second or third daie after, when the speaker
is to be presented: the king with all his nobles (in
like order as before) doe assemble againe in the high-
er house, and then come by all the commons of the
lower house, and then there doe present their spea-
ker unto the king. The speaker forthwith maketh his
duttfull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his ora-
tion before the king, and prosecuteth such matters as
occasion seruetly, and as is before recited in the of-
fice of the speaker; and this done, everie man depart-
teth. And this is accounted for the beginning of the
parlement, for before the speaker be presented, and
these things orderlie done, there can no bills be put
in, nor matters be intreated of.

Aske when all matters of weicht be discussed,
ended, and determined, the king commandeth an
end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles,
and commons doe againe assemble in the higher
house in their robes, and in like order as is before re-
cited, where the speaker maketh his oration, and is
answered by the lord chancellor or speaker of the
higher house. Then all the bills concluded and past in
both houses, that is to saie, in the higher house of the
lords, and in the lower house of the commons, are
there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his
consent or dissent to everie of them as he thinketh
good. And when the titles of all the bills are read, the
lord chancellor or lord speaker, by the kings com-
mandement, pronounceth the parlement to be pro-
roged or cleane dissolved. And this is called the last
daie or the end of the parlement, and everie man is
at libertie to depart homewards.

The morrowe following, sir Christopher Barne-
well and his complices, having better considered of
themselves, were quiet and contented, and the parle-
ment begun with some troubles had his continu-
ance and end with better successe. In the time of this
parlement, and after the same, sundrie grievous
complaints were exhibited to the lord deputie and
counsell by the late wife of the deceased baron of
Dunboin, Mac Brian Arra, Oliver Fitzgibbon,
sir William O'Carrell, and divers others the quenes
good subjects, against sir Edmund Butler and his
brethren, for sundrie routs and riots, spoiles and out-
rages which they were charged to have done upon
his majesties subjects. Whereupon first letters and
then commissioners were sent in to the counties of
Kilkennie and Tipperarie for the hearing and redres-
sing thereof: but they returned without doing of a-
nie thing. For sir Edmund, conceiving some hard
dealings to be meant toward him by the lord depu-
tie,

Commissioners sent to
heare the complaints made
against the Butlers.

The noble-
men & gen-
tlemen in
Hounker
sent their
messengers
to the pope.

The noble-
men & gen-
tlemen in
Hounker
proclaimed
traitors.

Sir Peter
Carew is co-
manded to
serue against
the Butlers.
Cloughgre-
man taken.

Sir Peter
Carew in
danger to
haue bene
killed.

Henrie Da-
uels sent to
discouer the
enemie.

Sir Peter
Carew and
the English
captains gi-
ueth charge
vpon the re-
bels & haue
the victorie.

tie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and gard,
did not appeere before the said commissioners, but
both he and his brethren combined themselves with
James Fitzmorris Desmond, Mac Artie Moore,
Mac Donagh, and the seneschall of Imolille and o-
thers of Hounker, who before (and unwittingly the
Butlers) had sent the usurped bishops of Cashell and
Emelle together with the pongest brother of the erle
of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine,
for reformation of the popish religion, & for freeing
the land from the possession of his maiestie: and of
the imperfall crowne. Which mater in the end brake
out into an open and actual rebellion, and the lord
deputie by proclamation published them all to be
traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting.
But before the same was fullie prepared, he sent his
letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew
knight then being at Leighlin, to enter into the acti-
on of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who be-
ing accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine
Malbie, capteine Basenet, and others, latelie sent
vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his com-
mandement, and first assaulted the castell of Clough-
griman in the Duloogh belonging to sir Edmund
Butler, and toke it, and gaue the spoile vnto the sol-
diers.

From thence they remoued to Kilkennie towne,
where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle
of Dymonds, espieng vpon a certeine daie sir Pe-
ter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell
of Kilkennie alone, he charged his peere, and leueled
the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to
haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the
castell. At which verie instant a chapleine of the said
earle & his steward, comming by him, & suspecting
some euill thing towards, turned by the mouth of
the peere, which therewith was discharged, and so no
bodie hurt; and vnderstanding the thing was meant
against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and for
a time thrust him out of the house. Whilest these
capteins laie at Kilkennie, it was aduertised vnto
them, that a great companie of the rebels were in-
camped about thre miles out of the towne, & were
there marching in verie good order. Wherevpon sir
Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled
all the capteins, and taking their aduise what was
best to be done, they concluded that Henrie Dauels
a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman,
who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie
well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had
married his wife out of that towne, and him they
sent out to discouer the matter, who about thre miles
off had the view, and espied a great companie of a-
bout two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the
middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in
battell ararie. When he returned with this report,
then sir Peter Carew appointed the vordard to cap-
teine Gilbert, who together with Henrie Dauels
and twelue other persons of his companie galloped
before the rest, and finding as it was before aduertis-
ed, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie
followed with the like hast vnder sir Peter Carew,
and then capteine Malbie, and capteine Basenet,
seeing and assured that all things were clare be-
hind them, followed so nere, that all the companie
euert as it were at one instant gaue the like charge,
where they slue foure hundred Gallologlasses at the
least, besides others. The residue of the companie
were fled into the mountains fast by, and none or
few escaped but the horsmen and kerns. And of his
maiesties side no one man slaine, but a man of cap-
teine Malbies was hurt.

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obtained this
victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with

all his companie to the towne of Kilkennie, thertie
capteine and souldier carieng two Gallologlasses
ares in his hand; but left the spoile to their follow-
ers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not
in the campe, but was at his vnckles house at din-
ner. Thertowne men of Kilkennie were verie soie
for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet ne-
uertheless not long after, James Fitzmorris came
to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being
well garonised with certeine soldiers, & they them-
selves well appointed, did so carefullie and narrowlie
looke to themselves, that they defended and kept the
towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the
countrie and other small townes did not so escape,
for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Polowe,
the countie of Dublin, and all the countrie were
spoiled, preied, and ouerrun; and among all others
the old Fulco Quimerford a gentleman, of long
time seruant to thre earles of Dymond, was robbed
in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in
monie, plate, and household stufte, besides his come
and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in
this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford,
which thing had not lightlie bene sene before, and at
a faite kept then at Enescoth, there the souldiers
committed most horrible outrages, lamentable
slaughters, filthie rapes, and desourings of yong
women, abusing mens wiues, spoiling the towne,
& slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape the
sword were caried captiues & prisoners. From hence
they went into Merie and into the quenes countie,
and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villa-
ges, murdered the people: and then they met with
the earle of Clancare, and James Fitzmorris De-
smond, with whom they then combined, and agre-
ed to canie Dirlough Lennough to procure in the
Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and
to the king of Spaine. Finallie, nothing was left
vndone, which might anie waies tend to the subuer-
sion of his maiesties imperfall crowne of Ireland,
and to discharge that land from all Englishmen
and English gouernement, and by these means (the
English pale and the good cities & townes excepted)
the most part, if not the whole land, was imbrued &
infected with this rebellion.

The earle of Dymond himselfe, a man of great
honour and nobilitie, was all this time in England:
but from time to time was aduertised of the trouble
some state in that land: and whereof no little detri-
ment redounded to his lordship, by reason that a
great and most part of all his lordships throughout
that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so
much grieve him as the follies of his brethren. For
great were his griefs, & verie much was he vngue-
ted therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his
brethren, nature moued him, and reason perswaded
him, that no such outrageous parts could proceed
from them, which in anie waies should either con-
cerne his maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his
house, which hitherto hath bene alwaies found sound
and true. Wherefore, when he heard of anie matter
against them herein, he would plead their innocen-
cies, and defend their causes, untill such time as by
credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw
apparat matter and manifest proofes of the contra-
rie. Which reports albeit they grieved him verie
much, yet (as I said) nothing grieved him more, than
their disolaltie and breach of dutie against his ma-
iestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Where-
fore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards his
highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others,
by the sword, or by some other means, to recouer and
reclaime them.

Wherevpon his maiestie, standing assured of
his

James Fitz-
morris be-
came

Fulco Qu-
imerford

Enescoth

which
confiscat
the traitors

The earle of
Dymonds
lands

The good
faction of
the earle of
Dymonds
to his
brethren

The earle of
Dymonds
reth to the
against his
brethren

The earle of
Down and
his army at
Waterford.

The earle re-
paires to the
lord deputie.

Edmund
Butler sub-
mits him
self.

Edmund
Butler
surrenders.

1569

The lord and
governor of the
city of Water-
ford.

The earle of
Waterford
writing upon
the libertie
of the lord
deputie.

The lord de-
putie sent
Edmund
Butler to
the lord
deputie.

his fidelitie, and having a speciall trust in him, sent him over into Ireland, who arrived at Waterford the fourteenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked massaker was committed and done at the faire at Innescoth. Immediately upon his landing, he advertised unto the lord deputie his coming, and with all convenient speed maketh his repaire unto him, who then was incamped and laie nere Limerike: and then there offereth his service with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open view and sight of the whole campe did yeld and submit himselfe simple to his maiesties mercie, confessing his folie and craving pardon. And then was he delivered to the earle his brother upon his bonds, to bee forth comming before the said lord deputie at his comming to Dublin: and also promised to doe the like with his two other brothers, which he did upon the sixteenth of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and counsell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causes whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord deputie did not bryoke nor like him, for he could haue no iustice at his hands, nor against sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered upon some part of his lands, nor yet against any other person. When that the said lord deputie had threatened him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his loslie looke, shirddie, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would doe manie things.

When all these things were heard at full, and nothing in pzoofe falling out as was avouched, the three brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which sir Edmund escaped, and made breach: nevertheless the earle brought him againe. And upon the last of February 1569 he brought also his two other brethren, for whome he had undertaken, and presented them before the lord deputie and counsell, where the matter being heard at large, the counsell conferred hereof among themselves, and in the end they all the three brethren were againe called before the lord deputie and counsell, and then and there kneeling upon their knees, did confesse their folies, and submitted themselves in all dutifullnesse and simplicitie to the quens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturalle as a brother made humble petition for them: but grauelie as a father recited their errors, repproued them of their outrages, and counselled them to their duties: and in the end condescended in the due consideration of his maiesties rofall estate. And thereupon they were committed to safe keeping within his maiesties castell of Dublin, at his highnesse disposition; and not long after upon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the matter againe.

The lord deputie followed his first begun holling, who when he was incamped nere Clonnell, where it was thought he should haue bene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the citie of Waterford, to send unto him the assistance of a few souldiers onelie for three daies; who did verie insolentlie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their liberties with his maiesties prerogative, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they shewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disolialtie to his highnesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within half a mile of Clonnell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thence went into the towne, where the soueraine and his brethren receiued him with all the honour

they could, and gaue him a banquet in their townehouse, where, unto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speech, teaching them the dutifullnesse and obedience of a subject, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the contrarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore laising before them their present estate for example, did moue and persuaide them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they owght to his maiestie, and not to be dismayd at the doings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the prince, and under whose all kings and princes doe rule, hath bene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: euen as of the contrarie he sendeth his manifold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subject. And so hauing bidden sundrie and notable sentences and examles to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

And from thence he remoued and marched towards Castell, which lieth in the countie of Tipperarie, nere unto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie approaching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared themselves to defend the pile. The lord deputie taking the same as a defiance, approached thereunto and besieged it: and whilst the assault was in preparing, it was yielded by composition, and after restored to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thence by tourneies he marched and went to Corke, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Roch and Barrie, and by sir Cormac Mac Teger: and being aduertised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Imokillie, a principall rebell, and combined with James Fitzmoris, had spoiled and preied the whole countie, and had also warded and vittelled his castell of Ballee martie, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to mainteine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end toke it full of vittels. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

The spoile was giuen to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was giuen to Jasper Hozete, & so he returned to Corke, and from thence he toke tourneie to Kilmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and named Humfrete Gilbert his maiesties seruant to be coronell, and besides his owne band of an hundred hoisemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeine kernes there to remaine. And there he did knit and conioine unto him by oth, and under god pledges, the vicounties of Roch and Wellis, with the lord Poluze, the lord Courcie, sir Cormac Mac Teger, sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Oge, and the most part of the freholders in the counties of Limerike and Corke. And this done he passed by tourneies to Limerike, and from thence he went to Calleswaie, and there established a president and a counsell, and placed sir Edward Fitton to be lord president, the earles of Thomond and Clancard, and all the noble men & septs of gentlemen of that prouince yelding to the same.

Thence he marched to Athlon, taking in the waie the castell of Roscomen, which he left with the ward of twentie hoisemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by tourneies traucked and came to Dublin, and there remained. Capteine Gilbert in the meane time, hauing a speciall respect and regard to his charge, his balliance and courage was such, and his god hap so well answering his worthie and forward attempts, that he in short time broke the hearts, and appalled the

Ballee martie
a castell of the
seneschalls
besieged and
taken.

The seneschall
escaped out of
his castell.

Humfrete
Gilbert made
coronell of
Mounster.

Sir Edward
Fitton made
president of
Connagh.

Capteine
Gilberts good
seruice.

the courages of all the rebels in Mounster, and no rebel knowne left in effect, which dare to withstand and make any resistance against him. And to such an obedience he brought that countrie, that none did or would refuse to come unto him, if he were sent for but by a hostile boy: for all yielded unto him, some by putting in recognisances, & some by giuing of pledges, and all in seeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare submitted himselfe to captaine Gilbert.

The good seruice of sir Edward Fitzton lord president in Connagh.

The Canenaghs submissions.

Curlogh shot through with two bullets.

Drogheda.

Captaine Gilbert dubbed knight.

The description of sir

And that proud earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before vsurped this name to be king of Mounster; euen he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limericke unto him, and there falling vpon their knees acknowledged their treasons, and most humbly desired his maiesties pardon: and offered to put in his eldest sonne, and the sonnes of his chiefeest freholders for pledges and hostages. Likewise the president of Connagh in such wisdom, courage, & brightness, directed his gouernement, that he was obeyed of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The wicked he spared not, but being found faultie either in open sessions, or by martiall inquisition, he causeth to be executed: and by these meanes hauing rid awaie the most notable offenders and their fosterers, the whole prouince rested in good quietnesse and in dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes.

The Canenaghs, the ancient enemies to the English gouernement, and who in the rebellion were conioined with the Butlers: these bordering vpon the frontiers appointed to sir Peter Carew, were so by him chased and persecuted, that finding no place of rest or quietnesse, he hath brought them to submit themselves simple to his maiesties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide such orders and conditions as shall be laid vpon them. Curlogh Remogh in Ulster, being at supper with his now wife, aunt to the earle of Argle, was shot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caluer, by a teacher or rimer of the Doniloghs. Wherevpon the Scots whome he retained were in a rage, and the countrie standing vpon the election of a new captaine: notwithstanding, he was in hope of recouerie. And thus after long troubles was the state of the whole realme recovered to quietnesse. Wherevpon captaine Gilbert, when he had settled Mounster in outward apperance in a most perfect quietnesse, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertised and recounted all his doings at full.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he desired licence to depart ouer: whome the said deputie did not onelie most courteously receive; but also most thankfullie did accept his good seruice, and in some part of recompense, vpon next yeares date in the church at Drogheda, he did bestow vpon him the order of knighthood; which he well deserued, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to his highnesse, and to the lords of the counsell. And now by the waie, if without offense a man maye, after the maner of Cambrensis in his historie, and after the vse of noble gouernors and captains in other realmes, who for the increase of vertue, and encouraging of worthy persons, do attribute to such as do deserue well their due praises & commendations, I hope it shall not be offensive to the reader, nor impertinent to the historie, to set downe somewhat of much, that maye be said of these two worthy personages, sir Peter Carew, and sir Humfrey Gilbert: both which were of one countrie and birth, borne in the countie of Denon, and of next blood, kindred, and consanguinitie.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert, he was a second brother, and borne of a great parentage, whose ancestors

came and descended from the earle of Cornwell, a man of a higher stature than of the common sort, & of complexion cholericke; from his childhood of a verie pregnant wit and good disposition: his father died leauing him verie young, and he conceiuing some great good thing to come of his towardnesse, prouided some portion of liuing to mainteine and keepe him to schole. And after his death, his mother, being no lesse carefull of him, did cause him to be sent to schole to Eton college: from thence, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was sent to Oxford, & did there prosper & increase verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furnished, they would haue put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named mistres Katharine Asple, who was attendant to the queenes maiestie, after that she saw the young gentleman, and had had some conference with him, she fell in such liking with him, that she preferred him vnto his maiesties seruice: and such was his countenance, forwardnesse, and behauiour, that his maiestie had a speciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarly discourse and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares spent in the court, he passed ouer into Ireland, being commended by his highnesse to sir Henrie Sidneie then lord deputie: who gaue him intertainment, and made him a captaine ouer an hundred horsemen; wherein he so well acquitted himselfe, that he was also made rozonell of Mounster; and had appointed vnto him, besides his owne band of one hundred horsemen, foure hundred footemen, besides such Geraldines as Thomas of Desmond, brother to the erle of Desmond had procured, & vpon his oth of loyalty and pledges had promised his faithfull seruice.

And albeit he were but young of yeares, which might seeme to hinder his credit: yet such was his denout mind to serue his maiestie, and so effectually to his great praise he followed the same; that with manye good gifts and excellent vertues he so supplie euen as much as manye men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie attaine vnto. For in seruice vpon the enemy he was as valiant and courageous as no man more; and so good was his hap to answer the same: for he alwaies for the most part daunted the enemy, and appalled their courage; as did appere in the ouerthrowe giuen nere Bilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with thirtie

persons gaue the onset vpon a thousand men, of which sir hundred were armed Calloghlasses, who then were ouerthrowne: and likewise in Mounster, which was altogether vp in rebellion; and he rozonell, did not onelie in martiall affaires shew himselfe most valiant; and in short time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the proudest of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but foure hundred against sundrie thousands; and enforced that proud earle of Clancare to follow him to Limericke, and there humbly vpon his knees to aske pardon and mercie: but also, after that he had subdued and overcome them, did most brightlie order and direct his gouernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, & determine the complaints & grieues, and compound all the causes of euerie sutoe. Which was so rare a thing in one of his yeares, as scarce was credible, had not eie witnesse and daillie experience proued and iustified the same.

After that he had established peace and tranquillitie in that countrie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his seruices, and the good success thereof; and in what quiet state he left the countrie, he desired leaue to passe ouer into England, for and about certaine matters of great importance,

The battell near Limericke, and the bodie of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

which he had to follow, which he did obtaine: as also in reward of his service, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honozed and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to his maiestie, and the lordes of the counsell, he departed. Althow as he had presented himselfe before his highnesse, his good countenance and fauour, in respect of his good seruice to his maiestie was increased and doubled; and he speciallie about all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was married to a young gentlewoman, and an inheritor: and thenceforth he gaue himselfe to studies pertaining to the state of gouernement, and to nauigations. He had an excellent and readie wit, and therewith a long at libertie to viter what he thought. Which being adozned with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notable discourse anie matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good proofe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisdom, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonweleth of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in nauigations; and finding out by his studies, certaine nations and vnknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made his maiestie acquainted therewith, and obtained of his licence to make a nauigation, which he took in hand. But before he could compass the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Whelie he of all his brethren had five sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giuing a hope of a good forwardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceased, yet in their visages, and in the memorie of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall liue in fame immortall. Thus much without offense, and not altogether impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

His humilitie
Gibert is
drowned.

Curlogh Le-
ough prepa-
red to invade
the English
pale.

The earle of
Downe re-
uolteth.

The earle of
Downe fol-
loweth the
earle of Tho-
mas, and
duneth him
out of the
land.

Lucas Dil-
lon baron
cheef

Curlogh Leough thinking to innade vpon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repressed, and diluen to keepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wearie of the other; and his wife and he not agreeing, they were vpon a point to sunder. The earle of Thomond reuolteth from his due obedience, and becommeth a rebell: whome the earle of Downe so hardlie pursued, that he dzaue him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thence into England. For the discouerie of whose treasons and rebellions to his maiestie; to the lordes of the counsell, one Rafe Rokeleie chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long sute made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receiue according to his deserts: his maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from iudgement of death.

This yere the quene's maiestie, considering the good seruice of Lucas Dillon his generall attorneie in Ireland, was vpon the death of baron Bath made chiefe baron of the exchequer there; & capteine Piers for his good seruice at Knockfergus was liberallie considered and countenanced by his maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, sues, and requestes made to his maiestie for a president and counsell to be established in Shounter; and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sicknesse and vnbilitie of sir John Poddard, appointed to be the presi-

dent, it was lingered and deferred, is now renewed and renewed: and sir John Perot knight was made lord president, and a counsell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, intertainment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Denbrokehire in South Wales, and one of great reuenges and worthip, valiant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more meet to gouerne and tame so faithlesse and unrulie a people, as ouer whome he was now made ruler. They heard no sooner of his comming, but as a sort of wasps they sting out, and reuolting from their former feined obedience, became open rebelles and traitors under James Fitzmoris an archtraitor, and as dogs they returne to their vomit, and as swine to their durt and puddles.

Sir John
Perot ap-
pointed to be
lord president
of Shounter.

The rebelling
of Shounter
against the
president.

And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, extrenated, barbarous, and vnfaithfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and peruerse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant, faithfull in that they be alwaies vnfaithfull, and trustie in that they be alwaies trecherous and vntrustie. They do nothing but imagin mischief, & haue no delite in anie good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the god, and such as be quiet in the land. Their mouths are full of vnrightheousnesse, and their tongues speake nothing but cursednesse. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their hands imbued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in the paths of rightheousnesse they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie vpon among them. Their quene and soueraigne they obete not, and his gouernment they allow not: but as much as in them lieth do resist his imperiall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much about a yere past, that capteine Gilbert with the sword persecuted them, and in iustice so executed them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselves, craved pardon, and sware to be for euer true and obedient: which, so long as he mastered and kept them vnder, so long they performed it; but the cat was no sooner gone, but the mice were at plate; and he no sooner departed from them, but forthwith they skipped out, and cast from themselves the obedience and dutifullnesse of true subiects. For such a peruerse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obedient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebelles. Such is their stubborne and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be bydoled; and such is the hardnesse of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer feare, no longer obedience; no longer will they be ruled with severity, no longer will they be dutifull and in subiection; but will be as they were before, false, trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much unlike to Percurie called quicke silver, which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire consumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while vntouched nor medled with, it will returne againe to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And euen so dallie experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For withdraue the sword, and forbear correction, deale with them in courtesie, and intreat them gentle, if they can take anie aduantage, they will surelie slip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishie and sauage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obedience; the more they are vnder their vniuersall gouernment, the lesse dutifull to their naturall soueraigne and prince. But concern-

The nature of
the Irishmen.

The nature of
quicksilver.

The govern-
ment of Sir
John Perot.

His seruice
against the
rebeldes.

James Fitz-
moris taketh
for peace, and
submitte th
himselfe.

The ciuill go-
uernement of
Sir John
Perot.

The quietnes
and safetie in
Hounsher.

Sir John
Perots as-
sistants.

George Bour-
chier his
birth and
seruices.

ting the inhabitants in the English pale, and all cit-
ties and towns, the contrarie (God be praised) is dai-
lie scene.

Well, this worthe knight knowing that he
should haue to doe with a sort of netles, whose nature
is, that being handled gentlie, they will sting; but be-
ing hard crushed together, they will doe no harme: e-
uen so he began with them. The sword and the law
he made to be the foundation of his gouernement,
by the one he persecuted the rebell and disobedient,
and by the other he ruled and gouerned in iustice and
iudgement. Great troubles he had in both, but lit-
tle he did preuaile in the latter, before he had ouer-
come the first: and therefore minding to chastise the
rebeldes, and to bring them to obedience, he follow-
ed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs
he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them,
in the plaines he fought with them, and in their cast-
les and holds he besieged them, and would neuer
suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, untill he had
fired and wearied them out, and at length inforced
James Fitzmoris and his complices to come vnto
Killmallocke vnto him, and there simple to submit
himselfe, and vpon his knees in the open sight of all
the people to confesse his disloyalties, and in all hum-
ble manner to craue mercie and pardon. Whome
though untill his maiesties pleasure knowne he did
forbeare, yet the residue he spared not; but after their
deserts he executed in infinit numbers. And hauing
thus rid the garden from these weeds, and rooted vp
the fields from these thornes, he entred into the go-
uernement by order of law, and from place to place
throughout all Hounsher he trauelled and kepteth
his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans com-
plaints, and redresseth their grieues, and in short
time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peace-
able estate, that whereas no man before could passe
through the countrie, but was in danger to be mur-
dered and robbed, and no man durst to turne his cat-
tell into the fields without watch, and to keepe them
in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with
a white sticke onelie in his hands, and with great
treasures might and did trauell without feare or
danger where he would (as the writer hereof by tri-
all knew it to be true) and the white sheepe did keepe
the blacke, and all the beasts laie continuallie in the
fields, without anie stealing or preying.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and
settled all things in good order, then he beginneth to
reforme their manners in life and common conuer-
sation and apparell, suffering no gibbes nor like v-
sages of the Irishie to be vied among the men, nor the E-
gyptiacall rolles vpon womens heads to be waerne.
Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were
somewhat grieved, yet they yielded: and giuing the
same ouer, did weare hats after the English man-
ner. In this his seruice he had two verie good & no-
table assistants, the one concerning the martiall af-
faires, and the other for his gouernement by the
course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires
martiall George Bouchier esquier was ioined with
him in commission, and did him notable good seruice,
he was the third sonne to John earle of Bath, whose
ancestors were descended from out of the loines of
kings, and men of great hono: and nobilitie; and
they were no more noble of blood than valiant, wise
and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices
of chualtrie and matters of policies, and thereof the
histories of England in many places doe make
mention and report. And this gentleman, hauing
some motion of the valie and valiantnesse of his
ancestors deriued and descended vpon him, was af-
fected and giuen to all feats of chualtrie, and especi-
allie to the seruice in the warres, wherein he proued

a verie good souldior, and an expert captaine, both as
an hoileman, and as a footeman. both which waies
he serued, as the seruice and time required. If he ser-
ued vpon foot, he was apparelled in the manner of a
kierne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as
no kierne swiftier: for he would pursue them in bogs,
in thickets, in woods, in passes, and in streets what-
soeuer; and neuer leaue them, untill he did performe
the charge and seruice committed vnto him. If he
were to serue vpon his horsebacke, his daile seruice
can witnes sufficientlie how much, and how often
he preuailed against the enimie, and appalled their
courage, and with whom he would incounter if
he might by anie means.

Notwithstanding, as couragious and circum-
spect as he was, that he would not be lightlie intrap-
ped in the field, yet was he deceiued in the house. For
vnder the colour of a parley, and vpon a truce taken,
he was invited to a supper, and little thinking that
anie breach of the truce should be made, he went in,
to the castell whereas he was bidden. But in his be-
ing there, he was taken prisoner, and handfasted, and
so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was re-
stored and set at libertie. Concerning his other as-
sistant, his name was George Welsh borne in Wales,
and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he
was brought vp in learning, and was a student in
the innes of court at London, and prospered verie
well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yong,
yet his knowledge, granitie, and sinceritie counter-
uailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all
matters he was byright and iust, being not affectio-
nated nor knowne to be corrupted for anie mans
pleasure. In iudgement byright, in iustice seuer,
and without respect of persons would minister what
the law had prescribed; he spared neither partie, nor
would be affected to anie; by which means he did
marvellous much good in that seruice, and hapie
was that gouernoz that had so good a counsellor.

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouerne-
ment in Hounsher, Sir Henrie Sidonie had libertie
and licence to returne ouer into England, and re-
ceiued his maiesties letters dated the thirtieth of
December one thousand five hundred seuentie and
one, & in the thirtieth yere of his maiesties reigne,
for the placing of Sir William Fitzwilliams to be
lord deputie in his place. Which when he had done,
he passed ouer the seas, and by tourmes came to the
court. He was verie honorable receiued, and by his
highnesse well commended, there being sundrie no-
blemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him
before he came to Whitehall, where his maiestie
then laie, who (as time convenient serued) did re-
count vnto him the whole estate in all things of the
realme of Ireland, which his maiestie liked verie
well.

But this Sir John Perot president of Hounsher
continued still in his office, and there remained for
certeine yeares untill he was reuoked, which was
to some for that countrie. For neuer man was more
fit gouernour for that effrenated and hardnecked
people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in
better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he
in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same
vnto. Hapie was that prouince, and hapie were
those people, which being eaten out, consumed and de-
uoured with caterpillers, he had brought and refor-
med to a most hapie, peaceable, and quiet estate; and
he left it euen in the same maner. Which if it had
bene continued by the like, to haue followed him in
the gouernement, the same would so haue continu-
ed: but the want of the one was in short time the de-
caie of the other, and that reformed countrie brought
to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may

may appere.

Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a special care and respect to his charge and office, disposed all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the counsell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, sauing Pounsser, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he being a wise and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he diuised the plot of his gouernement into certeine speciall points and articles. First, that the religion established according to Gods holie word, should haue a free passage through the whole land, and by certie man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, imbraced and followed. Then that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutines and diuisions to be cut off. Whirlike, that his maiesties great and excessive charges to the consuming of his treasure might be shortned, and his reuenues well husbanded and looked vnto, according to his sundrie commandements tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should by sightlie minister iustice to each man according to his desert, and that all the soldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them apperteineth.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole counsell, and well liked of euerie god subiect, because the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons: yet it toke not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irishie, in whom was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to his maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuersation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best oportunitie and time to breake out into their wonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places began to plaie their pagents. The first was Brian Mac Bahir of Knocking in the countie of Catherlough Caenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Broome of Spaltenham, he tyrannized ouer the whole countrie, committed manie outrages, and spoiles, preied the countrie & burned sundrie towne.

Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Wexford, and namelie Sir Nicholas Deuereux knight, being grieved with the death of Robert Broome, who was his nephew, being his sisters sonne, were as vniquet on their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Bahir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole countrie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Wexford men following their matters verie egarlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they sought out Brian Mac Bahir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and toke them at that aduantage; that although he and his companie were but small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the foile and ouerthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about or about thirtie persons.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drunken of the same cup, was driuen to leape vp on horsebacke behind another man, and so escaped, or else he had neuer bene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge vnto sought, yet by little and little it quailed. About two

yeares after, Brian Mac Bahir made humble suites to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, confessing in writing his foule disorders and outrages; and yet firmly auouching that the quarell did not begin by him no; by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obtained the same. And according to his promise then made, he did therewith vnto and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Caenagh, and the sonne of Charels, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the countie of Wexford & Catherlough. And this Brian Mac Bahir Mac Arthur was a younger sonne to Charels, but the chiefest for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisdom; and none of all the sept of the Caenaghs, though they were manie and valiant men, to be compared vnto him euerie waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place.

Now he being assured of them, and also being allied by marriage vnto Hergen Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the nobles and of the Omroughs, & so a man of great strength and abilitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto Sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer brake his promise, but stood him in great stead aswell in matters of counsell, as of anie seruice to be done in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfully he serued, and so much he honoured Sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awaie, and died in peate.

The Omroughs, notwithstanding the earle of Rutland was waged by his maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without anie resistance or impediment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They invaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie towne and villages, and carried the prizes and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh was altogether in a small rebellion by the earle Clanricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irishie were of diuerse nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogether giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their hearts were altogether imbued in blood and murder. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made sute to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would undertake to bring in his sons, and to quitt the countrie.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the counsell enlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectualie performe in deed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgot his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the O'Donnors and the O'moores, accompanied with a rabble of like rebels, fall into open rebellion, spoile the countrie, deuoure the people, and make all wast and desolate. Dirlough Lenough in Ulster was ready to revolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Essex, who lieng vpon the fines and marches in Ulster, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set O'Doneile in open warres against him. Pounsser was likewise in open rebellion. But Sir John De-rot then president so coursed and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league

Brian Mac Bahir his submission.

Brian Mac Bahir what he was.

The strength of Brian in Bahir.

Brian Mac Bahir is a follower to Sir Peter Carew.

The Omroughs rebel.

All Connagh in a small rebellion.

The false resembling of the earle of Clanricard.

The O'Donnors and the O'moores rebels.

The points of Sir William Fitzwilliams his deputie gouernement.

The countie of Wexford.

Howe to be conserued.

Howe to be kept in their discipline.

Brian Mac Bahir his warres in Wexford.

Brian Mac Bahir hath the victorie of the Wexford men.

Thomas Pounsser.

The distress
of mind of
the lord de-
putie.

The death of
doctor weston
lord chancel-
lor.

was betwene James Fitzmorris and all the rebels in Connagh and Leinster, yet he kept them asunder and so Charpelie pursued James, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor any followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue appalled the best and wisest gouernour, these thre things increased his griefe and sorrow. First the losse of a most faithfull counsellor and one of his chiefest and trustiest assistants doctor Weston then lord chancelor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, bright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currentis of peares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of counsell most sound and perfect, in iustice most bright and incorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountifull and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his household, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings appertained. Then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in prayers and exhortations.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his household and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the counsell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the counsell, perswading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie, and lastlie remembryng their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to performe the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honor to the quene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie & effectually, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this done he bid them farewell, and not long after he being feruent in his prayers, he died most godlie, vertuouslie, and christian like.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing giuen his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being done in so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would issue thereof. Wherefore not onelie in that land, but in England also, hir maiestie vpon knowledge did cause musters to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if any occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatly doubted what would follow of that his breach, fearing that the president in Hounster was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt any disorder that waie.

The third was the renocation of the earle of Eglis, who had taken vpon him to recover the whole prouince of Ulster to obedience, with hir maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was calied, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterprise dissolved. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed by any man in the gulfe of despair, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and hir maiestie most grationlie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his renocation, which hir highnes by hir letters vnto him granted; and immediatlie wherevpon he (after foure peares painfull seruice)

was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Many good & notable things were done in the time of this mans deputation worthie to be remembred, and for ever to be chronicled. But forsomuch as the records and presidents of the same cannot be had, and the impprinter cannot staie his impression any longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of this honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserued well and honourable of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment. After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was deliuered vnto sir Henrie Sidonie, who now the third time entred into the gouernment of this cursed land, and arriued at the Shirkies the twelue of September 1575, who at his comming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispersed, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardly find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And even as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the northerne Ulsterians brake out. For he was no sooner knownde to be entred into the land, but for a hien venen to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make preie of the towne, & so poudlie assailed the same, that he slue a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortie of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whome some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuertheless by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the preie was rescued, and the Scots perforce driuen awaie.

The lord deputie, considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the enents and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand prevented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delaies be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old saying *Principij obsta sero medicina paratur*, &c.) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of hir maiesties priuate counsell, as could in that quesse time be assembled, he took order for the safe keeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his abience, to certeine gentlemen of best account and wisdom, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him hir maiesties armie, which was then about sir hundred horsemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and counsellors as he had appointed for that seruice, took his tourneie towards Ulster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, saving the feltrie, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Glins and Kouts which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killinlagh.

Now in all that tyme set came to submit themselves, saving Mac Mahon, and Mac Twiler, & Tirlough Lenough, who first sent his wife, and she being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue hir husband to line like a good subiect, and to be mobilized. Tirlough himselfe followed verie shortly after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostage, and simple & without any condition did submit himselfe in all humblenesse and reuerence to his lordship, making the like lutes as his wife before his comming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuertheless to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, vntill himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifullnesse, subiection,

the deputie

the third time

the preie

the Scots

the lord

the lord

The earle of
Desmond
breaketh
prison.

The renoc-
ation of the
earle of
Eglis.

Sir William
Fitzwilliams

and reuerence, did in like maner take his leaue, and returned to his owne home. And as for Donnell lord of Tirconell, and Mac Gwiter lord of Farmanagh, albeit they came not in persons, yet they wrote their most humble letters of submission, and offered all such rents and seruices, as to them appertained to yeld, making request that they might onelie serue vnder hir highnesse, and be discharged from the exactions of all others.

After that the lord deputie had performed this tournee, and was returned to Dublin, then he made the like tournees towards the other parts of the land. And beginning in Leinster, he found the whole countie of Kildare, and the baronie of Carberie, extreamlie impoverished by the Dmeries, both in the time of the late rebellion, and also since, when they were vnder protection. The kings and quenes countiees were all spoiled & wasted by the Dconners and the Dmores, the old native inhabitants of the same, and of them Kossie Dg had gotten the possession and the selling of himselfe in sundrie lands there, whether the tenants will or no, and as a prince occupeth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. Nevertheless, vpon the word of the earle of Dymond, he came to the lord deputie at his being in Kilkennie; and in the cathedra church there he submitted himselfe: and in outward appearance repented his former faults, and promised amendment: but how well he kept and performed it, his rebellions in the yeare following can witness.

The lord deputie at his coming to Kilkennie was welcomed by the townsmen in all the best maner they could, and the earle of Dymond himselfe feasted and intreated him most honourable, and had great care that his lordship and all his traine should not want any thing. At this tyme the two cousins and kinsmen of sir Peter Carew late deceased, that is, Peter Carew, and George Carew, and the gentleman who had bene his agent in all his causes with in that land, came before the lord deputie, and there communicated with his lordship the state of the deceased knight, and of his countie; submitted the same to his order and direction, as also made humble sute vnto his lordship for his presence at the funerals at Waterford, where it was appointed he should be buried. Whose lordship as vpon the first newes of this knights death, so now also vpon the new recital thereof, maruellouslie lamented and bewailed the losse of so worthy a knight, and the want of so wise and faithfull an assistant and counsellor. And then he took order therein, shewing most honourable not onelie the offices of a faithfull and good friend to the dead, but also the like good will to the two young gentlemen, of which one was then his heire, and to introy his baronie. And according as things were determined, the corps was removed from Kossie where he died, and caried to Waterford against his coming thither, where it was buried in verie honourable maner, as shall hereafter appeare, being not impertinent to the historie to set downe some short discourse of this most worthy gentleman and of his life.

Sir Peter Carew was descended of noble and high parentage, whose first ancestoz was named Spontgonnetie, and in the time of king Henrie the second he married the ladie Elisabeth daughter to Kossius prince of Southwales, by which marriage he was aduanced to honour, and made baron of the castle of Carew, whereof his posteritie in time took their surnames, being called Carews. And some of them passing into Ireland did grow to be mightie men, and of great honor and possessions in that land, being marquesses of Cozke, barons of Hydon and Lerne, lords of Spaffon, and inheritors to sundrie great lordships and seignories in that land. And

likewise in England they were men of great credit, service, and honour, and by waie of marriages matched and combined with honourable and great houses.

This foresaid sir Peter, who was lineallie descended from them, was of stature meane, but verie stronglie and well compacted; of complexion cholericke, from his childehood vnto the bent and giuen to an honest disposition, and in his tender yeares he served vnder, and was page to the prince of Orange beyond the seas, and by that means had the greater delight & skill in martiall affaires, wherein he had good knowledge, as did well appeare in the manifold seruices he did vnder king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, and quene Elisabeth, in sundrie places beyond as also on this side the seas. He was in his younger yeares a great traveller, and had bene at Constantinople in the Turkes court, at Vienna in the emperours palace, at Venice, and in the French kings court, and in the houses of the most of all christian princes; in euery of which places he left some tokens of his value. He was blessed of God with manie singular good gifts, as well of the mind as of the bodie, being vertuouslie disposed even from his verie infancie, sincere in religion (and for which he was partly an exiled man in the Sparian daies) dutifull to his prince, and faithfull to his countie, by right in iustice, politike in gouernement, and balliant in armes, skillfull in the Italian and French tongues, and a great student in such booke as those tongues did yeld; and by that means some knowledge ioined with his pregnancie of wit, he would discourse verie substantiallie in any matter concerning policie or religion, peace or warres, good to euery man, hurtfull to no man; bountifull & liberall, abhorring couetousnesse and vborndome: a great housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie. And if any fault were in him, it was rather of too much spending, than in reasonable sauing; he would be some warne, but without gall, and against his enemie most stout and balliant: finally such was his vpright dealing, honest conversation, and zeale to the commonwealth, as no man was more honoured, nor vniuersallie beloved than was he.

When he had spent the greater part of his age, he be thought himselfe vpon such lands as his ancestozs had in Ireland, and which in right did descend vnto him: and finding his title to be good, he acquainted his highnesse therewith; and obtained his fauour and good will to passe ouer into Ireland, to follow the recouerie thereof. Which he did, and made such good proofes of his title, as well by records as by evidences, that he recovered so much as he did then put in sute, namelie the lordship of Spaffon, of which he had bene dispossessed of about seauen score yeares, which he departed with vnto sir Christopher Chiuers knight, then tenant to the same, and the baronie of Hydon then in the possession of the Cauenaughs, the ancient enemies of the English gouernment, and who had expelled his ancestozs about two hundred yeares past. But being put once in possession, he dealt in such good order with them, and so honourably used himselfe, that they all voluntarilie yelded vnto his lands, and submitted themselves to his deuotion; and finding him to be a verie rare man in manie and sundrie respects, as of the like they had not heard nor knowne, they much reioiced of him, and counted themselves happy and blessed to be vnder his gouernment. At his first coming he resumed the whole baronie into his owne hands, and thereof he gaue some peeces in free hold, to such gentlemen as he thought good; and for the residue enerte of them that he had before, he took it againe vnder writting by lease. He diuided the baronie into cer-

His stature.

His disposition.

His skill and service in the warres.

His travels.

His religion.

His qualities.

His learning.

His conditions.

His anger without malice.

His zeale.

His title to his lands in Ireland.

He recovered some part of his lands in Ireland.

His good dealing with his tenants.

The lord deputie came in person.

The lord deputie came in person.

The lord deputie came in person.

The lord deputie came in person.

The lord deputie came in person.

The lord deputie came in person.

teine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betwene them were ended and determined after the English maner, according to iustice & truth. He would not suffer anie wrong to be done vnto them, neither would he beare with anie of them doing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifferencie he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a verie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not bene to fore knowne among them; and for which he was marvellouslie beloued, and his fame spread thorough out that land.

His housekeeping and hospitalitie.

He kept continually of his owne priuat familie, aboue or nere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse for tie horsemen well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred harnes, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as late vpon the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselves simply to his merrie: & the residue willing to serue him at all needs. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first staied and was intertained according to his calling, for his cellar doore was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all comers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them intertinement, and vittelled them at his owne charges, and paid readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present paiement he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning his maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for his highnesse, and so profittable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselves happy to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumspect, and in martiall affaires verie valiant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experience: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land.

His seruice in the Irish wars.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first serue at Cloghgreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Spalbeie, and capteine Walnut, and Henrie Dauels, and their bands, assaulted the castell, took it, and gaue the prize to the souldiers. Then they went to Kilkennie where they issued out and made a sallie vpon the whole armie of sir Edmund Butler: which being about thre miles from the towne, gaue them the overthrow, and put all the Gallowglasses and the rest to the sword, saving the horsemen and harnes which fled into the woods: and then meeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres untill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to his maiestie. Likewise in Ulster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Cesser, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe.

Sir Peter Carewes seruice in Ulster.

His title to his lands in Downshire.

The same and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisdom, valiantnesse, experience, brightness, housekeeping, bountifulnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spread through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all

men. And certeine gentlemen in Downshire, knowledging and confessing that he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending lineallie from the marquesse of Cork) was their lawfull lord, and to whome they ought to yeld their lands; some of them made their repaire, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelie truelie to instruct and to aduertise him thoroughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Cork, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselves, and yeld vp their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his friends, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, because he had made his highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obtained his letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir John Parret then lord president of Downshire, that they should assist him in his sutes, and to call the contrarie parts, and to persuade them with all quietnesse to yeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the wyler hereof to Cork, where and before whome there came spac Artie Kiogh, Cozman spac Waege, Warrie Dg, the Dmalions, the Dylscots, the Ddallies, & sundrie others, who of their owne freewill offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, thre thousand kine; and so manie sheepe and hogs and cozne, as according to that proportion; and would also yerele giue him in the like maner such a portion as should be to his contentation and good liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Cork for him: the said sir Peter did let the house of Leighlin to his kinsman and cosine Peter Carew, who after ward was his helpe, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his household stuffe to Cork. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sicke at the towne of Kelle, he died the seauen and twentieth of Nouember 1575, and was buried verie honorable and in warlike manner at Waterford, the fiftenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honor as to his degree appertained, there being then present sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, and the counsell. And thus much concerning that worthy knight sir Peter Carew.

The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Downe vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honorable received at his entrie into the citie, by the mayo: & his brethren, and an oration congratulatorye made vnto him in the Latine tong by a yong scholar clad in white attire, verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of ioy and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And while he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing meet and conuenient for the intertinement of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in good part; as also aduertised it to the lords of his maiesties honorable priuie counsell in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Scitacus one of the thre brethren, which came out of Iorwaie, called Easterlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the river of Suire, which riseth in the hill or mount Bladina, named in Irish Blough bloue:

The offer of the gentlemen to be his lord.

The buriall of sir Peter Carew 1575.

The reception of the lord deputie at Waterford.

The description of the citie of Waterford.

blome: and sterch by Thurles in Tipozarie, where of the earles of Dymond are vicounts: from thence to the holic crosse, Ardmore, Cahir Doweske, Ardman, Inisounagh, Clomnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterford.

It was of it selfe a verie little pise, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares (upon occasion of warres) enlarged in the time of king Henrie the seventh and inclosed with a strong wall: when Lambrd (named Perkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great controuersies betwene them and Gilbert erle of Bildare. For the said erle being then lord deputie sent his letters to the said maioz & his citizens, requiring them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other good cities had done: who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he threatened them that he would take their citie by force and hang the maioz. Whereupon hot words grew on euerie side, & the same like to haue growne to hand fight: the Waterfordians offering to wage the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their truth at that time auailed them much afterwards, and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the seventh and king Henrie the eight, by whome their liberties and franchises were enlarged.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hills and rocks, and the lesse profitable for lacke of good manurance and husbandrie: but what faileth in the land, is recompensed with the sundrie commodities which the riuer yeeldeth, which is not onlie plentifull and abundant of all sorts and kinds of fishes, but also it is a goodlie haven and a receptacle for all sorts of ships: & for this it is called *Larga porta*. The great or large haven. The resort of merchants from out of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie populous and rich, & is the chiefest *Emporium* of that prouince. Great be the priuileges which the kings of England gaue to the maioz & citizens, as well concerning the riuer as the citie, by king John, king Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The riuer was bounded and limited from the mouth of the seas, betwene Kinsowan where Hoke tower standeth vpon the east side, and Kiodibanke vpon the west side, and from thence vnto Caricke vpon Saire: and so farre beyond, as the said riuer ebbeth and floweth that waie: & from the said mouth vnto the Inosstage vpon the riuer of Ditre, and so far as the same water ebbeth and floweth; and likewise from the said mouth, vnto saint Apollins vpon the riuer of Barrow; and so farre beyond the same, as the water ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great controuersies haue bene betwene this citie and the towne of Kosse, which lieth vpon the riuer of Barrow, concerning the bounds and limits that waie, because they of Kosse doe claime a priuilege vpon that riuer as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigod earle marshall: who married Isabell the eldest daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in his right was lord of Kosse and of the riuer of the Barrow.

Whereupon certaine inquisitions were taken in the time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard the second: and then at Clomnell vpon the othes of six knights and eightene esquiers, it was found for the citie of Waterford. And these are the bounds of the port or haven of Waterford: within the which bounds and limits the citie of Waterford, by the grants of sundrie kings vnder their charters, haue these priuileges: That no ship shall be laden nor vnladen, but at the citie of Waterford, and there to paie all such customes and duties as belong and are due for their merchandize: Also that they haue the passage towne and the iurisdiction of the admeraltie, within the limits of the said riuer.

The citie it selfe was first incorpoated by king Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king John, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with augmentations. The maioz hath the sword bozne before him by the gift of king Edward the fourth, and king Henrie the seauenth, by the name of the sword of iustice. They haue cognisance of all maner of ples as well reall, personall, & mist. They are iustices of oier and determiner, & maie sit vpon triall of treasons, murders, and felonies, without anie speciall commission to be sued out for the same. Also that no officer nor officers of the kings or quenes of England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor exercise anie authoritie nor iurisdiction, within the citie and liberties, but onelie the maioz & officers of the same. Also they haue a maioz and officers of the staple yearelie to be chosen, who haue the liberties for taking of statutes and recognisances staple, not onelie within their owne towne & concerning themselves, but also of sundrie towne in Leinster and Downster, and the counties of Waterford, Kilkennie, Wexford, and Tipozarie. Also they haue libertie from time to time to transport, lade, and carrie a waie coine, vittels, wolle, horses, & hawks; and to licence anie other within the limits of their iurisdiction to doe the like. Also all forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, felons goods, and deodands goods, they haue to their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the words of their charters should be expounded to the best sence, and if then there were anie further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king or his counsell in the realme of England. Also that they should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue in anie hosting, except the king himselfe or anie of his sonnes were present in person.

These and manie other like priuileges of the kings of England from time to time, of their bounteous liberalitie, and in consideration of their dutifull and good seruices, did giue and bestow vpon them. All which, vpon the inhabitants of Anania and citizens of Waterford, the offspring of so good ancestors, ought to be lessons and presidents vnto you, for your continuance in the like offices and duties: that you maie thereby shew your felues to be as were your predecessors, faithfull, loiall, and obedient: and that your apothegme maie be for euer found true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*. And therwise bzag neuer so much of your worthinesse, & glorie neuer so much of your values (as the Jewes did of their father Abzabam) yet it shall so little auaille you, that their honour shall be your reproch, and their glorie your shame, if you doe not also the like; and in the end your bitter confusion. For as the holic scripture saith: If you be the children of light, then as children walke you in the light; otherwise that light which is in you shall be darkened. If you be the children of Abzabam, then doe you the workes of Abzabam: otherwise God, who is able and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to Abzabam, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a people which shall bring forth the fruits of dutie and obedience. For so did he with his owne peculiar people, the Jewes, whom for their disobedience against himselfe, and against his annointed princes, did aske sundrie punishments and no amendment giue them ouer vnto their enemies hands: who put their young men to the sword, & their priests to slaughter, their virgins were deflowred, their widows defiled, their citie utterly destroyed, and not one stone left vpon an other; and all the people which escaped the sword, caried a waie captiues, & made bagabonds, enen to this daie vpon the face of the earth. If he did this to his owne peculiar people, doe not you of Waterford, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke that

Controuersies betwene the earle of Bildare and the Waterfordians.

The confinement of the riuer.

Larga porta.

Cherish at Waterford.

Controuersies betwene the Waterfordians and the towne of Kosse for the riuer of Barrow.

The bounds of the citie of Waterford.

The priuileges of Waterford.

The incorporation of the citie. The priuileges of the citie of Waterford. The sword of iustice.

An admonition to the citizens of Waterford.

Waterfordia semper manet intacta.

An exhortati-
on to the citi-
zens of Wa-
terford.

The princes
prerogative.

The earle of
Desmond
humble offer-
eth his ser-
vice to the
lord deputie.
The lord de-
putie receiued
honorable in-
to Cozke.

All the noble-
men in Down
for repaire to
the lord de-
putie.

Executions
at Cozke.

Euerie noble
man and gen-
tlemen to an-
swer for his
men.

The lord de-
putie honora-
ble receiued
at Limerike.

that you doing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements: Wherefore; if you will eschew the wrath to come, beware by their examples, and humble your selves in all dutifullnes & obedience to God and to your prince. Examine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your privileges with his authoritie, nor do you dispute your liberties with his prerogative. For notwithstanding your privileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugn the least part of the princes prerogative: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods olone ordinances, when he first created and established a king, who gave him so high and so absolute authoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humblenesse obeyed: because he is Gods minister especiallie when it concerneth the interest of his maiesties impertall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the deliuerie of your selues and that realme from the enemies and rebels.

And do not you thinke that this digression is impertinent to the historie. For as your ancestors good doings are set downe to their praises and commendations; so the same shall be done of yours, either to your praises for your well doings, or for your reproch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had giuen thanks to the maior and his brethren for his god intertainment, he departed thence by iournies towards Cozke, and by the waie at Dungarvon the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and verie humble offered him all the seruice he was able to do to his maiestie, and did accompanie him from thence vnto the citie of Cozke, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of good will and dutifullnesse as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townsmen or of the souldier. To this towne resorted vnto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancar, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Downfer, and their wiues, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, murders, spoiles, and thefts done throughout that province; whereupon daile sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which thre and twentie verie notable and notorious offenders were executed and put to death.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarms and clusters of the idlers, which like wasps troubled the whole land, and liued onelie by spoile and rapine; that euerie nobleman and gentleman should giue and deliuer in the names of euerie seruant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found unbooked and not registred, that he should be used as a felon where so euer he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gaue their full consents, and forthwith the same was openlie proclaimed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all ioy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatlie they gaue in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts settled in god and quiet order, he took his iournie towards Limerike, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in any place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in keeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of poore mens complaints, and took the like order for registring of euerie noble and gentlemen follower, as he had done at Cozke, which

when he had done, he rode thence vnto Thomond, where he was complained vnto of manie great murders, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, whereof he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed throughlie to do iustice and iudgement therein, he referred the same to certaine commissioners appointed for the purpose: saying that he committed the principall offenders to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, untill further order were taken for them.

From thence he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallevaite, where he found the towne much decayed and almost desolated, fundrie of the god householders having sought new habitations vnder Mac William Cughter, and the countie through out altogether spoiled and deuoured by the Mac an Charles, the hopeles (but much better if they had bene hopeles) sonnes of the earle of Clancard, whose outrages were most heinous and horrible. But when these gracesles impes perceived of the great complaints made against them, and doubting what would be the sequele if some waie were not taken, they voluntarilie went to Gallevaite towne, and came to the church vpon a sundaie at the publicke seruice, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knees confessed their faults, submitted themselves, and most lamentable craved pardon, promising vnfeinedlie amendment, and neuer to revolt more from their dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes. The deputie moued herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduile of his maiesties counsell thinke it god, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he took his iournie towards Dublin, where he came the thirtenth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed through the countie, and placed his garrisons in places conuenient.

In this his iournie he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a speedie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill gouernment were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the parish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no seruice said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministred. And therefore it appeared, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbezelled. A lamentable case, for a more deformed and a more ouerthrowne church there could not be among christians. The deputie considering and bethinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in store some wrath and indignation for this defiling of his holie sanctuarie, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to his highnesse, and most earnestlie praised his princelie authoritie for redresse thereof; and therewith most humble requested, that the commonwealtie being destitute of a chancelor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the gouernment, might likewise with all speed be sent ouer. When his maiestie and counsell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a redresse was taken forthwith, and the matters concerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to archbishops and certaine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the gouernment one William Gerard esquier a professor of the lawes was sent to be lord chancelor, & sir William Downrie to be president of Downfer, which arrived at Dublin,

The earle of
Clancard
great
troubles

The earle of
Clancard
great
troubles

The earle of
Clancard
great
troubles

1576

The more
the ecclesi-
astical state

Manie in
ireland
which
remained
christians

The spirit
of the church

In order by
the reformation
of religion

William Gerard
sent to be lord
chancelor
Sir William
Downrie
sent to be
president

1176

Parents of
Edwardus
comes hyshe
comes re-
bellian.

The earle
of Shennon
was
rebellian.

Edward
comes
rebellian.

Edward
comes
rebellian.

Edward
comes
rebellian.

Dublin, the one the firste of June, and the other the thre and twentieth of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his come. And then his lordship prepareth to take a tourne towards Waterford, to do the like with sir William Duriel. But when he was passed a daies tourne, word was brought unto him from the bishop of Deth, who late then upon the confines of Deth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the mayor of Callewate, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crying out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that baserlie had, which not scarce two moneths past had humbled themselves to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craued pardon, and had most firmelie protested and sworne most dutifull and continuall obedience.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stolen ouer the river of Shennon, and there cast auaie their English apparel, and clothed themselves in their old wonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come auaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglases, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met together, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenris, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat auaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the quernes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set up. And the wicked they were before, but now ten times worse than euer they were; being come, even as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returneth unto the house from whence he came, and finding the same sweet cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other fewer wicked spirits, and entred and dwelleth there he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. And if a man should aske of these baserlie boies, and of their fier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie resolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing bene so courteouslie used, so gentle intertained, so friendly countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pitifully persuaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surely nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a little of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For baserlie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the god true onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, & which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and briers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman be slow neuer so much husbandrie vpon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so good a peare vpon him, the same shall be but a stonie peare; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will revolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clenched from thornes, brambles & briers, prepared for the fire: even so shall the magistrate inioie the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and iudgement is executed; when the good are preserved and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallows) according to their deserts are punished.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is sweet, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the disoord of that one marreth and disgraceth

all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subiect is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and liueth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be unpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden ouergrowne with weeds) in perill and danger to be overthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good conserued. And experience teacheth, that a theefe, murderer, a traitor, & such malefactors do neuer better serue to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallows, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie vpon these aduertisements, finding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altered his intended iourneie, and returneth to Dublin, bring such expedition, that within thre daies following he was entered into Connagh. The byute thereof when it was blowne abroad, it was scarce credited by the rebels, because it was so sudden and with such speed. But finding it to be true, and they afraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mountains, saving certelie gentlemen of the earls countrie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castles were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and craving of pardons, he was sent to the castell of Dublin, and there kept in close prison. But the lord deputie he passed thence to Callewate, and after he had there staied a few daies, for the comforting of the townefolkes, who stood much dismayed of their estate, and in feare to be surprised and taken for pledges: he passed through Thomond, and came to Limerike, where he settled sir William Duriel (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thence being accompanied and attended vpon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Corke, & there the lord president remained.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernement of that prouince, did beare himselfe so brightlie, and in so honourable a sort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and manners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the euill men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subiects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be done vpon the entrie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer ceasse to pursue him, untill he had either taken him, or driven him out of the countrie. If anie matters were in variance betwene man and man, or anie bills of complaints exhibited vnto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuillitie, & their manners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did maruellouslie reforme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, saving the countie palatine in Kerie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse any iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the

The lord deputie altered his course, and entred into Connagh.

The earle of Clanricard is sent to the castell of Dublin and kept in close prison.

Sir William Duriel placed to be lord president in Thomond.

The gouernment of sir William Duriel.

The earle of Desmond will haue no officer to intermeddle in his countie palatine.

The countie palantine a sanctuarie of sinne and wickednesse.

The lord president purposeth to do iustice in Kerrie.

The lord president entereth into Kerrie.

The treacherous practise of the earle to haue intrap- ped the lord president.

The lord president giueth the charge vpon the earle of Desmond.

most loose and dissolute life there vsed; and that it was a sanctuarie for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of iustice was now become a cloke and a shroud for all licentiousnesse: he purposed and was fullie determined to make a iourneie into that pri- uiledged place, to make a passage for law and iustice to be there exercised, euen as he had sofoze done in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leaue a scabbed shepe, nor good for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The erle, when he perceived this, he was in a great furie and agonie, and vsed all the waies he could to dissuade the lord president from the same. Which when he by no means could compasse, then according to his accustomed dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the seruice he could do to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to vse his house and countrie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waie; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissemblinglie and in secret deuised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing mistrusting anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granted the earles request; and when he sawe time, he taketh his iourneie into Kerrie, hauing no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of sixe score, or seven score persons: and as he passed through the countrie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard euerie mans complaint; and at length as his iourneie laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earle. The earle hauing the gouernour (as he thought) within his clowthes, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had deuised secretlie; had appointed in a readinesse seven hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intraped his lordship; and in fied of a bein venue into the countrie, to haue cut him off for euer comming more there. Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship sawe and vnderstood; and considering that he was so nere vpon them, as that he was either to aduenture vpon them, or with dishonour to hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his companie together, and with verie good and pithie words, incourageeth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forwards, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, not withstanding they were all well armed, and seven to one of the other: yet being as it were astonied at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & through all that land; both the earle and his companie turned their heeles, forsooke the field, and dispersed themselves into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorrow and heavinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigaell went and met the lord president, fell vpon his knees, held vp his hands, and with trilling teares prayed his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could hir husbands follie, saying that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting, nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men seeing his lordship could not be perswaded to make anie state: and so prayed his lordship to take it. And herein she so wisely and in such modestie did behave hir selfe, that his lordship granted hir request, and temporized with the earle. But he followed his determination, and vsed his authoritie to decide matters in and throughout the palantine of Kerrie. This grieued the earle to the hart, who hauing no o-

ther waie to be reuenged, he deuisech certaine articles against the president, which he with great exclames exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Corkie, he returned to Dublin, where he was aduertised that the Spac an Earles in Connagh had hired a new supplie of two thousand Scots, and were in actuall rebellion. Wherevpon he prepared a new iourneie thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were vp in campe and in outrageous maner spoiling the countries. But before his comming they had besieged Ballie Kiogh, which was the earles their fathers house, and so; his treacherous dealings confiscated.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thence, had placed Thomas le Strange, and captaine Colier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsemen to lie in garrison; but the earls sons, thinking themselves of sufficient strength to recover the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and inuironed it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not preuaile; but the garrison with in did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and fine at sundrie times six of their principall capitaines, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they sawe they could not preuaile, they raised the siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countrie; but especiallie vpon Spac William Cughter, from whence they toke sundrie of his castles, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not lacking nor slow- ing his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who skipped to and fro in such sort, that in no wise could he find them at anie advantage. Wherefore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursuit to be made vpon them. And by that meanes, although he could not mete with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full advantage vpon them; yet manie times he met with some of them, slew them, hanged and executed them, toke their prizes from them, and gained auaite their holds and castles. And at length hauing good espials, it was aduertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confines and marches of Spac William Cughters countrie: and therevpon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie manie of them fell into his lap, who had their reuwards. Vnto whose lordship reloyed the said Spac William with all the force he had, & could make; who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of powder in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew himselfe most loiall, and did the best seruice that was done vpon the rebels; and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recovered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castles, which in this rebellion had bene taken from him.

The Scots, when they heard of the approaching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenlie dispersed themselves, and the most of them, being werte of their abode and interteiment, fled into the rout in Ulster. The residue like vnto the bare armed rebels skulked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the gallees of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by iourneies returned towards Dublin, and hauing a litle before receiued his maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Malbie his seruant, to whom he commended for his insufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes: and as well for the encouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; hir pleasure was to commit vnto him the chiefe charge and gouernement

The earle com- plaineth against the lord president.

The Spac an Earles in Connagh rise in rebellion.

The earle com- plaineth against the lord president.

The lord president followeth the rebels.

The Scots were incamped in Connagh.

Spac William Cughter was the onelie man of powder in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions.

The Scots fled into the rout in Ulster.

The Spac an Earles in Connagh rise in rebellion.

uerment vnder the said deputie in Connagh, and willed that he should be forthwith established in that office, & to be sware one of his priue counsell, & to haue that countenance, authoritie, & intertainment as was meet, conuenient & agreeable for the place, office, & person. Which the said deputie most willinglie & gladlie performed, dubbed him knight, and made him gouernor by the name of a cozonnell of Connaught: thinking himselfe most happie, that he was assisted with such a man, as who for his experience in iudgement, his discretion in gouernement, and his painefulnesse and skill in martiall seruice was sufficient and compleat; and best able, partly by force, partly by persuation, and chieflie by ministering of iustice, was (I saie) best able, and would frame the rude and barbarous people of that prouince to ciuilitie and good order. And thus much he aduertised vnto his maiestie by his letters, with thanks for his choise of so meete and apt a man. During the time of this seruice and being of the lord deputie in Connagh, the earle of Essex, a man of great nobilitie and parentage died in Dublin. Great doubts were made of his death; some thinking that he should be poisoned, because he was then in the best time of his age, of a verie good constitution of bodie, and not knowne to haue bene sicke anie time before his death. But the matter examined by all the meanes that could be denied, there was no such thing then found: but supposed, that for so much as he had a flur, which was a spile of a *Dysenteria*, and wherewith he had bene oftentimes before troubled, by the inspection and iudgement of such physicians & others who were present: it was iudged and found that it was some cause of his death. Some thought rather that he should be bewitched, as that countrie is much giuen to such diuillie practises. But how far is that from all christianitie, all wise and godlie do know, and euery good christian should vnderstand. It is against the word of the Lord and all christian religion; and therefore not to be credited. It was thought and so affirmed by the most part of all men, that some inward griefe of the mind and secret sorrow of the hart had hastened that, which no infirmities of the bodie nor anie other deuises extraordinary could compasse. For where that maladie is once entered, and hath seized and taken possession, and which by no physike can be releued or cured: it is but in vaine to minister the same to the bodie, which can not indure when the other faileth, no more than can an accident remaine, when the substance is gone; or else as the timbers or ashes giue heat, when the wood is burned and consumed.

He was no more honorable of birth and parentage by his ancestors, of whom some descended out of kings loines; but as singular a man for all the gifts both of mind and bodie, as that age had not manie better. Towards God he was most deuout and religious, whom he serued according to his holie word in all truth and sinceritie, and his whole life according to his vocation he framed after the same; being not spotted with drunkennesse, concupiscence, whoredome, incontinencie, or anie other notorious crime: a great fauourer of the goodlie, a friend to the professors of the gospell, & an extreme enemie to the papists & enemies of the true religion: to his prince & soueraigne most dutifull and humble, faithfull & obedient: his superiours he honored, his elders he reuerenced, his equals he loued, his inferiours he fauored: to his countrie trustie, to the commonwealth zealous, to all men courteous, and to the poore and oppressed bounteous and liberall.

In matters of policie he was verie prudent, and of a great reach in causes of counsell sound, and of a

deepe iudgement: in martiall affaires most valiant and of great courage, and of so heroicall a mind, that if his abilitie had answered his good will, he had not bin a second, neither to Lacie, nor to Courcie, nor to anie the first conquerors of Ulster to the crowne of England. For such a plot he had laid for the regaining thereof, that it could not be denied, but if the same had bene followed, great good would haue ensued in processe of time to his maiestie, in obedience and reuenues, and a great suertie to that estate, and the like increase of benefit to the whole commonwealth. The more noble were his god and worthie attempts, the more he was crossed and contraried: but by such secret meanes, as which he did rather for the most part coniecture amisse, than hit aright: but yet such was the great valour of his mind, and the magnanimitie of his stomach, that his good meanings & attempts, for the honor of his prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth, being so contraried and overthwarted, he was none the lesse, no paines, no seruice, no hardnesse could breake; the verie griefe of mind and sorrow of heart (as it was thought) did onelie consume and overthrow. He was also verie learned, and of great reading, and sometimes a scholer in the vniuersitie, and had verie good knowledge in all kind of letters, as well theologicall as humane, and of a verie quicke wit to conceiue, of a good capacitie to vnderstand, and of a readie tongue to utter and deliuer in a verie good order what he had conceiued; and so well he would discourse and argue anie matter, as few scholers better, and not manie so skillfull in anie one, as he was generallie in all good vertues. A more noble man euery waie, not England, nor anie other nation hath lightlie afforded. And certeinlie, if it had pleased God that Lachess had bene idle, or had spun a longer thread, that he might haue liued to haue bene imployed according to his excellent vertues, either in matters of counsell, of policie, or martiall, no doubt he would haue proued a most worthie and beneficent member vnto his maiestie, and his whole commonwealth. As his life was, so also was his death most goodlie, comfortable, and vertuous, the one answerable to the other, even as *S. Augustine* writeth; *Vix male moritur qui bene vixit*. In all the time of his sicknesse, which was about twentie or one and twentie daies, although he were manie times tormented with greuous pangs in the bellie: yet was he neuer heard to grudge or murmur, nor to speake anie angrie or idle word, but most patientlie and meekelie toke all things in good part. After he perceived that nature began to faile and defect, he yielded himselfe to die, and was verie desirous that his friends and wellwillers should haue access vnto him, and to abide by him at their pleasure. And by that meanes he had continuallie about him diuerse men of all degrees, as well of the clergie, as of the laitie, both men and women, gentlemen & seruants, before whom he did shew most apparant arguments of a goodlie and vnfeined repentance of his life past, and of a most christian and perfect charitie with all the world, frelie forgiving euery offense done vnto him, and asking the like of all others. His faith he openly confessed, and witnessed a most vndoubted assurance of his saluation in Christ Iesus, purchased for him in his blood and death: and manie times he would with a lowd voice saie; *Cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo*. He spent most part of the time, when the extremities of his sicknesse did not let him, in prayers, and in hearing the word read vnto him, and would vse such goodlie admonitions, such pithie persuations, & so graue instructions, as he neuer did, nor thought he could do in all his life time: for he neuer seemed in all his daies to be halfe so wise, learned, and eloquent. The nearer that death drew, the more seruent

A plot for the regaining of Ulster.

The earle of Essex contraried in all his attempts.

The earle becometh well learned.

A goodlie life hath a goodlie end.

His patience in his sicknes.

His repentance and charity.

He confesseth his faith.

His praising and hearing the word.

he was in prayer, and requested all his companie to do the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Jesus. And when his tounge gaue ouer to speake anie moze, he lifted vp his hands & eyes to the Lord his God, vntill most sweetlie, milde, and godlie he did yeld vp his ghost, which manie times before he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man vpon the two and twentieth date of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred senentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his frends, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaine of himselfe, who by all apparant arguments and testimonies of his vndoubted faith, doth assure vs of his everlasting soie, and eternall felicitie.

About three daies before his death, he wrote his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good friendship past betwene them, and wished that the god and faithfull dealings betwene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. When he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a speciall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselfe should die to his frends, yet his sonne the earle of Essex might liue to the seruice of his prince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his buriall, and herewith he sent vnto his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memorie of the loue and goodwill past betwene them. And now leauing this honorable earle in his heauenlie soie and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this effere and effrenated nation.

The dissagreements betwene the earles of Desmond and Thomond.

The earle of Desmond reprimeth against all good orders, and complaineth against the crosse.

Sir John of Desmond committed to ward.

Sir J. Desmond putteth away his wife and marrieth another mans wife.

The prouince of Mounster was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betwene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which vpon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeie, vntill *Polens nolens* he were pressed therevnto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie wilfull man, notwithstanding he had at Corke yielded himselfe (of his owne free consent) to absteine the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered followers, he would not be withdrawen from his wonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie crosse; and wrote his letters to the lords of his maiesties priuie counsell in England, complaining much, and prouing nothing, and aggravating the taking of the crosse, with most manifest vntruths. And so far he was carried in misliking the gouernment, because he saw his owne wonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie faine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiracy with the forelonge sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, as was his brother sir John of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue joined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Mounster, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which carried the moze likelihood, because his intention was to put awaie his owne wife, & to haue married himselfe in marriage with Shanes sister, who was Mowkes wife, & of late forfaken by him. After the lesse, the earle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to elipe out both his and all the rest of their doings, and in such a readinesse to be at inches with them, and vpon their bones if they started out neuer so little, that he kept

himselfe quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which before he denied, being verie notorious malefactors and practisers of iniquities.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward shew moze quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whom least suspicion of anie euill was thought: they began verie inconsideratlie to repine against the crosse: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue maintained it: because that the same was procured for the defense of themselves, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdom, knowledge, and experience, when he considered the sickle state of that waivering and rebellious nation of the Irishie, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmly promised, sworn, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to his maiestie: yet vpon euerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and dutie, would sing out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appeasing thereof, and the preservation of his good subjects, his highnesse was bounden to enlarge his garrisons, and to increase his armie to his excessive charges, and all which companies were vittelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributozie to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and priuileges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the moze græued, & the greater burthened, to their impouerishing, & the hinderance of their seruice: the lord deputie caused a thorough search to be made in his highnesse court of the exchequer in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and all manner of liberties which at anie time had tofore bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoever: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were usurped, or by statute repealed.

Wherevpon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be borne moze vniuersallie, and so moze indifferentlie; and for the better furtherance of his highnesse seruice: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and freedoms to be dissolved, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are græued, and therefore doe repine against crosse; and with open mouths cry out, that they were so poore that they could not beare anie crosse, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what crosse is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogative of the prince, to impose vpon the countie a certeine proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the queens price, to all and euerie such souldiours as she is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be verelie rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the counsell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countie, at such rates and prices as the souldiours may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his intertainment.

These things although they were orderlie done, yet certeine malecontents, finding themselves græued, because they should also now beare a portzion, and

The græues men in the pale began to repine against the crosse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged by the crosse.

Liberties dissolved by proclamation.

What crosse is.

The malecontents græued, because they should also now beare a portzion, and

be contributaries: first they bzaw their heads tog-
ther, and make there supplication to the lord deputie
and counsell, which was receiued verie willinglie,
and offer made that conference should be had with
them, how and what waite it might best be deuised to
ease there griefes, & not to charge the quene. Where-
upon at a time appointed they all met, and came in
persons befoze the deputie and counsell, where the
said malecontents first opened their griefes, that
they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and li-
berties which were taken from them; then that they
were compelled to yeld to an vnrasonable cesse,
which they were not able to beare, and that was will
and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and rea-
son, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon
them without a parlement or grand counsell.

When the lord deputie and counsell heard them
at full, they appointed a date, when they should come
and receiue their answer. In the meane time the
lord deputie and counsell consulted and considered
of the matter, and resolued themselves vpon an an-
swer. And when the date came and they appeared, an-
swer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord
chancelor, that they had no charters nor liberties at
all to be found in hir highnesse records, other than
such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for
the greatnesse of the cesse, the burden whereof they
had alleged to be vnrasonable and not to be borne,
because they said & auouched that it was ten pounds
& twelue pounds of ech plough land; it was offered
that they should be discharged, if they would paie
but five markes for euerie plough land. And whatso-
euer they said in deniall of the pateng of the cesse, it
was and is to be proued, that it was not onlie hir
maiesties prerogative which may not be impeached;
but also to be proued by most ancient records, that
euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for
the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin
still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the
like charges imposed by the name of cesse by the de-
putie and counsell, and such nobilitie as were sent
for; and did come to the same, now in question and
by them repined at. Neuertheless, they repined and
stallie denied that they would yeld to anie cesse,
saieing and alledging as befoze, that it was a-
gainst reason and law, and therefore prayed that they
might haue his lordships libertie to make their re-
paires ouer into England, and to acquaint hir high-
nesse with their case. Wherevnto he answered, that
he would neither giue any such leaue nor denie them
to go. Whereupon they assembled themselves tog-
ther againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie hea-
ded lawyers and malecontented gentlemen, who had
fired and set them a woake to confoine themselves
to follow this sute, and contributed a masse of mo-
nie amongst themselves, for the charge of the said
lawyers, namelie Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard
Petersill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing bene
sometimes students in the ins of the court in Lon-
don, & acquainted with littletons tenures, thought
themselves so well fraughted with knowledge in
the laws, as they were able to wade in all matters
of the deepest points of the law. But if they had first
(as it becommeth dutifull subjects) to haue looked in
the booke of God, they should haue found it written
there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings
and established their thrones, and gaue them most
excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they
should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon
the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogative,
that all inferiours and subjects should and ought in
all humblenesse and dutifulnesse submit themselves
vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake: bi-
cause so is it the will of God, without sitting of his

authoritie or examining his gouernment. For the re-
is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God, & they
are ordeined of God; wherefore who so resisteth them,
resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences
the Lord himselfe hath reuenged oftentimes on the
disobedient. Wherefore euerie man is to be subiect in
all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all maner of
ordinaunces, being not against God, nor onlie because
of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especiallie in
matters being well considered, & which do concerne
their one benefit and safetie. If this be the infallible
truth, how farre were these men ouershot, that thus
would dispute the princes prerogative with their
littletons tenures; and measure the same with their
owne rules and deuises? It had bin much better for
them, & moze to their commendations, if they had (as
the scholars of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held
their peace, vntill such time as they had bene better
studied in their owne lawes; and then they should
haue found it written that the prince or king is the
head and most excellent part of the bodie of the com-
monwealth; and through his gouernance the preser-
uer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the pro-
phet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the
people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which
causes the lawes do attribute vnto him all honoz,
dignitie, prerogative, and preeminence aboue all o-
thers; and which his prerogative doth not onlie ex-
tend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of
his owne, but also to all his subjects. And the law-
yers themselves do so far stretch this for a *Maxime*,
that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established ei-
ther for the benefit of holie church or common pro-
fit, it is alwaies implied *Salua in omnibus regis prae-
rogativa*; and that nothing shall be intended to be prei-
udiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likeli-
hood these men were not so farre read; or if they had,
their malice or desire of some pelting lucre, which
blindeth manie of that profession, had made them
forgetfull of themselves & of their duties. Well, these
great lawyers beare the malecontented lords & gen-
tlemen in hand, that their cause & sute was good and
reasonable, and by the law to be warranted; & not to
be doubted but the same would haue good successe.
Whereupon they made by their supplication and let-
ters to hir maiestie, with the like letters to hir hono-
rable priuie counsell, dated the tenth of Ianuarie,
1576, and vnder the hands of Rowland vicount
of Balinglas, Ed. of Welun, Christopher of Both,
Peter of Trimleston, James of Kellow, and Pa-
trike Paugle barons; sir Oliuer Plunket, sir Tho-
mas Pugeat, sir Christopher Chivers, and sir Wil-
liam Searefield knights; Edward Plunket, Pa-
trike Paugle, Patrike Husheie, George Plunket,
Francis Pugeat, Laurence Pugeat, Nicholas
Tasse, James Pugeat, and William Talbot, in
the names of all the inhabitants within the Eng-
lish pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered
in the like order their letters of attorneie vnto their
said agents, and so much monie for their expenses
as was thought sufficient, with their order and pro-
mise to supplie what soeuer they should need. And
thus being furnished with all things to their con-
tentments, they pass ouer the seas, and made their
repaires vnto the court of England, and there at time
conuenient did exhibit their supplications and letters
to hir maiestie and the lords of the counsell, which
in effect consisted in these points.

First, that where there was a cesse imposed by the
lord deputie and counsell vpon the English pale for
hir maiesties garrisons, they finding themselves
griued therewith, made their complaint thereof
vnto the said lord deputie and counsell for redress,
and could not be heard.

The kings
prerogative
by the lawes
of the realme.

The imposed
gentlemen
send into En-
gland their a-
gents to com-
plaine.

The effect of
the letters &
complaints
exhibited to
hir maiestie
and counsell.

D. J.

Seconda

Secondarie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or anie other like to be imposed upon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vsages of that realme.

Thirdlie, that the cesse was a most intollerable and grieuous burden, there being exacted out of euerie plough land ten and twelue pounds.

Fourthlie, that in the leuieng and erasing, there were manie and sundrie abuses done and committed.

The matter
is referred to
the counsell.

When hir maiestie had throughtlie read both the complaints and letters, the forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lordes of hir priue counsell to be considered, and the same to be throughtlie examined; who forthwith assembled themselves, and hauing read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lordes & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and counsell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of the matter, that they might the better proue and vnderstand the greatnesse thereof, did by hir highnesse commandement call before them the earles of Kildare and Dromond, the viscount of Wexmarche, and the baron of Dunstanie, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the maner of these mens proceedings both here and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie deed, vnder color to seeke some reliefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of anie cesse, and so consequentlie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogative, which hir maiestie & predecesors haue alwaies inioined, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselves preserved.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, seemed to be sozie, and to mislike of their vnbawled proceedings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath bene alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subject, who would denie or impugn the same: although they wished and did praye, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarcitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lordes of the counsell had proceeded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered by their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the doings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: because he had written otherwise.

The answers
of the counsell
to the articles
of the com-
plainers.

To the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogative, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath bene vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecesors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vntlesse hir highnesse would lose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne purse: neither which extremities could or might in anie wise be tolerated.

To the third, that the cesse was intollerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounds and twelue pounds should be demanded out of euerie plough land, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and counsell the contrarie, & that they were offered at five marks the plough land: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

To the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were done, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redresse thereof

to be ordered.

When hir highnesse had read and throughtlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vndutifull to be handled by hir subjects, commanded by the aduise of hir counsell the said agents which followed their sute, to be committed to the flect, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and counsell, finding hir selfe grieved with the said hir subjects of the pale, that the releuing of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse, should be auouched to be a matter against law, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie bene imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed thereinto, in preiudice of hir prerogative, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therefore she did not onelie mislike, & was greatly offended with these their presumptuous and vndutifull manner of proceeding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir counsell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogative in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which means the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue bene remedied. And therefore as hir highnesse had alreadye giuen order for committing them to the flect, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their insubsting and mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore seeking to impeach hir prerogative and roiall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole counsell to send for those lordes and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and auoid the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogative, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and auoiding to be likewise committed.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the maner of the leuieng the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoever were culpable therein, he should be punished with all seueritie. And herewith also he was contented, and had giuen order for some qualification to be yelded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and counsell should be thought meet: considering the scarcitie and dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lordes and gentlemen vpon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselves simple, and vnder their handwritings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbeare contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in maintenance against the said prerogative, to be displaced and discharged out of hir see, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought meet. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the counsell, the lord deputie and counsell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and counsell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were speciallie noted to be counsellors, ringleaders, and procurers of these letters to hir maiestie and the lordes of hir counsell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of freedom from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogative, and affirming bollielie in plaine speeches and without anie shinking, that no cesse

the malcontents
of the coun-
sell.

The agents
of the coun-
sell.

the malcontents
of the coun-
sell.

The complai-
ners which
subscribed to
be sent and
committed to
death.

The complai-
ners which
subscribed to
be sent and
committed to
death.

The leuies
of the mal-
contents
being the
complaints,
to be displa-
ced.

The malcon-
tents & their
adherers
for.

The pro-
cesses
of the malcon-
tents.

celle could be imposed but by parlement or a grand counsell; and whatsoeuer was otherwise set downe, was against the law: and so stubborne they were bent therein, that they would not yeld to aie conference: whereupon they were all committed to the castell of Dublin, notwithstanding some of them (after they had better abused themselves) yelded a submission and praied mercie.

With doings when the lord deputie and counsell had forthwith advertised to hir highnesse & the counsell in England; they nothing liking these arrogant and disloyall parts of these impaled malecontents, sent for their agents; and hauing the like conference with them, found them of like disposition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie forward, arrogant, and wilfull: whereupon they were removed from the Fleet to the Towre: a place appointed for the offenders in capstall causes, and for such (being impugnors of hir prerogative) as be supposed to offend in the next degree to the highest. These things when they were notified unto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were maruellously grieved; but not the one nor the other would giue ouer, untill their arrogancies and insolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie conuicted, and condemned: for which the lord chancelor of verie purpose was sent ouer into England, who so fullie, effectualle, and dierectlie did resolve hir maiestie and counsell in euerie point, which the parties agents could not denie.

Now in the end they considered better of themselves, and sent their humble submission in writing vnder their hands to the said lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell, confessing that they had disloyallie and insolentlie, both in words and writings offended most greivouslie; protesting yet that their intent was neuer to denie hir roiall prerogative; to vile the same as occasion should serue, but onelie to redresse certeine abuses; and therefore most humbly praied they might find some mercie, and that the hard and painfull imprisonment which they had sustained, might be a sufficient punishment for the same. Whereupon they were released, putting in bonds of one thousand pounds, that within five daies they should depart homewards into Ireland; and after their transportation & arrivall thither, should make their immediat repaire, without staid or lingering, to the lord deputie and counsell, and there to giue their attendance, untill by them they should be licensed to depart. At their comming home they performed the conditions of their obligations, and most humbly in like order submitted themselves to the lord deputie and counsell, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the counsell in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and counsell in Ireland) the same was after long trauesse ended and determined. But here to set downe what practises, informations, & deuises were made against the said deputie, by the said malecontents, and some (by their means) of no small calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the subjects from loiall obedience, that he had farmed all the whole reime, that he had wasted hir maiesties treasures and revenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he should for this dealing with hir subjects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduise of others, contrarie to the course of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the imboldening of manie which offended the more.

These and manie such other like vntruths they spred. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifest it to the whole world, that their overthow was his credit, and his preuaile was to their reproch

and shame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward graces, which for a time by the means of their false suggestions he sustained, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great soy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offense should fall into the consideration of this their resistance, and repining against the cels, which was then enterprised and taken in hand; when the whole land stood in a broken and doubtfull state, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Desmond forwardlie kicked at the like, and all the lords in Hounster had contrarie to their owne orders and promises, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the English pale, to pale aie cels; when James Fitzmoyses being furnished with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was daillie looked for to come and inuade the land; and when the great ones hauing hollow harts, and addicted to papistrie, did daillie gape and expect for the same; when the disloyall Irishie in Hounster and Connaugh were combined and ioined in these conspiracies; when Rorie Og, Moore, Conno, Mac Cormake, Deonno, & others, animated by the foresaid conspiracies, were by in open rebellion, and used most execrable outrages; when some of the best towne in Leinster did aid, comfort, and mainteine these rebels, and besides manie other circumstances concurring herewith: might it not be well presumed (and as it was so doubted) that the cause being like, they should also be combined and linked alike? And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better hering? And yet notwithstanding it fell in the end to a better effect. For the lords and inhabitants in the English pale, since the time of the conquest by king Henrie the second, and since their first arrivall into this land, it hath not bene lightlie knowne that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in aie warres against the crowne of England, and the kings of the same; sauing as now in respect to saue their purses, rather than meaning aie breach of dutie, had ouer shot themselves: which vpon a further consideration of the truth they repented, and vpon their submission were pardoned, in hope and vpon their promise that they would neuer themselves offend, nor be found fauour with the like. During the trauesse about the cels, manie things happened in the land worthie to be reprehended (as great and sundrie were the aduertisements from out of France by such Englishmen as were there imployed) of an intention of James Fitzmoyses to inuade Ireland, who had bene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and returned from thence with a good masse of treasure, making his returne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furnished with men, munitions, & treasures, and all things necessarie. Which things were by letters from him signified vnto the cheefest of all Hounster his secret confederats, and they being papists both in bodie & soule, desirous of change of gouernement, and to be vnder a prince of their owne superstition, did daillie languish and expect his comming. Wherefore hir maiestie and counsell, hauing the like intelligences, did also prepare monie, munitions, vittels, and men, and all other things necessarie for the withstanding of him.

Rorie Og, Moore, and Conno, Mac Cormake, Deonno, and their coparteners, contrarie to their othes, submissions, and promises, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began aie to gather their friends and confederats out of seuerall places, to the number of a hundred swordes, which with his owne made aboute seauen score; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerse mens

Dy.

baggards,

The fidelitie of the English pale to the crowne.

The malecontents are all committed to prison.

The agents better instructed sent to the Court.

The lord chancelor of Ireland sent an Englishman.

The agents humbly submitted.

The agents were released by the lord deputie.

The malecontents were against the lord deputie.

The burning
of the Paas
by Kozie Dg.

haggards, poze mens houses, and sundrie villages, and committed manie outrages: and being not resisted, he took such encouragement of his successe, that leaning poze villages, he went to great towne, as to the Paas, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same date that he came thither at night, was the patrone daie of the said towne, commonly called the church holie daie, which daie after the maner of that countrie, and not much unlike the festiual daies which the Ethniks and Pagans were wont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and Venus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkennesse, and surfetting. And after they had so filled their panches, and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, having forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put anie watch to ward them. Which thing Kozie Dg when he knew, and having intelligence that euerie man was in his bed asleep, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who like unto a sort of furies and diuels new come out of hell, carried upon the ends of their poles flanks of fier, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house took fier of another, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the towne supposed to be five hundred persons in outward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but they being in their dead sleeps, suddenlie awaked, were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the fier was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enimie they were altogether unfurnished, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they could tell which way to follow him. For he taried verie little in the towne, sauing that he sat a little while upon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and triumph, that he had done and exploited so diuinely an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed usage in all his euill actions, but yet contrarie to his usage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he returned he preyed and spoiled the countrie, and ranging to and fro, as his wandering head carried him, he came verie shortly unto the towne at Leighlin bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

Kozie Dg
burneth the
towne at
Leighlin
bridge.

George Carew with
twelve persons against
240 scottish
upon them &
drunck them
to die.

The castle
in danger to
be taken.

But George Carew brother unto Peter Carew, then constable of the said towne and fort, having then but a small ward to defend the violence of the enimie, and yet thinking it should be too great a dishonour unto him to be bearded with a traitor, and to let him depart unfought withall: he issued out upon him, having with him onelie seven horsemen and five foot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels, being two hundred and fortie, with such a courage and valiantnesse (and they affronted because it was so sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of them: and then they with the losse of those men began to flie. But at last when they perceived his force to be but small, and too weak to resist their great number, they returned and chased him to the verie walles of the castle, where if he and his small companie had not like valiant and good souldiers acquitted themselves, the rebels had entred into the house; for they were within the gate and there fought, but driven out and the gate shut. At this bickering they lost firtene men, and one of their chiefe captaines named Piers Poinagh, who died verie shortly after of his hurt. Capteine Carew lost but two men and one horse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie was hurt.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this intertainment, presently retired and departed, by

which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saved. After their returne from hence, they spoiled sundrie townes and villages vpon the confines & borders of the English pale. And albeit they were verie eagerly followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse of his companie, yet he was so mainteined, and his watch and spall was so good, that partly by the helpe of his acquaintance, and partly by meanes of the water bogs and fastnesse in euerie place, he was in safegard and safetie. In this pursuit made vpon him, it happened that a parlie was appointed betwene capteine Harington and him: vnto whom Kozie Dg wrote and promised most faithfully to yield himselfe to some consocietie and order. The capteine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much credit to his subtill promises, and did so open himselfe vnto him, that through his owne folle Kozie took advantage, and perforce took him and Alexander Colbie, who was with him in hand, both which he handfasted together, and caried them along with him as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs, threatening them still to kill them. This thing being knowne, great sorrow and greefe was conceived of the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and dauidie practises were devised for their deliueries; and at length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a manner concluded. But before the same was fully perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught vpon Kozie: for he knowing where the said Kozie was wont to hunt, and by good espials learning where his coach and cabine was, he being accompanied with Barker lieutenant to capteine Furle and scribe of his band, earelie in the morning, about two houres before daie, he went and marched to the verie place where Kozie late, and beset the same. Kozie hearing an vnwonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddenlie vpon Harington and Colbie, thinking to haue slaine them, and getting in the darke to the place where they late, gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open the doore of the cabine, he took as manie as were within prisoners: but Kozie himselfe and one other priuie in the darke stole awate and crept among the bushes, so that he could not be found. The souldiers in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there, but saved capteine Harington and Colbie.

Kozie Dg albeit he was glad that he was so escaped, yet in a great griefe for the losse of his prisoners, and minding to be reuenged, priuie with all the companies which he could get, besides them which Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh, he went to Catherlough earelie in the morning, and burned a few haggards of coyne and a few houses, and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hereof, forthwith followeth them with ten or twelue horses which he had in a readinesse, and at a foyn not far off he overtook them, and killed firtene or seuentene of his best men, and Kozie himselfe escaped verie narrowlie; and so continued still in his former outrages, vntill he was intraped and taken by a druse of his owne to intrap others, which was in this manner. Vpon the nine and twentieth of June 1578, he set forth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cunningly framed, and made apt for the purpose to go to sir Barnard Fitzpatrick lord of Byer Merie, and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and in secretie, that Kozie Dg had bene of late in the countie of Kilkennie, and there had taken a great prete and spoile of pots, pans, and other household stuffe, which he might easilie take if he would adventure

The enimie
is driven to
retire and
flie.

Kozie Dg by
sight and de-
script taketh
capteine Harington
prisoner.

A draught
made vpon
Kozie Dg by
Harepole.

Capteine Harington
is hurt.

Kozie Dg
escapeth.

Capteine Harington
is deliuered.

Kozie Dg
burneth the
therelough.

1578

A battell
the night
of the 11th.

ture the matter; and if he did wiselie handle it, he might also take Kozie himselfe and all his companie, which as he said (but untrue) that they were but few in number. The lord of upper Muerie, neither beleiving nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet forerunning the world, did put himselfe in readinesse to follow the occasion that was offered, and taking with him a good companie of horsemen and footmen, went towards the place where the bait was laid; and being come nere unto it made staie, or 10 else he had bene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his men into the woods to serch for Kozie. But the baron himselfe with certeine of his horsemen and footmen staied in the plaines, to attend the issue of the matter. The companie were no sooner entered into the woods, but Kozie the rebell shewed himselfe with a thirtie persons, the rest lying in ambush; and he was of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so great, and of such value among the Irishie, that no man durst to adventure upon him if he once saw his presence. But he was deceived. For at the first 20 sight and view of him, the lord of Muerie's Kerne gave the charge upon him, and at their encounter one of them lighted upon him, and with his sword presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was no sooner done, but two or three hacked upon him, & gave him such deadlie wounds that he fell downe and died, the same being the last daie of June before said; and so this bloodie catife, deliting all in blood, perished and died in his owne blood.

Baron Dylis
Kerne.

The lord de-
putie maketh
a journey by
Baron Dylis.

Chronicle of
Desmond first
came to the
lord de-
putie by
Baron Dylis.

Chronicle of
Desmond and
the lord de-
putie
were reconciled.

Chronicle of
Desmond and
the lord de-
putie
were reconciled.

But before Kozie dyd was thus brought to destruction, the lord deputie made a iourne to the borders of Muerie and Ler, to have met with the fore- 30 said Kozie dyd & his companions the Deconnoys for the suppressing of their insolencie, who were grown into such a pride by taking of capteine Harington, and their strength so increased, that with most unadvised termes they breathed out slanderous speeches against hir maiestie, as which were not to be endured. Wherefore he beset the whole countrie & confines as he thought best, to stop their passage and to annoie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and there by sundrie examinations found people of all degrees in that towne to have relieved the said Kozie with vittels and all other necessaries, for his feeding and defense, with whome he took order according to their deserts. At his being there he sent for the earle of Desmond to come unto him, because he had refused to come to the lord president when he sent for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said 50 lord president was there to complaine upon him, as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without any warrant, gathered together a rabble of lewd and unruly followers, which harried up and downe the countrie, eating and spending upon the same, contrary to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered.

Which earle forthwith, upon the receipt of the said letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and there being examined of those his unseemlie parts, confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and much mistrusted and doubted the president, least he would have staied him, and have used him hardlie, for which he was blamed and reprimed by the lord deputie. But in the end, when they came together, they were reconciled and made good friends, and then he promised upon his returne home to disperse abroad his companions, and to obeye the president as hir maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to come unto him at all commandements, and which things he perfozmed. For not long after he uttered and beloyaled to the said lord president the practices of James Fitzmoris, who by the arrivall of certeine Frenchmen and Irishmen unto Sligo, in a ship of

saint Malowes, did what he could to stirre & make a rebellion in Spounser and Connagh, whereby a plot was laid for the state of those Frenchmen, and the apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good demonstrations to the better shew of the obedience and loialtie of the said earle, but in truth more dissimulation, as afterwards it appeared.

Connagh was in some part troubled, by means of Dzwurke capteine of his surname; in whose countrie there were certeine coiners of monie, and maintained by him. The cozoneill understanding hereof, he sent unto Dzwurke for them, and who denied to deliuer any of them: wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a pynat band of footmen, who distressed Dzwurke, due his men, took his castell, and put all the ward to the sword. Whereupon he came with all humilitie, and submitted himselfe, and craved pardon. All the residue of Connagh was verie quiet, and increased hir maiesties revenues to the yearelie summe of eighteene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good contentation. And now when it was thought that all things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold sudden advertisements were given both unto hir maiestie and counsell in England, and to the lord deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukelcie was arrived out of Italie unto Cadis in Spaine, with certeine men, ships, and munitions assigned unto him by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine strangers attending upon him, he was come to the seas, to land upon some part of the realme of Ireland, in traitorous maner to invade the same, and to pzoouoke the people to loine with him in rebellion. All things, as well men, munitions, monie, vittels, and all other things necessarie were provided and prepared for the preventing of them, as well by sea as by land: but in the end, advertisement was given from out of Portugall, that his enterprise was diverted another waie, and to another purpose, and so all things were quiet. Neuertheless, it appeared that 40 he was in great fauour with the pope, and was appointed to some speciall service against hir maiestie, if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the encouraging of him, the pope besides great treasures liberallie bestowed upon him, he gave him sundrie titles of honour, and made him knight, baron of Krosse and Byron, vicount of the Spozough & Kentslagh, and earle of Melford and Catherlough, and marquisse of Leinster, and generall to the most holie father Gregorie the seventh Pontifici maximo.

In the middle of these boyles, the vicount Baltinglasse, one of the chiefe impugnors and malecontents against the reffe, wrote his letters to the earle of Dymond, then attendant at the court of England, and complaineth of great iniuries and spoiles to the value of two hundred pounds in monie, besides numbers of sheepe and kine, done upon him and his tenants by the English souldiers, under sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Baltinglasse, in the time that they serued upon the rebell Kozie dyd. Which letter was by the said earle shewed to hir maiestie, and to the lords of hir most honourable priuie counsell. Upon which complaint, because it seemed somewhat pitious and lamentable, and hir maiestie partly persuaded (as a matter verie likelie to be true) that such græuous extortions suffered uncorrected, made hir gouernement more hatefull to that nation, than did any of the Irish exactions: letters were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all diligence, that the poore oppressed might be satisfied, and the offenders also be punished, according to the quantities and qualities of their offenses.

lord president
James Fitz-
moris his
practices.

Coiners in
Connagh.

Dzwurke re-
fusing to deli-
uer his coiners
his castell is
taken, and he
submitted
himselfe.

Tho. Stukel-
cie suspected
to come into
Ireland.

Great prepa-
ration made
against
Stukelcie.

The pope his
fauour to
Stukelcie.

Stukelcie his
honour and
titles.

The vicount
Baltinglasse
complaineth
to the earle of
Dymond a-
gainst sir Ni-
cholas Bagnoll.

The earle of
Dymond ad-
uerteth the
complaint of
the vicount to
hir maiestie
and counsell.
Hir maiestie
senteth letters
in the behalfe
of the vicount
Baltinglasse.

The vicount
Waltinglasse
complained
to the lord de-
putie against
sir Nicholas
Bagnoll.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained unto by the said vicount, and sir Nicholas Bagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were objected against him. And upon the replication of the vicount, sir Lucas Dillon and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for proofe of the surmises, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be proved to any purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first coming to that towne, had given great charge to everie capitaine, to forsee that no iniurie should be offered, no spoiles committed, nor any thing to be taken by any souldier or other person without present payment, protesting and proclaiming execution according to marshall law, upon such as should do the contrarie.

The vicount
Waltinglasse
complains
are untrue.

Likewise at his departure from thence, he made the like proclamation, that if there were any which had any cause of complaint for any wrong or iniurie done, or that any thing were taken and not paid for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it doth appeare, that the surmises were made rather to aggravate his greife conceived against the imposition of the ceste, than for any good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices prevailed little in the one, no more had he successe or credit in the other. For the matter was fully certified unto the lords of the councell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said vicount might be reprovued, and also terrified to profer or practise any such untrue and indirect dealings. By these and other the like practises of the said vicount, that because he did not brybe nor like of the ceste, he thought by waie of exclames to aggravate his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of his maiestie, and be out of favour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne reprove and discredit.

The whole
land in peace

When the lord deputie had ended and finished all his businesse, and had set the whole realme in order and peace, being now delivered from inward and civil warre, and from the feare of Strakeles inuasion, he prepared (according to his maiesties former letters of the six and twentieth of March last past) to take his passage for England, and to make his repair to his highnesse. And so when all things were accordingly prepared, and the wind & weather so serving, he delivered by the sword according to his maiesties commandement, the six & twentieth of Aprill 1578, unto sir William Dzurie, then lord president of Hounstret. And then being conducted by the said now lord iustice and councell, and all the nobilitie, citizens & people to the waters side, he embarked himselfe, taking his leave in most honourable, loving, and courteous manner of everie man. And at his verie entring into the ship for his farewell unto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the 114 psalme, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro*: alluding thereby to the troublesome state of Ireland in the land of Aegypt, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwithstanding he had in great wisdom, care, and policie governed the stiffnecked people of Israel, had done many miracles and wonderful works to their comfort, had delivered them from many great perils and dangers, had preserved and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pharaon, and from out of the land of Aegypt, and had given them the sight of the land of promise: yet he found them alwaies a froward and perverse genera-

The notable
works of
Moses, & yet
he not ac-
cepted.

tion, a stiffnecked and an ungratefull people: even no lesse as this noble man, and most worthy gover-
nour hath found of the people of this most cursed nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie pain-
full traveller both by day and night, in foule and in faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in troubles and in dangers, in scarcitie and in penurie, in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet continuallie studieng, devising, travelling, toiling, and labouring to do them good (as he did full manie and often times) which so long as they felt the ease & comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but otherwise most ungratefull and unthankfull. And offering unto him the like reward as Licurgus received of the most unthankfull Macedonians, who when he had recovered that savage nation to a civil life, and a politike government, and in the end reduced them to that order and maner, as they became to be feared of all their neighbours, they in recompense evill intreated him in verie bad speeches, and strake out one of Licurgus his eyes. But these men for thousands and infinit commodities, would not one lie have bereft his lordship of both his eyes, but also done him a farther inconvenience (if successe had happened) according to their malice.

The pain-
full
travell of
the lord
deputie
not comforted

The ingrati-
tude of the
Macedonians
towards Li-
curgus.

And now here by the waie, let it not be offensive to set downe somewhat of much concerning this worthy and noble man for the course of his life. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, his father named sir William Sidrie, a knight of great reputation and credit in the countie of Kent, and in great favour with king Henrie the eighth, in whose time, and with his great good liking, he and others lustie young gentlemen of the court travelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and to see the manner of the emperours and other princes courts: his mother descended of the house of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, unto whom the was verie nere allied. This young gentleman, his father being deceased, and he of verie tender and young yeeres, was brought up in the court under the same maister as was king Edward the first, and profited verie well, both in the Latine and French tongues, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie forward in all good actions, and whereof was conceived some good things would come of him: his countenance was verie amiable, and his behaviour verie gentle and courteous, in whose king Henrie the eighth (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaisefellow with prince Edward.

The parent-
age of
sir
Henrie
Sidrie.

Sir Henrie
Sidrie was
brought up
in the court.

This prince fell in such a good familiaritie and good liking of him, that he used him not onelie as a companion; but manie times as a bedfellow, and so delighted in his companie, that for the most part they would never be asunder, neither in health, nor in sicknesse, untill the dieng date of the prince: who then departed his life in this gentlemen arms. Somewhat before his death, the king gave the order of knighthood to this gentleman, for a memorie and a recompense of his good will and love: upon which date also he did the like unto sir William Cecil, now lord Burghlie and lord high treasurer of all England: by meanes of which their continued advancement, there entered a verie fervent affection and good will betwixen them, with a reciproque answering of benevolence each one to the other, untill their dieng dates. This noble gentleman for his forwardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the patron of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts which God had bestowed upon him everie waie. For concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and well compact, and well beset; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and

Sir Henrie
Sidrie the
king his com-
panion and
bedfellow.

The king be-
came in
his arms.

The king
doubtless
for
Henrie Sid-
rie and
William Cecil
were brought
up together.

Edm. Mol-
neux.

of so good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so vertuous and so goodlie, so discret and so sober, as he was another *Scriptor*: being but young in years, and old in behauiour, and finally so rare a man, as that age had not afforded manie better. This man for his excellent good gifts, he was made ambassado: into France, being but about one and twentie yeares of age; and twise in one yeare after that into Scotland: and by quene Marie joined in commission with others to attend king Philip his coming into England, for the marriage betwene their maiesties. And now in this hir maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassado: into France, to treat a peace or pacification betwene the prince of Condie and the duke of Guise.

In the beginning and about the second or third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, he was made knight of the garter, and lord president of Wales; and after one of hir maiesties most honorable priuie counsell. But before this, immediatlie upon his returne from out of Spaine, he accompanied the lord Thomas lord Fitzwaters his brother in law into Ireland: where he was made treasurer at the wars, one of the principall offices in the land: and in course of time & yeares for his excellencie in knowledge and experience in that land, he was made lord iustice foure times, and was lord deputie thre times. In which offices, how he did most honozable acquite himselfe, his acts doe declare, and the summarie recitall shall partly discover and set downe. He was no sooner placed in gouernement, but first and forthwith he laid downe his plot, whereupon he would ground & laie the foundation of his gouernement, and according to it would he frame and direct all his actions: which plot and deuise consisteth in these points; religion towards God, obedience to the prince, the peace of the people, and the well gouernement in all things concerning the commonwealth, either in causes ciuill or martiall.

Concerning religion, he was no more careful in his owne person, but the like also in his priuat familie, where he had daily exercises of prayers, both earlie and late, morning & evening, neither would he haue ante to serue him, who was not affected to religion, and of an honest conuersation. Atheists and papists he detested, dyonkards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide. And at his first being in authoritie in Ireland, & finding the whole land generallie (a few priuat places excepted) to be either of no religion, or of papistall religion; and being openlie by a preacher out of a pulpit aduertised, that in the remote places of that land, manie a soule was borne which neuer receiued baptisme, nor knewe anie chisening; great was his griefe, and much was he inquieted, untill he had found the rebelle thereof. Wherefore he aduertised hir maiestie, & most earnestlie sued & prayed for rebelle & reformation, which in the end was granted, & a commission sent to him for the same: which forthwith he committed to the archbishops & bishops to execute, with whom he joined, furthered and holpe them accordingly to the uttermost. But yet it toke not that good effect as he wished and willed it might. And as for ecclesiasticall livings which were of his gift and disposition, he would neuer bestow, but upon such, as of whome he conceiued a good opinion, both for his religion and honestie.

The prince, who was scarce knowne in manie places in that land, he brought both to knowledge and obedience. The wild he tamed, the froward he reformed, the disobedient he punished, the traitors he persecuted, the rebels he chastised, the proud he made to stoop, and that arrogant and most insolent Shane O'Neill, who could abide no equall, nor acknowledge

a superior, by adzought was brought to his deserved confusion: & whose head for a trophie, & for the example of Gods iustice laied upon him, was set upon a pole upon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Ulster, with all the mightie personages of the same, he brought to the quenes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he took and imprisoned, and his untamed springals he dzaine to submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The unconstant earle of Desmond and all his Giralduines and followers, and the proud and ingrateful earle of Clancar, and all the Irishie of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselves, and to craue pardon. The Caenaghys, the Odoles, the Obyrnes, the Odomores, the Omozes, and a rable of other like septs, together with Korie Og, Theon Mac Iew, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare loialtie and subiection. Lastlie, the malecontents against hir maiesties prerogatiue for the cesse in the end cried *Pecass*, and conformed themselves in all dutifullnesse. And when he had travelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, unlesse they by some other means might be kept vnder gouernement: he by pitie perswasions, sound arguments, great reasons, and continuall lutes to hir maiestie and counsell, obtained to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces and sound, learned, and upright iust lawiers out of England to be sent over, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end hir maiestie most grationlie granted, and he most iustlie obtained.

In Aghoulter therefore first he placed a coronell to breake the ice; namelye sir Humfreie Gilbert, a valiant, a worthy, and a notable man, both for his martiall seruice, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthy gentleman sir John Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Dursie, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a verie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasurer at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Malbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and verie wise and of good knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie exactlie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he (I saie) was made coronell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their capitains, and how byrightlie they ministered law and iustice by the aduise of the counsellors in their seuerall prouinces, the records and registers of their doings doe at large witnesse and set forth. The like order he took also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are hir maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all suitors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of kinred, affinitie, and priuat affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest lutes to hir maiestie, procured them to be removed, and their romes to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, attorneie, and sollicitors. And further also, whereas there were manie good lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid by and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and by the unknowne to the most part of the whole land, and euery man ignorant

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned, The mightie earles in Aghoulter brought to submission.

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned, The mightie earles in Aghoulter brought to submission.

The rebels in Leinster tamed.

The malecontents against the cesse reformed.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert coronell in Aghoulter. Sir John Perot, Sir William Dursie lord presidents in Aghoulter.

Sir Edward Fitton and sir Nicholas Malbie gouernors in Connagh.

English lawes persons placed to be iustices in the courts.

The statutes to be reuewed and printed.

Sir Denrie Fitzwater lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Denrie Fitzwater lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Denrie Fitzwater lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Religion.

Shane O'Neill in Ireland.

Sir Denrie Fitzwater lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

noztant in the lawes of his owne native countre, he caused a through view, and a rebiew to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in use and execution: which being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

The records searched and set up in places convenient.

The castell chamber built kept.

Edm. Molinew.

The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires.

The castell of Dublin repaired.

The towne of Carigfergus fortified.

A gaole at Spolengar builded.

The towne of Athenrie repaired.

The bridge of Athlon newly builded.

And likewise for the records, which were heretofore kept, not fenced or defended from raine and foule weather, but laie all in a chaos and a confused heape, without any regard; he caused to be viewed and sorted, and then prepared more comes, presses, and places for the keeping of them in safetie, and did appoint a speciall officer with a yearelie fee for the keeping of them: and for all such matters as were to be heard and determined in the castell chamber, before the lords, as it is in the starchamber in England; he would be for the most part present at euerie court, and alwaies would haue the assistants and persons of his maiesties learned counsellors. Nevertheless, he himselfe had a marvellous head to conceiue, a deepe iudgement to vnderstand, and a most eloquent tongue to utter whatsoever was requisite to be spoken, either in that place, or in any other assemble; which he would deliuer in such an eloquent phrase, and so pleasantlie it would flow from him, with such pithie reasons, sound arguments, and effectuall discourses, as that the lesse learned he was, the more strange it was that such great good things could come out of his mouth. And such was his amiable countenance, his comelie behauior, his commendable personage, that he would and did conquer their hearts, and gaine the loue of euerie man; and the people of all sorts would and did fall in loue with him for his vprightnesse, indifferencie, and iustice, in determining of euerie mans cause. And he knowing the nature and disposition of that people, who could not abide any long sutes in law, he was so affable and courteous, that euerie sutor should haue access vnto him, and forthwith he would heare his cause, and with such expedition would cause the same to be determined, that he purchased to himselfe the vniuersall loue of all the Irish; who thought themselves the more happy, if their causes might be once brought to his hearing, & the more willing to leaue their Irish law, & to embrace the course of the English lawes. Whereupon he deuised, and consequently with great policie and wisdom executed the diuision and distribution of the wild, sauage, and Irish grounds into shire grounds and counties, appointing in euerie of them shiriffes, constables, and all such kind of officers as are used to be in all other counties: by which meanes his maiesties writ had passage amongst them, and they brought to the order of the English lawes & gouernement, which neuer before was heard or knowne among them.

When he had done all such things as are before recited, for and concerning the due course of gouernment by order of law: then also he bethought himselfe vpon such other things as were necessarie in sundrie respects to be done, as the castell and house of Dublin, which before his comming was ruinous, foule, filthy, and greatlie decayed. This he repaired, and reedified, and made a verie faire house for the lord deputie or the chiefe gouernor to reside & dwell in. The towne of Carigfergus, being open to the northerne rebelles, he began to inclose with a wall and to fortifie, which for shortnesse of time he could not finish. A gaole at Spolengar he builded, a verie necessarie thing in those parties, for restraining and safe keeping of malefactors. The towne of Athenrie in Connagh he caused to be reedified, & the faire bridge of Athlon vpon the deepe and great riuer of the Shenin he builded with masonrie and free stone, and raised by the walles & battlements verie faire.

By building of which bridge a passage (neuer before had) was made open & free betwene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, appalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had done. Sundrie like common workes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his foresaid doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to his maiestie. And for easing thereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also promised and deuised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and his highnesse be relieved of the great and intollerable charges which the daillie was at in that land, he did by good means enlarge and increase his revenues and yearelie receipts to about eleuen thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he haue done, if he had staied there but a short time longer than he did.

Thus much brieflie of his generall actions, and concerning his priuat dealings and conuersation. He was godlie disposed, & a zealous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent speeches, such pithie sentences, such perswasorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor attaine vnto. He had some sight in god letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, seldom or neuer in any discompered or extraordinary choler, vpright in iustice, free from corruption, and liberall to euerie deserving person, a bounteous housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a louer of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, whom he would honor & esteeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most loving maister to all such as serued him, whom he loved full dearelie. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not do any thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were pryncie to all or most part of his actions; sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawier, and yet not ignozant in any thing pertaining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a deepe iudgement and experience in all matters of policies. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Mens fidelis Lucas*; and the other *Mens fidus Achates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinit respects, as partly by the course of this historie it doth appeare, he hath deserued most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for euer amongst them: yet most vnnaturalie and vngratefullie they haue requited and recompensed him. Not much unlike the viper, who when he hath done the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturall historie saie) it is done by the mouth, the immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroyeth him; and likewise the yong, conceived with the death of their sire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and ready now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most vnnaturalie do gnaw out his wombe and bellie to his confusion; and so they are conceived with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This vngratefull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the daillie purchasing of their wealth, preservation, and safetie,

The quene great charges to be relieved.

His maiesties revenues increased.

The good vertues and disposition of his maiestie. Religious, eloquent.

Temperat. Liberal. A housekeeper.

See more of this sir Lucas Dillon knight, the English chymicist, in Dom. 1586, noted by Edm. Molinew.

The ingratitude of the Irish.

The naturall viper.

When was a
parliament.

Corrupt
page.

Corrupt
and ingrati-
tude nature of
the Irish-
men.

Corrupt de-
bate upon all
parliament
in Ireland.

safetie, could ne would be ever thankfull. As besides
manie examples it appeared at the parlement hol-
den in the eleventh yeare of hir maiesties reigne,
where when lawes were to be established for their be-
nefit, and the abolishing of certeine wicked and
lewd vsages, which were among the Irishie, they
not onelie did impugne and resist that assemble, as
much as in them laie: but recompensed the good
things (for their benefitts established) with open war
and rebellion against hir maiestie. Also, when a rea-
sonable and a vsed cesse was to be set and leuied for
the benefit of the inhabitants and dwellers in the
English pale; and for the repress of their enemies
which thirsted after their confusion: they immediatly
repine and do resist the same. For this is their cor-
rupt nature, that if he did at anie time pursue the e-
nemie for their peace and quietnesse, and did aduen-
ture neuer so great dangers for them, were his suc-
cesse neuer so good, yet would they enuie at him. If
he by the aduise of the counsell did determine anie
thing for their behowe, yet would they mislike it. If
anie thing well meant had euill successe, they would
like it; and vpon neuer so little occasion offered they
would make their complaints, libels should easlie
be exhibited, and accusations be deuised, with open
mouths they would exclaime, and nothing would
they leaue vndone which might turne to his discredit
and impediment of his gouernement. But truth the
daughter of time, which in the end was manifested;
and when he had yelded before hir highnesse and
counsell a true and a perfect account of all his do-
ings, and had trulie manifested the course of his go-
uernement, then their glittering gold was found to
be worse than copper, not abiding the hammar: he ac-
cording to his desert receiued thanks, and they re-
proch and ignominie. Wherefore great god cause
had he to be glad and ioyfull, that he was to be deli-
uered from so ingrattull a people and vnthankfull a
nation. But shall a man saie the truth? It is a fa-
tall and an inescapable destinie incident to that nati-
on, that they cannot bryoke anie English gouernor;
for he neuer so iust, vpright, & carefull for their be-
nefit, they care not for it: let him be neuer so bene-
ficiall to their commonwealth, they account not of
it; let him be neuer so circumspect in his gouerne-
ment and aduised in his doings, they will discredit
and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then
like a sort of nettles they will sting him; if he be se-
uer, they will curse him; and let him do the best he
can, he shall neuer auoid nor escape their malice and
spite.

This noble and worthy man, who aboue all o-
thers had best triall thereof, thought himselfe most
happy when he was deliuered from them, and gone
out of their Egypt, and now returned to his owne
native countrie of Chanaan, who therefore some-
times attended the court, and serued hir maiestie as
a most faithfull graue, and wise counsellor: some-
times he followed his charge and calling of president
in Wales, which office he did most honorablie vse
and discharge. In the end, when Lachesis had spun
out the thread of his life, and Atropos readie to ere-
cute hir office, he fell sicke at Worcester: and fea-
ling a decate of nature, and that he did easlie war-
weaker and weaker, he yelded and humbled him-
selfe to die; and holding by his hands, and lifting
vp his eyes, he continued in most hartie and inces-
sant praises vnto God, craving with a most penitent
hart, pardon for his sins, and commending his soule
into the hands and mercie of God, thorough the
blood of Iesus Christ. And when his hands gaue o-
uer, his tong ceased, and his sight failed, he yelded
vp his spirit, and departed this life in a most goodlie
and christian manner the fift daie of Maie, one thou-

sand five hundred eightie and six. His bodie was in-
bowelled, and his entrails were buried in the Deans
chappell of the cathedrall church in Worcester: his
hart was carried to Ladbroke, & there intombed in the
tome that his welbeloued daughter Ambrosia was
buried, which he had builded in the collegiat church of
the same towne; wherein he had erected a certeine mo-
nument for a perpetuall remembrance to that towne
& to Wickenhill, to which he was verie much affected,
& made his most abode during the time of his presi-
dencie. And from thence his bodie by easie iournies
was verie honorablie caried to his house of Pen-
hurst in Kent, & in his parish church there he was in-
terred in all honorable maner, as to his estate did a-
gree vpon the one and twentieth of June, in the yeare
one thousand five hundred eightie and six, he being
then about the age of seauen and fiftie yeares. And
thus this noble and worthy knight, who had spent
the whole course of his life in the dutifull seruice of
his prince, and to the great benefit of the common-
wealth, is now deliuered vnto the eneralsting ser-
uice of the eternall God, in whose celestiall heauens
he resteth in blisse and ioy with the foure and twentie
elders, who there are now beholding the face of God,
and praising his holie name for euer.

But to returne to the lord iustice, who being en-
tered into the gouernement, and finding it in some
quiet state, did by the aduise of the counsell follow
that course as neere as he could, as which was left
vnto him; and by that meanes kept the whole land
verie quiet and in peace. For almost a yeare after his
entrie into that office and gouernement, vntill that
Romish cockatrice, which a long time had set abrood
vpon hir eggs, had now hatched hir chickens; which be-
ing benemous as were their fire, raised, wrought,
and bred great treasons, open warres, and hostilitie
through out that land. For James Fitzmoris a Ci-
raldine & consine germane to the earle of Desmond,
who not manie yeares before had bene an archtra-
itor, and a principall captaine of the warres and re-
bellion in Spounser; and wherein he was then so fo-
lowed at inches and pursued by sir John Perot, then
lord president of Spounser; that after manie and
furdzie conflicts, he was in the end compelled and
inforced to yeld and submit himselfe, and to craue
hir maiesties gracions pardon: insomuch that he
came in simplie into the towne of Kilmallocke, and
there in the church before all the people did humble
and prostrate himselfe before the said lord president,
and asked pardon, swearing and promising then all
dutifullnesse, truth, & obedience for euer to hir high-
nesse, and to the crowne of England.

Then this perturbed cattife, who for his treasons
and great outrages, villanies, and bloodsheds, had
deserued a thousand deaths, and yet in hope of a
mendment hir maiestie gaue him his pardon, and
sent it vnto him by hir seruant Francis Agard es-
quier: euen this man (I saie) most traitorouslie fled
into France, and there comming into the kings pre-
sence, did offer to deliuer into his hands the whole
realme and land of Ireland, if that his maiestie
would giue him aid, and furnish him with men and
monie, and such furniture as he should haue need of
in such an action. The king at the first gaue him good
countenance, great rewards, & liberall intertaine-
ment, and accepted his offer: but when he had well
considered the matter, and had further looked into
the same, he changed his mind. James Fitzmoris,
who had staid there in the French court about two
yeares, and saw nothing go forward, & the French
king waxed cold; who in the end gaue him no other
answer, but that he would commend him by his let-
ters to his sister the queene of England, for obtai-
ning of a pardon for him, and for hir good counte-
nance

Edm. Ma-
lineux.

Sir William
Dunne the
lord iustice fol-
loweth the
course of his
predecessor to
rule in peace.

James Fitz-
moris an
archtraitor.

James Fitz-
moris submit-
teth himselfe
and sweareth
obedience.

James Fitz-
moris hath
his pardon
sent vnto him.

James Fitz-
moris fleeth
into France
and offereth
the crowne of
Ireland to the
French king.

The French
king misli-
keth to deale
in Ireland
matters.

The Chronicles of Ireland.

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James Fitz-
mozis seeketh
to king Philip
and to the
pope.

James Fitz-
mozis his
promise to
king Philip
and the
pope.

The pope is
glad of
James Fitz-
mozis offer.

James Fitz-
mozis seeketh
with doctor
Sanders and
doctor Allen.

James Fitz-
mozis is fur-
nished with
ships and all
necessaries.

James Fitz-
mozis landeth
at Saint
Patrick weke
in Ireland
with foure
score Spa-
niards.

James Fitz-
mozis ships
are taken a-
way by one
Thomas
Courtenie a
gentleman of
Devon.

Sir James
and sir John
of Desmond
the earles
brethren come
to James
Fitzmozis.

nance towards him : he forsooke France , and made a iourne into Spaine unto king Philip. The king who had receiued the gift of Ireland of the pope by meanes of the bishop of Cashell , being not wil- ling to deale therein, without his assistance & aduise; James Fitzmozis made his iourneie from thence to the pope, unto whom he declared that he had bene with king Philip , as doth appeare by his letters of credit to his holiness; and that he would deliuer and cause to be deliuered the kingdome of Ireland by in- to their hands, and reduce the same againe to the ho- lie church of Rome , if he might haue men, monie, and such furniture of munitions, & other necessaries as should be requisit in that seruice. The pope was verie glad of this sute, and liked it verie well, and did accept this offer , as also gaue him good countenance and intertainment. And in the end vpon sundrie conferences betwene the pope and king Philip , it was agræd betwene them , that Fitzmozis should be furnished with men, monie, and all things necel- sarie for this seruice. James Fitzmozis during his being in Rome , he fell acquainted with doctor San- ders an English Jesuit , & doctor Allen an Irish Je- suit , and both traitors to his maiestie and crowne; and these two men being glad of such a sute , & they in great fauor with the pope , folowed the sute verie earnestlie , and promised to follow it to the vttermost in their owne persons.

Now when all things were concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, doctor Sanders, doctor Al- len, and James Fitzmozis made their last repaire to the pope , who forthwith made Sanders his legat, & gaue him the holie ghost , with authoritie to blesse and curse at his will and pleasure ; and to him and the others he gaue then also his blessing : and the re- with his letters of commendation to king Philip, who according to the conclusion made betwene them both , he was furnished with all things meet and necessarie for them. Whereupon when time ser- ued they imbarked themselves , and their companie in three ships well appointed for the purpose , and ar- rived at Smereweke, alias saint Patrick weke, in the beginning of Iulie 1579, nere the Dingle a cuth in Kerrie in Ireland: where he landed, and all his com- panie, being about the number of foure score Spa- niards, besides a few Englishmen and Irishmen, and there builded a fort in the west side of the bate for their safetie : and drew their ships close vnder the said fort.

The two doctors, when they had halloved the place after their popish maner, promising all safeties, and that no enimie should dare to come vpon them, and trouble them: neuertheless they were beguiled. For at that instant, there was in Kensale a Devonshire gentleman and a man of warre, named Thomas Courtenie, and he hearing of the landing of this James Fitzmozis, and of the popes traitorous le- gats, was contented, and by the perswasion of Hen- rie Dauels , being then in those parts ; and hauing a good wind , did come about and doubled the point, came into the bate of Saint Patrick weke or Smer- weke; and finding the three ships of James Fitzmo- ris at anchoz , was so bold in the waite of good speed to take them. And after that he had staied there a while in that seruice, he toke them all along with him : whereby James Fitzmozis and his companie lost a peece of the popes blessing , for they were alto- gether destituted of anie ship, to ease and relæue themselves by the seas, what need sooner should hap- pen. As soon as they were thus landed, newes was sent and carried abroad forthwith to James & John brethren to the earle of Desmond, and so consequen- tie to the whole countrie. These two brethren, who had long looked for the arrivall of this their cousin,

and archtraitor, assembled all their tenants, selev- ers, and friends; and out of hand made their present repaire unto him: whose commings and companie he accepted verie thankfullie , sauing that he had not a thorough and a full liking of his cousin Sir John of Desmond. Which when sir John perceived, he desired how he would saue that soze, as most wis- kedlie afterwards he did.

The earle of Desmond at this time was in reced- fieng of a castell , which he had in the confines of 10 Benne Agonesis countrie, who as soon as he heard of the arrivall of his cousin James Fitzmozis , he forthwith did discharge and dismishe his whole com- panie of workemen and labourers, pretending in outward shew what he neuer meant, that he was to visit and see his cousin and all his compa- nie, and forthwith maketh his repaire into Kerrie, and there assembleth all his followers and force, as though he would do great things and worke mira- 20 cles. And forthwith likewise he sent his letters to Spac Artie Moore earle of Clancar, & willett him in all hast to assemble all the force he could make, and to make his speedie repaire to him, for vanquishing (if they could) of the enimies now landed at S. Pa- trie weke. The earle of Desmond in the meane time had receiued a peece of the popes blessing, and his heat was abated. But the erle of Clancar returned his answer, that he would come unto him with all speed, and lie in campe with him where he would, as nere to the Dingle as he might : and accordingly he came to the place appointed. Which Desmond se- 30 med to like well though it were against the sple- neutertheless when he saw the forwardnes of Clancar, albeit he would not, nor yet well could in open termes fall out with him, yet he denieth matters whereupon he might haue some occasion to dislike with him, & to make him wearie of his companie. Which when Clancar perceived, and saw the unwill- ingnesse of Desmond to do anie seruice against the rebels, but rather inclined towards them, he toke the best oportunitie he could , and departed awaie from him, and dismissh his companie.

The lord iustice, who was at Dublin, as soon as 40 he was aduertised of James Fitzmozis landing, he maketh all the preparation he can, & marcheth with all the quenes force towards Spouster, dispatch- ing also a messenger to his maiestie of these toward- broiles and rebellion. But before he could prepare all things , as to such a great action did appertene , he sent Henrie Dauels an English gentleman before him, that he being verie well acquainted with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, should practise with them to prepare themselves to be in a readi- nesse to assist his lordship, for the resisting against those enimies. Who being accompanied with one Arthur Carter prouost marshall of Spouster, made his speedie repaire to the earle of Desmond & his bre- 50 thren being in Kerrie, and aduertised unto them the lord iustices pleasure, as also as much as in him late did persuade them to the like, who as then had all his force and soldiers about him. From thence he departed to the fort, whereof when he had taken the view, & saw the force as yet not so great but might be easilie as yet ouerthrowne; he returned backe to the earle, and gaue him aduise to draw all his force and companie towards the fort, persuading him to assaile it while it was but weake, of small force, and easie to be taken, and that in so doing it should be greatlie to his honor. But the earle being not of so good a mind, or bent to do so good a peece of seruice, answered; that he would not aduenture to take so great an enterprize in hand with so small a compa- nie as he then had. When Dauels went to sir James and to sir John of Desmonds the earles brethren, and

The erle be-
ing of the
land of
James Fitz-
mozis great
over his sub-
dings.

The erle of
Desmond
pretending
some seruice
against the
rebels, sendeth
to the earle of
Clancar to
come with
him.

The erle of
Clancar re-
turneth the
earle of De-
mond.

Desmond
with not
Clancars
readinesse.

Clancar de-
parteth from
Desmond.

The lord iu-
stice prepar-
eth to march
against
Spouster.

Henrie Da-
uels sent to
the earle of
Desmond.

Henrie Da-
uels persua-
deth Des-
mond to come
against the
rebels.

Desmond
reluctantly
gives the com-
mand to James
Fitzmozis.

and perswaded them to aduise their brother the earle, either to do that seruice which would be to his great honour and commendation, or else that they would take it in hand; which if they would also refuse it, that then the earle would spare to him a companie of his Gallowglasses, and about thre score of his shot, and he would ioine with capitaine Courtneie who laie then within the baie with his mariners, & he would giue the assault by land, and the other should do the like by sea.

But the earle, being moued herof, would not yeeld to this motion, but answered that his shot was more meet to shot at foule than fit to aduenture such a peece of seruice, and his Gallowglasses were good men to incounter with Gallowglasses, and not to answer old souldiers. Whereupon when he saw the bent and disposition of the earle, that he minded not to annoie, but rather to ioine, aid, and helpe the traitors: he together with the prouost marshall toke their leaue of the earle, and minded to returne backe vnto the lord iustice, to giue his lordship to vnderstand how all things stood, & what successe he had had in his message. And by the waie they laie that night at Traleigh, which is about fīue miles from cassell spaine, and laie that night in one Kices house, who kept a bittelling house and a wine tauerne, the house being both strong and defensible, but so little that their companies and seruants were dispersed, and laie abroad in other places where they might haue lodging. But sir John of Desmond, whose hart was imbued with a bloudie intent, followed him, but somewhat late, and came to the towne of Traleigh, and immediatlie set spies vpon Dauels, as also had corrupted the man of the house which kept the gate, that he should leaue the doores open. Henrie Dauels mistrusting no hurt, and least doubting of that tragedie which was so nere at hand, especiallie to be done by him, whom of all the men borne in that land he least doubted, & best trusted, gat him to his bed; & Arthur Carter the prouost marshall with him. Now about the dead of the night, when they were in their deepe sleepes, sir John according to his wicked deuise came to the house, the cassell doore being left open for the purpose, with all his companie, euerie one being armed and their swords drawne, and went forthwith vpon into the chamber where Dauels & his companie were in their beds fast asleep, but with the noise they were suddenlie awaken. When Dauels saw sir John of Desmond armed and his sword drawne, he was somewhat astonied at that sight, and rising vp in his bed said vnto him (as he was ever wont to saie verie familiarlie) What sonnel! what is the matter? But he answered him: I do moore sonne, noz no moore father, but make thy selfe readie, for die thou shalt. And forthwith he & his companie strake at him & his companion, both naked in their shirts, and most cruellie murdered them both. Then they searched the whole house & spared none, but put all to the sword, sauīng a boie named Smolkin, who laie in the chamber, and had bene a continuall messenger betwene Dauels and this John Desmond. This boie seeing his master to be thus murdered ran vpon John of Desmond, and held him by the armes as well as he could, crieng: What wilt thou kill my master? But he answered; Go thy waies Smolkin, thou shalt haue no harme. But the boie seeing blowes still to be giuen, cast himselfe downe vpon his master, crieng: If thou wilt kill him, then kill me also. And so saued him as well, and so long as he could. But it auailed not, for aaine and most cruellie he was there murdered.

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, borne in Devon, and descended of a verie ancient and a wealthy shipfull house, and being but a yonger brother, and

having but a verie small portion left vnto him, when he came to some yeares and knowledge, he gaue himselfe to serue in the warres. And king Henrie the eight, hauing then warres against the French king, he entred into France to seeke his aduenture; and there he had verie good intertainment, and proued to be a verie good souldiour. After whose warres he serued in Scotland, and was in garrison at Barwikke: and from thence he was remoued into Ireland, where he serued vnder sir Nicholas Herne knight constable of Leighlin, and senehall of Waterford; and so well he behaued himselfe there, that he was commended for his good seruice towards the prince, well beloued of his countriemen, and in maruelous fauour of the Irish people; for no seruice was too hard for him in the kings causes: and so well he was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better knew and had the skill to serue than he could there. As for his countriemen, he was so dāre and louing towards them, as he was more like a father than a frēnd, and more like a frēnd than an vnacquainted countrieman: for he was an host and a harborer to euerie one of them, of what estate and condition so euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentleman or a begger, he was frēndlie to euerie one; and no man did or could lacke that intertainment, that he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and afford: which a number of Englishmen tried and found to their great comfort, and to his euermore fame.

And as for the Irishmen, the longer he liued the better beloued among them: for as he would not inturie them, no moore would he suffer them to be oppressed or injured: a great housekeeper amongst them, which they maruelouslie esteemed. When he was in office among them, he was upright and iudged righteously; if out of office, louing & frēndlie to euerie man, and by that means so well (as no man better) beloued and trusted. For what he had once said and promised, that would he surelie keepe and performe, and thereof it came into a bie-word in the countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of them had spoken the word, which was assuredlie looked to be performed, they would saie: Dauels hath said it: as who saith, it shall be performed. For the nature of the Irishman is, that albeit he keepeth faith for the most part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was so carefull of his word, that if he once promised, he would not breake it for anie mans pleasure; and by that means he was so well beloued, that his verie hoyschoies had free passage euen through the enemies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And that which is moore, as the writer hereof speaketh vpon knowledge, that if anie Englishman had anie occasion to trauell in that countrie throughout Leinster or Mounster, if he had but a hoyschoie of his, he should not onelie passe frēlie thorough the countries without impeachment, but should haue also verie good and frēndlie intertainment. Among the noblemen he was greatlie esteemed, and was in great fauour with the earles of Dymond and Desmond: who although they were for the most part at farres and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was in such fauour, as he could and did passe to and fro in the greatest matters of importance betwene them: wherein he bare so indifferent a hand, as both parties embraced him for his vprightnesse and indifferencie. The earle of Dymond himselfe loued him so well, as no Englishman better; and all his brethren found such a frēnd of him, and such intertainment with him and especiallie sir Edmund Butler, that at all needs and in all distresses they were sure to haue him to their frēnd; and manie times it stood them

The loue of Dauels to his countrie men.

The credit of Dauels word.

them in god freed.

Henrie Da-
uels alwaies
a fast friend
to sir John of
Desmond.

And as for the earle of Desmond, though he were a verie vncertaine and a mutable man, yet Henrie Dauels could preuaile with him; and were his furte neuer so hot, and he neuer so haffie, yet could he appeale and quiet him. And as for sir John of Desmond the earles brother, such was his profession and outward affection towards him, of a most firme friendship; that it was thought to be impossible, that the loue and goodwill betwene them could by any means be dissolved. For in what distresse so euer sir John of Desmond was (as he was in manie) Henrie Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at sundrie times redeemed him out of prison, yea out of the castle of Dublin, when he was committed for capital crimes, and became suretie for him in great sums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie for him; Dauels purste was at his commandement, his house at his deuotion, and what he had at his disposition. And so farre this god will grew betwene them, that John of Desmond, as one knowledging himselfe most bounden to him, did call him father; euen as the other called him sonne. And now see, when treason and treacherie was entred into him, how contrarie to all faith, friendship, and humanitie, the sonne most unnaturalie bereft the father of his life, and most cruellie murdered him. Who worth to so wicked a villaine, that so bereft the prince of so faithfull a subiect, the gouernours of so trustie a serant, the commonwealth of so good a member, of a man most dutifull to his superiours, bright in iustice, trustie in seruice, expert in the warres, faithfull to his friend, louing to his countrie, fauoured of all men, hurtfull to no man, of great hospitalitie to all good men, good to all men, a father vnto the distressed, and a succourer of the oppressed; finally such a rare man of his degree and calling, as few like haue bene found in that land; and yet against all pittie and mercie, most cruellie murdered by a traitor to God and his prince, euen to the greife of the traitors of his owne blood. But here it falleth out that is of old said; Saue a murderer or a theefe from the gallowes, and he shall be the first that shall cut thy throte.

The brags of
John Des-
mond for kil-
ling of Da-
uels.

His cruellie
mistake.

The popes
doctors doe
allow and
commend the
murder.

When this bloudie murderer had executed this cruellie vpon his god friend, he forthwith made his repaire to James Fitzmozis, and to his doctors and companie in great bzauerie, recompting vnto them what a noble act and a valiant seruice he had done in murdering of an honest, faithfull, & friendlie gentle man, saying; I haue now killed an English churle (for so maliciouslie the Irishmen terme all English men) & said to his counsail James; Now thou maist be assured of me and trust me, for now that I haue begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now stand to the matter with thee to my bittermost. James Fitzmozis when he had heard him at full, although both he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the Spaniards did reioice and were glad of his death, yet James did blame and abhorre the manner of his death, blaming and reprobating him verie much, that he should murder him in his bed, being naked and scarce awaked out of his sleps, which he said was too cruell, because he might otherwise haue had advantage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwise to his commendation. Howbeit, doctor Sanders terming his bloudie murder to be a sweet sacrifice before God did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie remission of all his finnes. The earle himselfe likewise, when he heard hereof, he was maruelouslie grieved and offended with his brother, and gaue him such sharpe speeches and reproches, as it was thought they would not so sone haue bene friends againe; but wicked doings amongst the wicked establish

and confirme them in their wickednesse. At this present time, there was with the earle (as verie often he had bene) one Appelleire an English captive, who could doe verie much with him, and vpon the hearing of the death of his god friend Henrie Dauels, he began to doubt and mistrust of himselfe and of his owne assurance. Wherefore he goeth to the earle, and dissembling his grieffe, perswadeth him to draw his companie together, and to remove from thence to his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike, and there to abide the coming of the lord iustice, and to iointe with him in this seruice against the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing lesse than so to serue, dissembled the matter, and followed this counsell, and removed from thence to Asketten, where he laie close and did nothing, but still seemed in speeches and outward shewes to mislike with James Fitzmozis and all his companie; and yet baile his best followers and soldiers flocked and repaired to James Fitzmozis, manie of them for zeale to the popish religion, wherein they were as deuout as the popes legates and the Spaniards: but manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for feare and avoiding of his displeasure. The Spaniards, who had continued there in the fort and elsewhere, and not finding the repaire of the souldiers, nor yet any other thing answerable to that seruice as it was promised them, began to mislike it; and disliking of any god successe, did repent and were faine, wishing themselves at home againe: but such was their case, that they could not shift for themselves to escape neither by sea nor by land; and therefore necessitie so compelling, they resolved themselves to abide the hazard.

James Fitzmozis, perceining their discontented minds, had conference with them, & perswaded them to be of a god comfort, for they should verie shortly haue a greater supplie and companie which he daile looked for, and all things should be had according to their owne minds: aduertising them that in the meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of three or foure daies iournie from thence, called the holie rood or croffe in Tipozarie, and there to performe a vow which he had before made when he was in Spaine, paying their patience. But in verie truth his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into Ulster, and in both his waies, his nerrest waie was through Tipozarie, and there to focke and draw vnto him all and so manie of the rebels as he could wage to iointe with him, whereof he made no doubt, but assured himselfe to find as manie ready to go as he willing to haue. And so taking his iournie with three or foure horsemen, and a dozen haernes, he passed through the countie of Limerike, & came into the countie of sir William Burke his verie nere counsail and kinsman, and who before in the last rebellion did iointe with him, to the great danger of his life and losse of all his goods.

And when he came so farre in his iournie, being now about three score miles from S. Marie wheke, his carriage horses (which they terme garons) were so faint, and could not trauell any further: wherefore he commanded some of his men to go before, & looke what garons they first found in the fields, they should take them and bring them vnto him. And as it fell out they espied a plow of garons plowing in the field, which they forthwith tooke perforce from the poore husband men two of them, and caried them away. Wherevpon according to the custome of the countie, the hobub or the hue and crie was raised. Some of the people followed the track, & some went to their lords house, which was sir William Burke being nere at hand to aduertise the matter, who having three or foure of his sonnes and twelve tall gentlemen

The earle of
Desmond re-
turneth to
Asketten.

The earle
chick men
turne to the
enimie.

The Span-
iards haue
not their
coming.

James Fitz-
mozis percei-
ueth the Span-
iards to pe-
nitence.

James Fitz-
mozis percei-
ueth a pish
mage.

James Fitz-
mozis dislik-
eth garons.

The rebels
follow the
pursue.

them in at home with him, they take their horses
and a few harnes and two shot with them, and fol-
lowed the tract, and overtook them at a fallens fast
by the woods side, where they found James Fitzmo-
ris, whom before they knew not to be come into
those parties, to make head to answer them. But
when he saw that it was his cousin Theobald
Burke and his brother and his companie, who had
borne his companie in the late rebellion when
sir John Perot was lord president of Mounster, he
spoke over unto them, and said; Cousine Theobald,
who was the eldest son to his father, two carriage
horses shall be no breach betwene us two; and I
hope that you which do know the cause that I haue
now in hand, you will take my part therein, and do
as I and others will do: and so continuing some
speeches, did what he could to draw him and all his
companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he
answered that he and his father had already dealt
to much that waie with him, and that he will neuer
do the like againe: for his father, he, and all his bre-
thren, had sworn to be true, obedient, and faithfull to
the quenes maiestie, and which oth they would ne-
uer breake: cursing the date and time that ever they
joined with him in so bad a cause against hir maie-
stie, and the refore required to haue his garrons a-
gain, or else he would come by them aswell as he
could.

James Fitzmorris standing upon his reputation,
thought it too much dishonorable unto him to depart
with that which he had in hand; and therefore bitterlie
denied the deliuerie, and thereupon each partie set
spurre to the horses and encountered the one the o-
ther. The skirmish was verie hot and cruell, and
Theobald Burke & one of his yonger brethren were
slaine, & some of their men: James Fitzmorris like-
wise and his companie had the like successe, for he
himselfe was first hurt and wounded, and then
with a shot stricken thorough the head, and so was
slaine, with sundrie of his companions: wherein he
found that the popes blessings and warrant, his
Agnus Dei; and his graines had not those vertues to
saue him, as an Irish staffe or a bullet had to kill
him. Thus was hir highnesse most happy, and that
whole land most happiest, that they were deliuered
from so wicked and bloudie a traitour, and that the
great & venemous hydra was thus shortened of one
of his heads. For otherwise it was to be doubted that
if he had liued, he would haue bin the cause of much
bloodshed, and all the rebels in that land would haue
joined with him. For he was of verie good credit &
estimation through the whole land, he was of a verie
good government, and of a great reach; but a deepe
dissembler, passing subtil, and able to compasse anie
matter which he took in hand, familiar to all men,
and verie courteous, valiant, and verie expert in
martiall affaires, but so addicted to poperie and that
baggage religion, that he became a most horrible
traitour to hir maiestie, and a mortall enimie to e-
uerie good man: and so far he was imbued herein,
that a man might saie that he was borne to the
same end, euen to be a traitor and a rebell to God,
to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

After that he was thus dead, and the same made
known to the lord iustice, he gaue order that he
should be hanged in the open market of Kilmal-
locke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to
be set upon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a
perpetuall memorie to his reproch for his treasons
and perjuries, contrarie to his solemne oth taken in
that error. Hie maiestie, when she was aduertised
of this peece of good seruice of sir William Burke
and the losse of his eldest sonne, she wrote hir letters
of the good acceptation of his seruice, comforted him

for the losse of his son, and in recompense did create
him baron of the castell of Connell by hir letters
patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentieth yeare
of hir reigne, & gaue him the yearelie pension of a
hundred marks, to be paid at hir maiesties exchequer
yearelie during his life, wherof he took so sudden ioy
that he swooned, and seemed to be dead.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmorris
was brought to the fort at S. Marie wake, great so-
row was amongst them all, they being all amazed
and wist not what to do, especiallie the Spaniards
who depart could not, and to submit themselves they
would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue o-
uer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which pur-
pose they would haue followed, if that sir John of
Desmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he
hauing imbued himselfe so vnnaturalie in blood,
and doubting the same would neuer be pardoned,
did follow the matter. The lord iustice (as is afore-
said) immediatlie upon the newes of the arrivall of
these Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Da-
uiels, made his preparation of all the forces which hir
maiestie had in that land, which was but foure hun-
dred footmen and two hundred horsemen, a verie
small companie for so great seruice towards: yet
considering that the victorie consisteth not in the
arme of man, nor in horse or mule, but onelie in the
good gift of God; he marcheth forth in his iourne,
hauing in his companie of Englishmen sir Nicho-
las Bagnoll knight marshall, sir Nicholas Malbie
colonell of Connagh, Jaques Willingfield master of
the ordnance, and Edward Waterhouse one of hir
maiesties seruants, Edward Fitton, Thomas Ma-
sterfon, and others. And of the Irish lords he was ac-
compained with the earle of Kildare, sir Lucas Wil-
lon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the ba-
ron of Upper Osserie, and the baron of Dunboine,
who had of themselves two hundred horsemen, be-
sides footmen and harnes: and so they marched for-
ward by iourneis untill they came to Kilmallocke,
where not farre from the towne they all incamped:
& then he sent from thence a messenger to the earle
of Desmond, and so likewise to all the principall
gentlemen of the best accompt in those parties, to
come vnto him.

The earle in outward apperance seemed verie
willing to come, but untill he had receiued some pro-
mise of fauour from the lord iustice, he still lingered
and trifled the time and came not. But in the end his
lordship being verie well accompanied with horse-
men and footmen, he went to the campe, and presen-
ted himselfe before the lord iustice, and made a shew
of all dutifolnesse, obedience, & fidelitie, where as in-
deed no such thing was ment. For though his bodie
were there, his mind was elsewhere; for whilst he
was in the campe, sundrie trecheries were practised
by him; yet they were not so secretlie done but they
came to light, & were discovered to the lord iustice.
Whereupon he was committed to the custodie of the
knight marshall. Whiles he was in his ward, and
feeling least some greater matters would be re-
uealed against him, he prayed access to the lord ius-
tice; and then he humbled himselfe verie much, and
promised and swore upon his honour & allegiance,
that he would faithfullie and to the uttermost of his
power serue hir highnesse against the rebels. Whose
humblenesse and promise the lord iustice by the ad-
uise of the counsell did accept, and so enlarged him:
which was in the end the bitter confusion of the earle
himselfe and all his familie, and in the meane time
great troubles, causes of much bloodshed, and vndo-
ing of all Mounster.

Whiles the lord iustice laie thus in campe about
Kilmallocke, newes was brought vnto him, that sir
John

Sir William
Burke being
made a baron
for a short
time after died.

The Spaniards
were amazed
with the death
of Fitzmorris.

Sir John of
Desmond sup-
plied James
Fitzmorris
came.

Sir William
Dunrie lord
iustice ma-
de a iourne
into Moun-
ster.

The lord ius-
tice incam-
ped near to
Kilmallocke.

The earle of
Desmond com-
meth to the
lord iustice to
the campe.

The earle of
Desmond is
committed to
ward.

The earle of
Desmond
dath humble
himselfe and
swaich to
seruetraile.

John of Desmond
wound incam-
perth at Slew-
lougher.

John of Desmond was incamped with a great companie of the rebels upon the borders of Slew-
lougher. Whereupon his lordship remoued and
marched thither wards, the earle then promising that
he would in person encounter and fight hand to hand
with his brother. Now when they were come to the
place of seruice, the earle being best acquainted with
the countrie, gaue aduise to the lord iustice, that he
should diuise the armie into two parts, and the lord
iustice should take one waie, and he the earle would
take another waie: which aduise was followed. But
because that place of the present seruice is adjoining
to a great wood, and wherein were manie fastnesse,
the lord iustice did diuise the rest of his companie
into two other parts, and so euerie of these three com-
panies toke waie into the wood & serched it throug-
out, but there they found no bodie. For sir John had
some secret knowledge of the lord iustices comming,
and so was gone before.

The daie being spent to small purpose, & the night
drawne towards, he incamped that night in the
same places where the rebels had lien before, & there
he remained somewhat longer than he thought: be-
cause he would spend and wast the forrage of that
countrie, which was one of the chiefest places of re-
liefe that the enemies had. And from thence he went
backe againe towards Kilmallocke, where he in-
camped himselfe at a place called Wilbons towne,
which lieth in the plaines betwene Limerike and
Kilmallocke towards Cmelele and Harlo; & there
he continued about nine weekes in continuall tol-
ling and traueilling to and fro, in all such seruices as
was daile offered to be done upon the enemye, from
which he had no rest neither day nor night. Whereupon
for the better seruice he diuided his bands, and toke
out of the Irish companies one hundred, and deliue-
red them to the guiding of capteine John Herbert, a
man of verie good seruice, and one other hundred to
capteine Wille.

These two capteins had made spiall upon cer-
teine rebels, which shrowded themselves in the great
wood called the blacke wood, upon whom they made a
fallie, and did verie good seruice upon them. But as
they were to returne to the campe, which laie beside
Cefenbyr castell, the said John of Desmond, who
laie in ambush for them, met and encountered them,
where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two
capteins with the most part of their companie slaine:
& John of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the
nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men
was a great weakening to the lord iustice his armie;
his enemies being strong and manie: and his com-
panie weake and few, sauing at that instant the soul-
diers sent out of Deuon and Cornewall arrived at
Waterford to the number of six hundred men, un-
der the leading of capteine George Bouchier, cap-
teine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his
brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose comming at
so present a distresse was both toisall and also glad
some.

And nere about this time, it was aduertised un-
to the lord iustice, that John of Desmond was at
Connell, which was about sixtene miles from the
campe; and his lordship being well furnished & pre-
pared, and he minding to do some pece of seruice
upon him, made verie secretlie a iourneie thither:
but Desmond wanting not his good espials, had an
inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so shifted him-
selfe a waie, whereupon the lord iustice returned to
his campe. The queens maiestie and counsell, being
alwaies mindfull of hir Ireland, and by reason of the
newes that the enemies were daile stronger and
stronger, the sent over sir John Perot late president
of Spounster, with six ships well furnished and ap-
pointed, whereof he was admerall; and William
George master portier of the tower and a pensioner,
viceadmerall: and all these arrived unto the citie of
Cork. Whereof the lord iustice being aduertised,
was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred unto
sir William Stanleie, who before was capteine of
certeine hoordemen, and one other hundred he assign-
ed unto capteine Hind. And seeing now some good
seruice towards, and to incourage certeine gentle-
men to be the more willing to follow the same, called
before him George Bouchier, William Stanleie,
Peter Carew, and Edward Poze, and vnto
them verie good speeches, to incourage and persuade
them to do hir maiestie good seruice in these hir af-
faires, and in hope they would perforce the same, he
dubbed them knights: who accordingly did acquit
themselues, and some of them with the losse of their
liues ended their daies in this seruice.

And he further also for his owne part, the more he
bethought himselfe of the great seruice and charge
laid upon him, the more careful he was to do what
the same required: where, in his owne person he
so toiled and trauelled, and so overcame himselfe with
studieng, watching, labouring and traueilling, that
he ouerthrew his owne health, and was no longer
able to indure the same: but being overcome by
sicknesse, and giuen to yeeld thereunto, was deter-
mined to haue dissolved his campe, and so to haue re-
turned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time.

But the capteins seeing the necessitie of the present
seruice, persuaded him not to dissolve the armie, but
to take some order herein for his highnesse seruice,
and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health.
Upon whose aduises he prepared himselfe to trauell
towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the
seruice did commit the gouernment to sir Nicholas
Malbie, who was then gouernour by the name of co-
ronell of Connagh; and then by easie iourneies he
came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe eu-
rie daie more weaker than other, and in the end did
distrust his owne recouerie.

And yet mindfull of hir maiesties seruice, he to in-
courage other therein, sent & called before him Wil-
liam Pelham esquier, William George esquier vice-
admerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and
heire to sir John Perot, and Patrike Melly mai-
or of the citie of Waterford, and gaue vnto them the
order of knight hood, vnto the like persuasions as
heretofore he had done vnto others in the like case.
And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet
that was no sufficient physike to recouer his helth of
bodie, but that still decayed. And doubting verie much
of his reconerie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chan-
celloz, and to the ladie Thame his wife, for their spee-
die comming vnto him, who accordingly satisfied his
request. But he intoided their companie a verie short
time: for he died within two daies after their com-
ming, being the last of September 1579, and after
his death his bodie was caried vnto Dublin, where
it was buried.

But here by the waie (which should before haue
beene said) as he came towards Waterford through
Tipperarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him,
and brought with hir hir onelie sonne and heire to the
earle; and being a sutor in the behalfe of hir husband,
presented him to the lord iustice to be a pledge for the
truth and fidelitie of the earle hir husband. For after
the time that he was set at libertie in the campe
nere Kilmallocke, he neuer repaired any more to the
lord iustice, but stood upon his owne keeping; not
withstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie
and obedience, which he neuer meant. For in verie
truth he was (notwithstanding his dissimbling) a ve-
rie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie
shople

Sir John of
Desmond lieth
in an ambush
for the Eng-
lish capteins
and discomf-
teth them.

The Deuon-
shire souldiers
arrive at Wa-
terford.

Sir John
Perot sent to
serue on sea.

Knights be-
died in f. 62.

Sir William
George was
sicke & good
to warrant.

Sir Nicholas
Malbie
made gouern-
or of Spounster.

Knights be-
died at wa-
terford.

Sir William
George was
sicke & good
to warrant.

The countesse
of Desmond
griued her son
to be a pledge
for his father.

Hostie appeare, to his owne deserued confusion.

The counte-
nesse of the
hostie
appeare.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Spalbis, who im-
mediate vpon the departure of sir William Ma-
rie vnto Waterford, according to the office & charge
laid vpon him, he set in hand forthwith to follow and
performe the same. For he was able to do it being of
great experience in martiall affaires, hauing bene
seruitor that waie vnder sundrie kings, & in strange
nations; as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great
knowledge in matters of policie, hauing bene a stu-
dent in good letters, and a great traveller in sundrie
nations, and therein did obserue the maner of the se-
uerall governments in euerie such place as where he
travell'd. He had vnder him in the whole an hundred
and fiftie hostemen, and nine hundred footmen, to
command; and diuiding them according to the ser-
uice then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, cap-
taine Dolwall, and capitaine Senteleger, vnto Mil-
mallocke with three hundred footmen, and with fiftie
hostmen, there to lie in garrison, and a speciall place
met for the same, & which the enimie most speciallie
coured to possesse. But the more his care was that
waie, the like was their diligence, vigilance, & care
of the other waie to keepe the same. Then with the re-
sidue of the companie he marched himselfe to the ci-
tie of Limerike, where he staid and remained for a
time to refresh his souldiours.

The gouernor
wrote to the
earle of
Desmond.

The earle of
Desmond
wrote to the
gouernor.

The gouernor
wrote to the
earle of
Desmond.

During his abode and being there, it was thought
god by him and his capitaine, to send vnto the earle
of Desmond for his repaire vnto him, and to haue
conference with him, to vnderstand his bent and ad-
uise for his maiesties seruice against the enimies.
The earle hauing receiued the gouernours letters,
gaue verie good words, & promised much, but perfor-
med nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe
sent for from time to time, but he came not, but late
still at his house of Aiketken, which is about fourtene
miles from Limerike. For albeit as yet he was not
in anye aduall rebellion, yet it was not vnknowne
but that he was secretlie combined with his two bre-
thren, which as open traitors were in open rebellion
and in armes against his maiestie. Which the earle,
suspecting the same might be laid vnto his charge,
would not aduenture himselfe to come in person to
the gouernor; but still fed him with faire words and
frivolous answers. Wherefore the gouernor thought
god to spend no more time in vaine to loke for him,
but left Limerike, and went into the fields, where he
incamped himselfe, and so set forwards to doe some
seruice vpon the enimie, hauing then in his compa-
nie six hundred footmen vnder the ensignes of sir Wil-
liam Stanleie, capitaine George Carew, capitaine
Fisher, capitaine Furse, capitaine Piers, & capitaine
Hind; and he himselfe and capitaine Apelle referued
one hundred hostemen betwene them. Now being
aduertised that a great companie of the rebels were
incamped in Connello towards them. And being
come nere to an abbey or monasterie called Spona-
ster Deuagh, seven miles from Limerike, there
appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of
hostemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand
or thereabouts, marching in battell arae, and had
cast out their twings of shot, and placed euerie thing
verie well and orderlie.

The gouernor
wrote to the
earle of
Desmond.

When the gouernor perceiued and beheld this,
being verie glad that some pcece of seruice was to
wards, he likewise conferreth with his capitaine, and
by their aduises setteth his companie in like good or-
der, and brought them into a quazant proportion,
setting out his flankers in seuerall places according
to the seruices, & appointed verie good leaders for the
same: but his cariages he placed in the rereward,
with shot sufficient for their safeguard. Now when all

things were thus ordered, he marched forwards to
the enimies. John of Desmond, when he saw that he
must fight or die, and that brags would not breare
out the matter, by the counsell of doctor Allen, who
had the holie ghost at commandement, to giue them
the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displayed;
and then marching forwards in verie good order, he
tooke a plaine ditch in the open field: and minding to
abide the fight, disposeth his hostemen, footmen, Ca-
louglasses, and his shot for his best strength and ad-
uantage.

The popes
banner dis-
played.

The gouernor setteth on wards, & giueth the onset
vpon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the
first & second volles, & answered the fight verie well,
euen to the couching of the pikes, that the matter
stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fierce-
lie & desperatlie set vpon them afresh with the third
bolle, that they were discomfited and had the ouer-
throw giuen them, and fled. John of Desmond, as
a worthy Terres, who (as the historiographers write
of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat vpon
his horse all this while and gaue the looking: who
soeuer turned first, he was the first that was gone:
for he put spur to the horse & fled awaie as fast as he
could, thewing a faire paire of heeles, which was
better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight
were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one,
and three score others of good account. And in the
chase, there were slaine and hurt, which died hostie
after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen
was an Irish man borne, and the chiefest cause of
this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom
he knew to be verie skillfull, and also dreaming
the victorie by his incantments to be at his com-
mandement, incouraged John of Desmond for-
wards: and in the campe in the waie of god speed
would needs saie masse, and as the prophets of Baal
in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God Pa-
zim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come;
for his God was asleepe and could not heare. For-
withstanding, he stood so much vpon the credit of his
offerings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a vic-
torie, and that he himselfe would be the first that
should that daie giue the first blow; but whether he
so did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the
just reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and dis-
loyallie forsooke the dutie and allegiance, which by the
word of God he did owe vnto his highnesse, and de-
uoted himselfe a professed Zelnit to the Romish anti-
christ, and an open traitor vnto his lawfull prince.

The Irish
lost the field.

Doctor Allen
is slaine.

Doctor Allen
incouraged
the campe to
fight.

The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present
in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of
Lernew stood in the view & sight of it, vpon a little
hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thence:
but the whole companie were there, and had part of
the breakfast.

The earle of
Desmond
was in view
of the fight.

This baron of Lernew eldest sonne, named Pa-
trike, was seruant to his maiestie and his owne, and
serued in the court; but had leaue of his maiestie to
come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no
soner come, and entred into his fathers house and
home, but he forsooke his faith and oth to his high-
nesse, and became a wicked rebell, and most trai-
torouslie bare armes against his highnesse, and so continued a
rankie traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth
the nature of himselfe, and of the blood of that cursed
generation, among whome there is neither faith,
nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well re-
sembled to an ape, which (as the common proverbe
is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple
and beluet: euen so this wicked impe. For not-
withstanding he was trained vp in the court of
England, was a seruant vnto his maiestie, in good
fauour and countenance in the court, and apparel-
ed

The baron of
Lernew son,
seruant to the
quene and
his owne, be-
came a traitor
against his
highnesse.

No faith nor
regard of an
oth among the
Irish.

Jupiters cat.

led according to his degree, and daily nurtured and brought up in all civillite: he was no sooner come home, but alwaie with his English attires, and on with his brogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traistor as the veriest knave of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as daily experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Jupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well esteemed and honored: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the historie.

The earle of Desmonds dissembling, & his counsell.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernor incamped himselfe fast by the river side of the monastrie aforesaid, and there late that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: enen then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation unto the gouernor, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and toisfull of his god successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to his maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of his great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernor answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference together, and loine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraw himselfe and his companie from thence, vnlesse he could giue him a god reason, he would not yeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantise. And therefore he remained therewith in the same place thre or foure daies, expecting still the earles coming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that himselfe he became a rebell in open action, and in armes against the gouernor, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to vse delays and false speeches to gaine time to serue his turne, removed from thence to a towne of the earles named Kikell, and there incamped himselfe. They were no sooner settled, but the scoutmaster, hauing bene abroad, declareth to the gouernor that he had discovered a great companie of horsemen and footmen which were within a mitle of the campe, & therewith was the alarm made, & sundrie horsemen & foot according to the direction of the gouernor issued out, & met with the enemies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and toke some prisoners.

The earle of Desmond sheweth himselfe to be an open rebell.

The gouernor remoueth to Kikell.

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

The earle of Desmond secretlie in the night stealeth to the gouernors campe to intrap it.

A garison placed at Kikell.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had bene euer since the last ouerthrow of his brother John of Desmond; and likewise declareth the whole bent of the earle and his brother. This peece of seruice being done, and the night drawing nere, the watch was charged, and euerie man toke his rest. But the earle and his brother minding to do some mischief, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking aduantage of the time, when men were warie and in their sleepes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too short and missed of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernor considering the intent of the enemies was to do what they could to remoue him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enemies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enemies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water,

they had a continuall recourse to & fro that waie: he before his departure from thence did plant a place a ward in the castell adjoining to the bridge, which did from that time annoie the enemies verie much; and then from hence he marched towards the earles house of Asketten, and by the waie he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the river, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother John were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the river, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernor hoping of some god seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbies house of Asketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the captains what were best to be done, it was agreed and thought god, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to persuaade him to submission. The gouernor, who was a verie god secretarie, and could pen a letter verie excellentlie well, did draw a letter, vbing manie god words, termes, and reasons to persuaade him to conformance and obedience to his maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the utter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Roenius the great prince of South Wales by his mother Bessa, daughter vnto the said Roenius, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And herewith by the waie of a parenthesis, it doth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Geraldines came out of Italie; but perhaps out of Normandie: and the first of them placed in England had some intertinement and liuing at Winderes, and thereof was called Giraldus de Winderes: and he gaue not the armes of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepbow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancestors were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and persuaading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie: that he would reclaime himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancestors might not be buried in his treacheries and follies. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pithie, true, and effectuall reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue persuaaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Pharaos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yeld and relent: but leaning his former and wonted dissimulations, returned the messenger with a flat deniall that he will not yeld anie further obedience to his highnesse. And forthwith to confirme the same, he fortifieth his strongest and best houses and castles: as namelie Asketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castles of Carigofille and Strangecullie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernor, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordingly, newes was brought him that sir William Durtie lord iustice was dead, who deceased at Waterford vpon the third of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto his highnesse seruice.

This

The rebellion of the D. & M. in 1594.
 This sir William Durié was verie ballant, wise, and a gentleman of great experiance, descended of a verie ancient and a worshipfull house, being a younger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferior to his elder brother anie kind of waie in the gifts of wisdome, ballantnesse, knowledge, and experiance of matters politike or martiall. In his youth he was a page, and serued in the court; and as in yeares, so in knowledge of all courtlie seruices he did grow and increase, and became to be as gallant a courtier as none lightlie excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord Russell lord pynie seale, and after earle of Bedford, who gaue him good countenance and interteinment: for vnder him he serued in France at Puttrell and Bullongnons, and after the warres ended, he went to Calis, and oftentimes being there he issued out, and did manie good seruices about Cambraye and in Actois. And in the end about Bruxelles he was taken prisoner. Not long after he was redeemed and ransomed, and then he would needs serue at the seas, and hauing gotten a ship well appointed for the purpose, he aduentureth that seruice. The beginning of it was so hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall storme, and in great despaire for euer to recover: neuertheless, whom the sword could not make afraid, the seas could not dismaie; but was euer one and the same man, of a good mind and great courage: and the storme being past, he followed the seruice which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maritimall man, and verie expert in all seruices at the seas. When the time of this his seruice was expired, he returned into England; attending vpon the earle of Bedford, he accompanied him in the seruice against the rebels of Devon, at the commotion or rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first one thousand five hundred fortye and nine, and did there verie good seruice. After which in course of time, he went to serue at Berwick, where his valor and behauior was such, that he was made yponoff marshall vnder the earle of Sussex being lord lieutenant, and for his sundrie notable good seruices he rewarded him with the degree of knighthood.

The rebellion of the D. & M. in 1594.
 Not long after that, there was a pece of necessarie seruice to be done in Scotland by the said earle vpon the quenes commandement; but he was verie sicke, and at that time he could not performe the same: wherefore he deputed in his place this worshipfull knight, whom he then made generall of the armie: and with such forces as were thought meet he entred into the seruices appointed vnto him, being accompanied with the earle of Lennox, sir Thomas Spencers, sir George Carie, and sir Robert Constable, with sundrie other capitains, to the number of twelue hundred footmen. And his commission being to serue at Edenborough, which then by the reason of the diuision among the noblemen, about the murthering of the earle of Spurreie, he took, spoiled, and burned sundrie fortis and castels: and in the end besieged and took the towne and castell of Edenborough, and deliuered the same, according as he was commanded, to the vse of the king: and so he returned againe to his old charge, with great praise and commendation, as in the chronicles of England and Scotland is at large recorded.

The rebellion of the D. & M. in 1594.
 In verie short time after, hir maiestie hauing good experiance of the valor of this knight euerie waie, as well for his ballantnes in martiall affaires, as for his wisdome in ciuill gouernement, she calleth and betheth him from his office and charge at Berwick, and remoueth him into Ireland, there to be implomed in the office of a lord president, and assigneth vnto him the gouernement of the whole province of Mounster, where he shall haue sufficient

matter and occasion to vse both the sword & the law, iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued hir highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh his voiage & repaire into Ireland: & being now settled in his home and office by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, he acquainteth himselfe verie well euerie waie, being as seuer a iudge and earnest persecutor of the wicked and rebellious, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedient, to the great good liking of hir maiestie, the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the good, and the benefit of the commonwealth. After some time of his triall in this office, and sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie being reuoked into England, he who had serued well in part, is called now to serue in all: and from a particular president is called to be a generall gouernor: and is in place of the departed deputie made lord iustice. He was no sooner entred into the office, but forthwith the rebellion and warres of the Desmondis began in Mounster vnder James Fitzmoris, and the Italians latelie come from the pope, and vnder the earle of Desmond and his brethren, who had long breathed and looked for this time. For the pacifying, or rather subduing of this wicked rebellion, he took such continuall trauels and troubles, & so busied his bodie, that being not able to hold out any longer, he fell sicke & died (as is before said) in the citie of Waterford, and from thence his corps was remoued to Dublin, and there buried; his bodie resting in peace, his soule in euerlasting blisse, and his fame in this world for euer immortall.

The rebellion of the D. & M. in 1594.
 Sir Nicholas Halbie, who was chiefe gouernor of Mounster, now that his commission by the death of sir William Durié was expired and ended, gaue ouer to follow anie actual warres or ciuill administration in Mounster; but remoued himselfe and the whole campe vnto Lougher, and there dispersed them abode in towne and villages to lie in garrison, and vpon their owne gards, vntill it were knowne who should haue the sword, and be the principall officer. Amongest the capitains thus dispersed into seuerall places, sir William Stanleie, and capitaine George Carew were assigned to lie at Adare. The traitors & rebels, hearing of the death of the worshipfull knight, of whose prouesse and ballantnesse by the sword, & of whose wisdome & bypightnes in gouernement, they had good triall; yet not abiding to be alienated from their old leauened and wicked blage, they were not a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were most sorrowfull for the losse & lacke of him. Wherefore now they pull by their spirits, & confer together how they may in this inter-reigne win the spurs, and be bitterlie deliuered from the English gouernement. Wherefore it is agreed among them, that vpon euerie seuerall garrison of the most principall capitains, they would set seuerall companies to watch & keepe them in their holds, that they should not issue out, but to their perill. Some therefore are appointed at Bilmalocke, some at Carigofole, some at Alketten, and some at one place, and some at another. And at Adare, where these two gentlemen sir William Stanleie & George Carew late, sir James of Desmond brother to the earle with foure hundred kerns and fiftie hostes was appointed to serue and watch; which he did so carefullie & narrowlie, that none durst to peep nor looke out but in danger of some perill. But when bittels waied short within doores, the soul-diozs, who could not waile be pined, gaue the aduerture to fetch that which was without doores: and as want of bittels did increase, so did their illings out vpon the enemies grow and increase. And so often were their sallies and incountrings with the enemies, that in the end they finding & feeling the con-

Sir William Durié is made lord iustice of all Ireland.

The rebellion of the D. & M. in 1594.

The death of sir William Durié.

The campe is dissolved and dispersed into garrisons.

Sir William Stanleie and capitaine George Carew are assigned to Adare.

The garrisons are besetted and murdered by the Irish.

Sir James of Desmond besiegeth Adare.

The Irish men leave to invasion the garrison.

rage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering encre lost some of their companie. Whereupon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a general gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captens were not to lacke, nor yet failed to do the seruice which vnto them did apperteine, either for seruice or safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lieng in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to do a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the breake of the daie, they toke a bote or a cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their soldiors vnto the other side of the river, which lieth betwene Adare and the Herrie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & appertaining to the knight of the ballie, who then was in actual rebellion against hir maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, where they then late at a castell named Ballilloghan, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two captens had burned and spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoever they thought good: in their returne before they could recover the river, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the ballie, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horsemen, gaue the charge vpon these two ensignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue sir scoze persons to the bettermost. These two captens answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the push of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot and hermes; and sir James himselfe with others grievouslie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, saving sundrie were shewdolie hurt and wounded. At length these two captens recovered their bote, and caused all the soldiors to be transported; they themselves being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, stood afterwards vpon a better force.

The lords of the counsell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselves, and toke aduise for the choise of some one wise man, meet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolved vpon sir William Pelham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon sundae being the eleuenth of October 1579, he receiued the sword and toke his oth in Christs church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Desmond and Kildare, and the whole counsell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whom sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As soone as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancellor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of counsell, and of hir maiesties good acceptation of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degree of knight-hood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late treasurer of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the counsell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate:

and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of anie countenance and calling, persuading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Desmond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the young lord Gerald sonne and heire to the erle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Packworth, and he to bring or conuete him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the brode seale was sent to sir Warham Sentleger, to be knight or prouost marshall of all Mounster. These and other things done concerning the keeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who had a speciall cie to the troublesome state of Mounster, preparate to make presentlie a iourne into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancellor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to hir maiestie and counsell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships iourne toward against the rebels: who had also in commission to utter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon hir maiesties demands and counsels. When all things were prepared for his iourne, he appointed the erle of Kildare to defend the borders northwards and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three bands lately come from Berwick, vnder the leading of capteine Walker, capteine Case, and capteine Pitheman: with so manie others as he thought meet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Peile a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betwene the earle of Desmond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Ossorie: betwixt whom was a most tall hatred. And bonds were taken betwene them for redressing ech one to the other the preies, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good intertainment.

From this towne he departed the two and twentieth of October, and by iournies he came to Cathell, where the earle of Desmond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the foure and twentieth of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaire vnto him, for the appeasing of the quarrell and controuersie betwene him & sir Nicholas Malbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cathell or to Limericke. And from this towne he rode to Limericke, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Malbie and sundrie other captens & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a braue volée of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the maior in all dutifull manner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weaponed and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thence, and went to a towne named Fanings, where sir Nicholas Malbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Mlike Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Mlike, and with most pestilent reasons perswaded him to rebellion. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from hir husband, with letters of hir husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The lord iustice seeing the earle to be but delated, toke aduise of the counsell which was with him, what

The knight of the ballie his countrie spoiled.

The knight of the ballie a rebell.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carews seruice at Adare.

Sir William Pelham chosen to be lord iustice.

1579

Sir William Pelham hauing taken the sword, dubbed the lord chancellor knight.

The earle of Desmond made gouernor of Mounster.

Sir Warham Sentleger made prouost marshall of Mounster.

The lord iustice made his iourne into Mounster. The lord chancellor sent into England.

The lord iustice kept sessions at Kilkennie.

The earle of Desmond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick the quarrell betwixt whom was a most tall hatred.

The earle of Desmond sent for to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice receiued into Limericke.

Doctor Sanders letters to Mlike Burke.

what was best to do. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Desmond should go vnto him, and to conferre with him vpon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him vnto the said Desmond, and to requyre his resolute answer.

The said articles were in summe as followeth.

That he should deliuer vnto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certeine strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countries, and maintained by such traitors and in such castels, as be at his deuotion and commendement.

That he shall deliuer vp into his maiesties hands one of his castels of Carigofosse or Alketten, for the pledge of his good behauiour: which vpon sundrie and diuerse reasons is suspicious, and he for his dissolatie greatlie suspected.

That he do forthwith come and simple submit himselfe vnto his maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of his maiestie and counsell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and counsell in Ireland.

That he do forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and soine with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Desmond, lord generall in this seruice.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errors past: but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Desmond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Cragh the thirtieth of October 1579, vsing therein nothing but triflings and delays, requiring restitution for old wrongs and injuries, and iustifying himselfe to be a good subiect, though he do not yeld to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parlie, the lord iustice was removed to Crome, where he expected the returne of the earle of Desmond and to that place sir William Stanleie & capteine George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen.

The earle of Desmond being returned, & hauing little preuailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could preuaile, then it was thought good by the lord iustice & counsell to proceed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice removed from Crome to Rathkill, and he was no sooner incamped, but alarm by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond: & in that skirmish thre or foure of the traitors were slaine, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustification to be a good subiect, he daile accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice seeing that neither counsell nor delaye of time could auail with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the counsell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in

the highest degree of treason at Rathkill the second of Nouember 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth.

The earle of Desmonds treasons articulated.

That the earle of Desmond hath praactised most vnnaturallic the subuersion of the whole state.

2 That he praactised to bring in strangers, and praactised with forein princes to bring and allure in strangers to invade this land.

3 That he fostered and maintained doctor Sanders, James Fitzmoris, and others beyond the seas to worke these feats.

4 That albeit to the utter shew of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie interteined by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrie.

5 That when his brethren most traitorously had murdered Henrie Dauels and others at Taleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reproofing or blaming of them, and had also commended speciallie the slaughter of Edmund Doffe an Englishman, who at the said murdering laie in the next bed vnto Dauels.

6 That when the strangers at Smertweeke had no waie to escape by sea, at the coming of sir William Durye, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commendement giuen vnto him, by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Dingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there interteinements.

8 That he distributed the ordinances and artillery of the forts vnto the rebels, as doth appere by a note found in the port mantien of doctor Allen lately slaine in the encounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath set at libertie such strangers as he kept colourable as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castels.

10 That he hanged most abhominable Richard Cusacke, Simon Brian, and others the quenes subjects, for whom he undertooke to the late lord iustice to be safely brought vnto him.

11 That he sent sundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his household seruants, as also his chiefe capteins, which vnder the popes banner displayed most traitorously in the fields, did assault sir Nicholas Malbie knight his maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Cuagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that daie carie.

12 That he hath bitterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, sundrie messages, and all the good means vsed and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onelie refused to deliuer vp doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which do daile accompanie him; but hath broken downe his castels, burned his towne, and desolated his countries aforesaid, to the intent his maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he daile looketh for a further aid and a new supplie of foreiners, & daile solliciteth the chiefe men of the Irish countries to soine with him in this his most execrable and rebellious enterprize.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to

The earle of Desmond is required to answer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, & to requyre one of his castels.

The earle of Desmond himselfe.

That he prosecute his brethren and other traitors.

The earle of Desmond himselfe, but contrary not.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his coming in.

The earle of Desmonds butler taken and slaine.

the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherefore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against his maiesties crowne and dignitie, vntlesse within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submitt himselfe. Vnto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Desmond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the bicont Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Malbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

The proclamation against Desmond is sent to all the cities in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dispersed to Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limericke, and other principall townes to be in like order proclaimed. Immediatlie and within an houre after this proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword could consume. From this place the lord iustice remoued to Dople Brian, whereupon the third of November he toke a generall muster of the whole armie: and then he deliuered to the erle of Desmond two hundred and fiftie horsemen, and also eight ensignes of footmen, of the which compaigne George Bourchier went to Kilmallocke, and sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew to Abare, and then he remoued and toke his iournie vnto Limericke, being accompanied with the earle of Desmond, who the next daie left the lord iustice and returned to his charge. After which departure of the lord iustice, the proclaimed traitor of Desmond and his brothers, not able any longer to shew his treacheries, went with all his forces to the towne of Poughall, where against his comming the gates of the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but colourable: for verie shortly after, without dentall or resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels entered the towne and toke it, and there remained about fve daies, rising and carrying awaie the goods and household stuffe to the castell of Strangicallie and Liffinen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards.

The towne of Poughall taken & spoiled.

A barke well appointed at Waterford is sent to Poughall.

The ordinances recovered from the rebels.

White, capteine of the barke is slain.

The earle of Desmond maketh a robe into Connilo, & killeth a number of the rebels.

The earle of Desmond, as soon as he was aduertised hereof, he caused a barke well appointed to be dispatched from Waterford, & to come to Poughall: the capteine of which barke was named White, a man of that countrie birth, verie valiant and of a stout stomach. As soon as he was come to the walls of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recovered from the rebels certaine ordinances of the said townes; and being put to understand that the senehall of Imokellie was comming towards the townes, he set all his men on land; and setting his men in good order, he entered into the towne at the watergate, and marched in good order through the towne, till he came where the rebels were together, and then more rashlie than consideratlie, gaue the charge and onset vpon them: but the number of them being great, and his but a handfull to them, he was in verie short time inclosed and ouerlaid, and there slaine, and with much adoe did a few of his compaignie recover their ship againe. The lord generall and gouernour in the meane time, not lacking his businesse, did assemble and muster all his compaignie, & being accompanied with sir George Bourchier, sir William Stanleie, capteine Dowdall, capteine Furse, and others, made a iournie into Connilo, which was then the cheefest place of trust that the earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for bittels and forage, and there his greatest force and strength of his souldiours were setted in the townes and villa-

ges. And they then little thinking and lesse looking for any such guests, were vnawares and vpon a sudden intrapped and taken napping, and the most part of them taken and slaine, and the villages so: the most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond at this present time was there, but not knowne in his castell called the New castell, and escaped verie narrowly. This peece of seruice being done, the lord gouernour marched towards Spac Willies countrie, and being to go through a certaine passe, he met with the senehall, vpon whome he gaue the charge, who answered the same verie valiantlie, and the skirmish was verie hot, in which the senehalls brothers and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though not so manie, amongst whome capteine Zouches trumpeto was one; which so grieved the lord generall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and villages in that countrie and about Liffinen, which in any waie did belong to the earle of Desmond, or of any of his friends and followers, to be burned and spoiled.

The earle of Desmond is in danger to be taken.

From this he toke his iournie towards Cork, and in his waie at Munstering he toke a peece of one thousand five hundred nine or tenes, which were all vnto and sent vnto Cork, at which citie as soon as his lordship was come, and had rested a small time, then by the aduise of the capteins he diuided and bestowed his compaignie into sundrie garrisons and places conuenient, as which might best answer the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furse, he went to Castell, and by the waie he toke the maior of Poughall, whome forthwith he examined, and for his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yield vnto the towne vnto Desmond, and had before refused a band of Englishmen, which was appointed to lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof, and had promised that he would keepe and defend the same against all men; he carried him along with him vnto Poughall, and there before his owne doze hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman or child therein, saving one sister, whome he spared, because he had fetched the corpes of Henrie Dauels from Traleigh, and had caried it to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancel of the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pittie the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the reedifying of the walls and gates, and placed therein a garrison of three hundred footmen vnder capteine Sporgan and capteine Waters, who did verie good seruice in the countrie, and by god means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and impeopled the towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed thence, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and oportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the capteins for some speciall seruice, and remembering that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hitherto nothing done or said vnto them; it was agreed betwene his lordship and the capteins, to do some seruice vpon them, and to trie their valie: whereupon they marched thither and laid siege there vnto.

The mayor of Poughall was executed before his owne doze.

The towne of Poughall was all desolate.

The inhabitants were drawn to dwell and inhabite the towne.

The Spaniards were lying in Strangicallie, expecting their fight and in being set.

The Spaniards, who kept alwaies good watch, and had also verie good eyals abroad, they were forthwith aduertised that a compaignie of souldiers were drawing and marching towards the said castell, and when they themselves saw it to be true, and had discovered them, they began to distrust themselves, and to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them. Wherefore abandoning & forsaking the castell, they passed over the water, thinking to recover the woods and

and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanleie, capteine Zouch, capteine Doodall, capteine Piers, capteine Roberts, and all their companies did so egerlie follow and pursue them, that in the end they ouertoke them, and slue all o: the most part of them, and so toke the castell, wherein the lord gouernour placed a ward. Likewise when he laie at Adare, and understanding that the erle of Desmond was abrode, the garrison minding to do some seruice vpon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing some intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their returne; and vpon an advantage he gaue the onset vpon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they bzake the most part of their pikes, and were enforced with their swords and with the stumps of their staves to stand to their defenses; which they did so valiantlie, that the erle in the end with the losse of his men was dzien to giue ouer and to fle.

The erle of Desmond being an amirall

The diligent service of the erle of Desmond

A sickness which came

In the countrey

The William

The William

The like seruice did sir Henrie Mallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bourchier, capteine Doodall, capteine Holingworth, and all the residue of the capteins in their severall charges and garrisons, who though of themselves they were verie forward; yet the lord gouernour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the for most, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he removed and dislodged himselfe from Adare, and marched to Botenaut a house of the lord Barries, where a peece of seruice was appointed them to be done: but suddenlie such a sickness came among the souldiers which toke them in the head, that at one instant there were aboute thre hundred of them sicke, and for thre daies they laie as dead stockes, looking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recovered. This sickness not long after came into England, & was called the gentle correction. Now the companie being thus recovered, his lordship minding to follow a peece of seruice, diuided his companie into two parts, the one he toke himselfe, and toke the waie by the Iland; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and diuided their companies into thre parts, & so marched to Dingle a cuss. And as they went they dzane the whole countrey before them vnto the Wentrie, & by that means they preyed and toke all the castell in the countrey to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horses, garrons, sheepe, and goates, and all such people as they met they did with out mercie put to the sword. By these meanes the whole countrey hauing no cattell nor kine left, they were dzien to such extremities, that for want of vittels they were either to die and perish for famine, or to die vnder the sword. Perceiuelesse, manie of them vnderstanding that sir William Winter vice-admirall of England was newlie arrived with the quenes ships at the Wentrie, and that he had receiued a commission to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obtained protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat prejudiciall to hir maiesties seruice: because they perswaded themselves, that if they had folowed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

Sir William, vice-admirall of England, vpon the newes reported to hir maiestie that a new supplie was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to keepe the seas and to attend their comming, and as occasion serued to doo his best seruice vpon them. Who when he had so done certaine moneths, his vittels waxed scant; and see-

ing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing on wards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arrive thither, he hoised his sailles and returned into England. But he was mistaken & deceived: for not long after they came and landed at Smertweeke, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leaving the souldiers in their garrisons, let vs returne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the first of Nouember 1579, being accompanied with the Berwicke bands, he went into Thomond, where the erle and his sonne with two bad horsemen met his lordship; and from thence he travelled by iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honozable receiued. And to the end to incourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the corporation certaine branches and articles, whereof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newlie set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

The lord iustice with the Berwicke bands goeth into Thomond.

The lord iustice is verie honozable receiued into Gallewaie.

The charter of Gallewaie with new liberties confirmed.

First, that no writ of *Sub poena* shall be awarded out of the chancery against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, vntill the parties which sueth out the writ, haue put in good and sufficient suerties before the lord chancellor, or the maior of Gallewaie to prosecute the same with effect.

That no new office nor officer be created in the towne of Gallewaie by ante deputie or gouernour, other wise than as they in times past haue vsed to do.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discreet men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enemies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buie anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulie make payment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne do vse anie vndercent & vnuercent speech to the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall introy, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, vsages, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the parties condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called *Dei gethe*.

That no dead bodis shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and haue, that the same be serched and vied for weapons and munitions, and that none about the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the view of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the wals.

That the maior from time to time do take the muster and view of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all vnserviceable people in time of seruice be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittels from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be provided alwaies in the towne for a staple of vittels to be kept there at all times.

From

William Foxe
his newlie
came out of
England
meetieth the
lord iustice.

Captaine
Foxe sent
to the
people.

Sir Henrie
Harington is
made sen-
shall of the
Dubnnes.

The proud
letters of the
earle of Des-
mond.

The lord ius-
tice entred
a new iourneie
into Spoun-
ser.

The lord ius-
tice keepeth
sessions at
Waterford.

The lord ius-
tice receiued
honourable
into water-
ford.

From thence his lordship by sundrie iourneies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about thre miles before he came to the citie, William Foxe newlie arrived out of England, and accompanied with certaine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, well furnished and well hoisted with English goldings, euerie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attended his lordship into the citie, and from thence he was assigned and sent unto the Newrie, where he did verie hostile after upon the five and twentieth of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his spleen corrupted, and his bzaime mirt with filthie matter. His hands were binted and deliuered to either captaine. And immediatlie upon his entrance into the citie, he sent for Jaques Wellingfield master of the ordinance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to keepe his chamber for his contempt, because he did not attend the lord iustice into Spounser as he was commanded; but upon his submission after foure daies he was released. And upon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harington, who had married one of his daughters and heires, was by vertue of certaine letters from out of England, appointed to be sene-shall of the Dubnnes, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter vnder their hands, dated the nine and twentieth of November 1579, to the lord iustice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holinesse and king Philip, who haue undertaken to defend and mainteine them, and therefore perswaded the lord iustice to ioint with them.

The lord iustice, hauing set the pale in some order, & hauing committed the same to the gouernment of the erle of Kildare, he made a new iourneie into Spounser, and departed out of Dublin the eightenth of Ianuarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that seruice, and toke his iourneies along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thence taking Linneterne in his waie he came to Waterford, the five and twentieth of Ianuarie 1579, by water from Ballshacke in certaine botes verie well appointed by the maiors of the citie. And before he came thither, sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, and captaine George Carew, and captaine Piers, issued out of the citie with their foure bands, and nere to the thore in the viels of his lordship, they presented him with a tollie skirmish, and so retired themselves, to make ward against his landing. The bulwarks, gates, and curtains of the citie were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike manner, and then all the shot of the ships in the haven, and a great ranke of chambers upon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

At his landing the maiors and aldermen araid in their scarlet gownes met him, and presented unto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which forthwith he redeliuered unto them againe, and the sword the maiors bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie upon two severall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made unto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging. And to this citie the earle of Desmond came unto him, and they being together, letters were sent from sir William Foxe of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungarvon and Boghall. Whereupon one hundred horsemen vnder captaine Zouch, and

Sentleger, and foure hundred footmen vnder sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, captaine George Carew, & captaine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord iustice from Waterford, vpon notice of the trouble daile increasing, sent a commission of the eleventh of Februarie, to sir Warham Sentleger to be prouost marshall, authorising him to proceed according to the course of marshall law against all offenders, as the nature of his or their offenses did merit and deserue; so that the partie offender be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the yeare in land, or annuities, or be not worth ten pounds in goods: also that vpon good causes he maie parke and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & surdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlatres and theues, and execute all idle persons taken by night: that he shall giue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in doing of his seruice, he shall take horse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man do deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall latres, and the same to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he do euerie moneth certifie the lord iustice how manie persons, and of their offenses and qualities, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are comprised in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The lord iustice, after that he had rested about thre weekes at Waterford, he remoured and went to Clomnell, where the earle of Desmond met him, being the fiftenth of Februarie 1579, and from thence he went by iourneies unto Limerike, where the chancelor of Limerike vpon suspition of treason was committed to prison, and his lodging being searched, manie masse booke and other popish trash, together with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Kertie was found. He was after indicted, arraigned, and found gultie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was vpon some suspition committed prisoner unto his owne house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of aparch to Rathkell, where within one houre the erle of Desmond came unto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enimie. Which when they had agreed vpon, they passed the next morning ouer the bidge of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Rathkell. Now when they had amended the bidge which the rebels had destroyed, and made passable, they passed ouer the same into Connello, where the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond divided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroyed the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kailcolman. And there it was aduertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant unto captaine Fenton, coming from Limerike with five horsemen, and thre shot, which were of the garrison at Adare, he was set vpon at Rathkell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge sir tene or eightene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he elpied them: but he and James Fenton the captaine by their, and Gildon, so bestirred themselves, that they gaue the enimie the repulse, and due their leader, with five or six others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horses.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot vpon the spurre, & so eager vpon the vile rebels, that

The commission
of a commission
for the mar-
shall law.

The chancelor
of Limerike
was committed
to prison.

The bishop
was committed
prisoner to his
owne house.

Nicholas
Parker lieutenant
unto captaine
Fenton was
killed.

that day they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the sword. The same daie, a souldier of the marshalls encountered with two Irish kernes, the one of them he slue, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellows head with him to the campe: which when he had done, his head also was cut off and laid by his fellows. The next daie following, being the twelfth of March, the lord iustice and the earle divided their armie into two severall companies by two ensignes and three together, the lord iustice taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of Slewlougher, and so they searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that daie about foure hundred men, and returned the same night with all the castell which they found that daie.

And the said lords, being not satisfied with this daies service, they did likewise the next daie divide themselves, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie untill it was night. And being then incamped nere together, the baron of Lerne came to the earle of Desmond, whom the earle in the next morning brought before the lord deputie, where he in most humble manner yielded, and submitted himselfe to his lordships devotion, promising and presenting his service with all dutifullnesse. And then, when after great travels they had marvellouslie wasted and spoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofosse, and to laie siege to the same: for in it laie the greatest force of the Desmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This castell standeth in the river, and at euerie full sea both it and the bannes about it are inuironed with the said floods and flowing waters. As soon as they were incamped, the lord iustice approached the castell so nere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordingly he might consider the most fittest places for the laing of the shot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine shot, and to go with him in this service. Now the Spaniards hauing espied them, spent manie shot vpon them, and where the lord iustice verie hardlie escaped with his life, and from being slaine with a musket shot. When his lordship vpon this view had determined what he would do, he caused the canon shot to be planted in the place most fit for the batterie, for otherwise the fort was not to be assaulted.

In the same were sirteene Spaniards and fiftie others under one Iulio an Italian, who at the request of the countesse of Desmond undertooke the keeping of it, and who reported himselfe to be a verie notable engineer: standing vpon his reputation, he plied the campe with continuall shot, putting out an ensigne and raising with manie bad speeches against his maiestie: declaring also that they kept it for the king of Spaine and so still would, untill further aid were sent from him: and which in verie deed was daile looked for. Before the canons and other battering peeces could be unladen, they spent the time, occupieng the one the other with such deuises as they thought good for the seruices. And the Spaniards, hauing the aduantage, did by their often shot hurt and kill some Englishmen, namelie a souldier of sir George Bourchiers, one of sir Henrie Mallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and sir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night past, was hurt with a musket shot out of the castell in the necke. As soon as the ordinance was unladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the fort with three canons, a culuering, and a demie culuering; and in short time they lo beat it, that the house fell and filled the ditch: by means whereof the same became to be assaultable.

Capteine Spacworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the bitter barme by a doze that the souldiers had broken, and was maister of it presently. The Spaniards therupon retired to a turret that was vpon the wall of the barbican, & some sought other places to hide and to saue themselves, but that part of the castell was beaten downe: and then capteine Spacworth recovered the possession of the whole, and did put fiftie to the sword, of which nineteene were found to be Spaniards; and sir others he took, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe. None were saved that daie but onelie the capteine Iulio, whom the lord iustice kept for certeine considerations two or three daies: but in the end he was hanged as the rest were before him. The next daie, being the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and fourescore, the ordnances were remoued and caried to the ship, which with all such souldiers as were sicke and hurt were sent to Limerike, to be relieved and cured. This castell, one of the principallest and chiefest forts thus recovered, there resteth onelie the house and castell of Asketten: and the lord iustice, and the earle of Desmond thought nothing more necessarie, than euen forthwith to march to Asketten, and to incampe there and to bessege it, euen as they had done to this fort of Carigofosse. Where when they came, the two lords divided themselves, the one taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of the water: and vpon the third of Aprill they incamped at the said castell, the lord iustice lieng in the abbete, and the earle of Desmond vpon the further side of the river.

The lord iustice viewed the place, and found no waie possible to place anie watch or ward nere to the castell, by reason of the great disadvantage of the rockes which laie altogether vpon the castell. While the campe laie there, sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteine Walker went to giue siege vnto the castell of Ballisloghan, a strong house of the Desmonds, and which was guarded untill this time against his maiestie. The ward had no sooner the sight and view of these three ensignes, but that they fired the house and fled: but they were so narrowlie pursued, that the leader of them and some of his companie were overtaken and slaine. Whilest the siege laie at Asketten, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie same night following, being a verie darke and close night, the warders of the castell fearing the example of the execution done at Carigofosse, and doubting the sequelle of the lord iustice preparation made for the batterie to be laid against it, did abandon and forsake the castell verie secretly about midnight, leauing a traine of powder to set it on fire, which consumed & burned a great part of the same: but the principall towres remained untouched. The warders by fauour of the darke night escaped into the woods.

This castell thus recovered, the earle of Desmond had neuer a castell in all Mounster which was guarded against his maiestie: but all were now at his deuotion. The lord iustice being possessed of Asketten, he appointed a strong garrison to reside there, and placed sir Peter Carew, and sir Henrie Mallops companie in the castell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingworth to be in the abbete, and so vpon the fift of Aprill he dislodged with the rest of the armie, and went vnto Limerike: commanding the capteins to cut down the woods on both sides of the river, that the botes might passe freely to and fro. At his coming to Limerike, all things now seeming to be at peace, the earle of Desmond returned home to Asketten, & certeine of the count

Capteine Spacworth first entred the castell.

The castell of Carigofosse is taken.

The bragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1589

The castell of Asketten appointed to be besieged.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew bessege the castell of Ballisloghan.

The warders forsake the castell.

The warders of Asketten forsake the castell, and by a traine set it on fire.

The castell of Asketten is taken.

A ward placed at Asketten.

The armie is dispersed, and the garrison cell

Earle of Desmond submitted himselfe to his lordships devotion.

The castell of Carigofosse was guarded.

Capteine George Carew took out certeine shot.

The castell of Asketten.

The countesse of Desmond.

The castell of Asketten.

are sent to
their places
appointed.

cell which had followed in this fourneie rode to Dub-
lin: and sir Nicholas Galbie departed into Con-
nagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of
the armie was now disperfed into garrisons: yet the
seruices of euerie of them neuer abated. For al-
wayes as the time of seruice required, the Irishmen
were issued out vpon, and most commonlie had the
worst side. And the lord iustice himselte taking an oc-
casion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water,
and capteine Case went by land, and after a time
spent in searching the woods, they returned with a
preie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and
good verie store of sheepe, besides the slaughter of
manie traitors.

A commission
to create sir
William
Burke to be
baron.

At his being and during his abode in Limerike,
vpon the fiftenth of Maie, he receiued hir maiesties
commission vnder the broad seale of England to be
lord iustice (where before he held the same by the e-
lection and order of the counsell) and therewith also
one other commission, for creating of sir William
Burke baron of castell Connall, with a yearelie
pension of one hundred markes during his life.
And from this time, the lord iustice spent this sum-
mer in Mounster, traueilling to and fro through out
the whole prouince: he himselte and euerie other
capteine in his severall garrison doing such seruice
vpon the rebels as occasion by was offered. The lord
iustice vpon the fiftenth of June, after that he had
marched a few miles in Mac Aulles countrie, spoil-
ing, defacing, and burning the same, he passed
through the boggie mountaine of Sletwlongher in-
to Kerrie, and there he discovered a great preie of
the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the vaward
of his horsemen, and he himselte in person toke a-
bout two thousand kine, besides store of sheepe and
garons, with part of the traitors masking apparell.

The earle of
Desmond and
his wife and
doctor San-
ders in perill
to be taken.

A mutinie a-
mong the foot-
men for lacke
of vittells.

Sir Cormac
Mac Ceige
dath a peere of
seruice vpon
sir James of
Desmond.

The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and
doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, esca-
ped verie hardlie; and their priest for half was faine
to leaue his golwe behind. The like seruice he did
the next daie, being the five and twentieth of June at
Castelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie
began amongst the souldiours vnder sir George
Bourchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dow-
dall, by reason of their wants: but his lordship with
such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that
they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir
Cormac Mac Ceige shiriffe of the countie of Cozke
did notable seruice vpon sir James of Desmond;
which sir James vpon the fourth of August made a
roade into Shuskroie, and toke a great preie from
the foresaid sir Cormac. Wherevpon his brother
Donnell assembleth his brothers tenants and coun-
trie and followed the preie, and recovered the same:
sir James, who thought it to be to great a dishonour
and reproch to depart with anie thing which he had in
hand, withstanding the matter.

Sir James
of Desmond in
taking of a
preie taken
prisoner and
executed.

Wherevpon they fell at hand-fight. In which con-
flict and fight the said Donnell behaued himselte so
valiantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the
matter, that the preie was recovered, and sir James
himselte mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and
all his force, being aboue a hundred and fiftie per-
sons, were slaine and ouerthrowne. He that toke
him was a smith, and seruant to sir Cormac, who
forthwith handfasted him: and for auoiding of cer-
teine inconueniences, he kept him close, and secret-
lie hid him in a certeine bush in the fastnesse there,
and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not es-
cape nor run awate. And when all the companie was
gone, then he toke him and carried him to sir Coz-
mac his maister, who kept him in safe custodie, un-
till, by letters of commandement from the lord ius-
tice and counsell, he did deliuer him vnto sir War-

ham Sentleger then prouost marshall, and to cap-
teine Raleigh; who (according to a commission in
like order to them addrested) was examined, indic-
ted, arraigned, and then vpon iudgement was con-
demned, hanged and quartered: and his bodie being quar-
tered, it was together with the head set on the towne
gates of the citie of Cozke, and made the preie of the
foules. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost an o-
ther of his heads.

This seruice of this knight was maruellouslie
well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and
counsell, and then from hir maiestie he receiued ve-
rie frendlie and faithfull letters. This man was a
ponger house vnto Mac Artie Keough, and they
both a ponger house vnto Mac Artie Hoze now
earle of Glancar, and whose ancestors (as is said)
were kings before the conquest of Mounster. They
are all men of great power, and greatlie este-
med in those parties. But this sir Cormac, in du-
tie and obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes,
and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth
all his stone sept & familie, as also all the Irishie in
thatland. For albeit a mere Irish gentleman can
hardly digest anie Englishman or English govern-
ment, and whatsoener his outward appearance be,
his inward affection is corrupt and naught, being
not vnlike to Jupiters cat, whome though he had
transformed into a beautifull ladie, and made hir a
noble pryncesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could
not forbear to snatch at him: and as the ape, though
he be neuer so richlie attired in purple, yet he will
still be an ape: this knight, after he did once yield
himselfe to hir maiesties obedience, and had profes-
sed his loialtie, he euer desired to ioine himselfe vnto
the companie of the Englishmen, and became in
time a faithfull and frendlie man vnto them, liued
according to hir maiesties lawes, and did so good
seruice at all times when it was requist and requi-
red, as none of that nation did euer the like. And if
at anie time he were had in suspicion, he would by
some kind of seruice purge & acquite himselte, euen
as he did in this present seruice in taking of sir
James of Desmond, to his great praise & commen-
dation, and to his acquittall against the reprochfull
reports of his aduersaries. And sir William Fitz-
williams in the time of his deputiship, hauing had a
verie good triall of his fidelitie, trust, and good ser-
uice, did giue vnto him the order of knighthood, and
made him shiriffe of the countie of Cozke: euen as
the lord iustice now did commend this his seruice
vnto hir maiestie by his letters of the twelue of Au-
gust, a thousand five hundred and eightie, and pray-
ing that the same might be so acceptable receiued,
as that the enobling of him might be both an or-
nament to his house, an incouraging vnto others to
do the like, and a testimonie against officers of his
sozt, who haue neglected a number of occasions (at
greater aduantages) to haue done the like serui-
ces.

The death of James of Desmond, and the quar-
tering of his bodie did maruellouslie dismaye the earle
himselfe, sir John his other brother, and doctor San-
ders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the
continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could haue
no breath nor rest to releue themselves, but were
alwayes by one garrison or other hurt and pursued,
and by reason the haruest was taken from them,
their cattels in great numbers preyed from them,
and the whole countrie spoiled and preyed; the poore
people, who liued onelie vpon their labors, and fed by
their milch colues, were so distressed, that they would
follow after the goods which were thus taken from
them, and offer themselves, their wiues, and chil-
dren, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer
the

Sir James
of Desmond
sent to Sir
Warham
Sentleger
to be cap-
tured, and
was con-
demned
to death.

Jupiters cat

The loialtie
of sir Coz-
mac Mac
Ceige.

Sir Coz-
mac Mac
Ceige knight

The misery
of the people

the famine where with they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a division betwene the earle of Desmond and his brother sir John, either of them excusing that where of they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fled from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and seeing no other remedie, sent his ladie and wife unto the lord justice, who in great abundance of teares bewailed the miserable estate of his husband, his selfe, and their followers, making with most lamentable requests sute, that his husband might be taken to submission.

Sir John of Desmond, being in the like distress, he together with doctor Sanders gaue the adventure, to passe for their refuge to the vicount of Walsingham, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which laie at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to do some seruice, by chance met the said John and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set vpon them, and of foure of them they took two, the one being a siter named James Haie and standardbearer to the late James Fitzmoris, who vpon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slaine; and the siter was rescued, but sir John and the doctor by the benefit of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their iourneie. The lord justice being at Newcassell, and being aduertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he forthwith sent for the garrisons of Adare and Alketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to meet him at the place, daie, and time appointed, for a speciall peece of seruice then to be done. Whose commandement being done and obeyed, they took their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother bewailed the matter, and yet for haile they left their breakfast behind them halfe dressed. Neuertheless, they took two priests, the one of sickeness and the other of eighteene kine; and the next daie they took another prieste of two hundred kine, due diuerse traitors, and took two friers, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes nuntio, they being poore bare footed friers, and he a lustie horsman: and then his lordship returned to Alketten, where he left maister Parker constable of the place; and from thence he went to Limericke, where he receiued news by maister Zouch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arrivall to Dublin. And then his lordship minding to make his speedie repaire to Dublin, did set the countie in some good order, and by the aduise of the counsell at Limericke, he appointed sir George Bourcher colonell of all spounser, and instructions were deliuered vnto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be done, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole prouince; & had left vnto him the charge (vnder his gouernement) of the whole forces in spounser; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsemen three hundred fourescore and fiftene: the whole, three thousand two hundred and fiftene men. Likewise he had sent the like instructions to sir Warham Bentleier, and the earle of Clancar. And these & other like things done, he took his iourneie through Conaugh for the like establishing of the countie, & came to Dublin the first daie of September, one thousand five hundred fourescore and one; and the next daie he deliuered by the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Ireland, in saint Patricks church in presence of the counsell, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arrivall, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the vicount of Walsingham, and Theon make Hugh, the chiefe of his sex of the Dyrins, were lying in the Dyrins countie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the companie of capteine Fitzgiralde, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed vnto him in the beginning of this rebellion, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Dyrins. And he nothing regarding now, either the dutie of a subiect, or his owne credit, most traitorously resolutedly from his lastfull priuie, and comideth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and persuadeth to resist and make head against his maiesties forces; because they could not (as he said) withstand or preuaile against them: who without aie reward promised, were easilie persuaded, because they would be persuaded, and were most willing to exercise aie manner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped themselves in the fastnesse of the Glennes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & cattell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possible might be: for in it is a ballie or a combe lying in the middle of the wood, of a great length, betwene two hills, & no other waie is there to passe through. Under foot it is boggie and soft, and full of great stones and asperie rocks, verie hard and enill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees vpon the sides of the hills, & full of bushments and brerwoods.

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countie, nor with the Irish seruices, and thinking himselfe in honor to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a companie of traitors should lie so nere vnto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolued himselfe to haue a peece of seruice to be done vpon them. Wherefore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the said Glennes, & giveth order to sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, sir Henrie Bagnoll, capteine Atwelle, and to John Parker, lieutenant to capteine Furke with all their footmen, and to Francis Cosbie capteine of the kerne, and George Howe an old veteran of Berwick, coronell of all the footmen, to take this seruice vpon them. But Cosbie, who had bene a long seruitor, and knew what to that kind of seruice did belong, did foresee the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his companie: notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said seruice, and vpon the next daie, being the five & twentieth of August, they entered the Glennes.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Jaques Walsingham, capteine George Carew, capteine Denie, and others on horsebacke staied vpon the mountaine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgiralde, hauing some secret intelligence of the seruice towards, he beset and placeth all his men with their pikes amongst the trees, and there couered themselves, vntill the Englishmen were enteted and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduantage vpon euerie side of the hill, with great furie assaileth them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the boward, both capteins and souldiours. The residue which followed, being in despair to recouer what was lost, and distrustful themselves, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the humbleness of the traitors, and their skill of seruice in such places, that they were like to haue bene

The vicount of Walsingham with the rebels.

The strength of the fastnesse in the Glennes

A seruice appointed to be done against the Dyrins.

The lord deputie staied vpon the mountaine.

killed; if the lord deputie, and the horsemen had not rescued them: upon whose coming they retired into their fastnesse.

The English men came in the Gumes.

Sir Peter Carew slain.

Jaques Wingfield his welcome to wards his ne- phews.

In this conflict, George Poze, capteine Audleie, Francis Cobbe, and sir Peter Carew cozynell, were then murdered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was halfe smothered, and enforced to lie doونه: whome when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, & the most part of them would haue saued him, and made request for him, they thinking that more profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death. Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, as- lone as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughter- red and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Jaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardinesse, and foreseeing the euill successe which was feared would insue, perswadeth with his two nephews, sir Peter and capteine George Carew, to staie and to forbear to adventure into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereto, nor be perswaded; but would needs go in. His brother would haue done the like, but his uncle perforce kept him, saying; If I lose one, yet I will keepe the other: and so by that meanes he was by Gods goodnesse saued and preserved.

This blacke daie was a dolefull and a grauous daie to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending toke the matter as patient; lie as he could, and made his returne vnto Dublin, abiding the coming of the lord iustice; who as soon as he was returned, then the lord Greie was spoyne, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Desmond in this meane time, being verie desirous to do some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incamped at Traleigh, where the scout the same night espied a light in the enemies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them seemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernor to be more watch- full and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a Wolfe and a politike capteine, setteth all his companies in battell arais, & so marcheth forwarde in his strength & verie good order ouer the strand of Traleigh towards the fort, enerie man being at a full resolution to do his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approaching of the lord gouernor, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrusted themselves, and forsooke the fort, and by the guiding of the Irish- rie, they remoued themselves from thence to Glan- ningell, whome the gouernor pursued, & ouertooke some of them, vpon whome he gaue the onfet, and skirmished with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he toke, whome he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Glan- ningell, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mountaines adioining. Wherevpon the daie being spent, and no seruice for that time to be done anie further, the lord gouernor incamped there that night, fast to their enemies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst do.

The companie of the Spaniards not above fuen score,

The earle marcheth in order of bat- tle to the fort.

The Spaniards leave their fort.

The earle fol- loweth the Spaniards and pursueth them to the foile.

that the Irishmen were of bodies sufficient, but that they lacked furnitures and training; & in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safe- lie arrived, and how that they were intertained: requesting that the supplie appointed before their coming from home, might with all speed be sent auaite, and for which they did daile loke: be- cause it was thought concluded betwene the pape and king Phillip, to make a through conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentie as time should serue, to do the like with England. And moreouer, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir John his brother, & to doctor Sanders the popes nuntio; and more is promised to be sent.

After these things thus done, it was given to the said gouernor to understand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiours of the enemies companie returned & gone backe to the fort. Where- vpon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as nere to the fort as he could; and there choosing to himselfe capteine Dowdall, capteine Peters, and certeine shot, he drew so nere to the fort as he had the whole discoverie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which seemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had anie shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artifi- cer without his toles, can do anie thing in his pro- fession: no more can the souldiour fight without his meet weapons, nor serue without his necessaries: and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernor was driuen to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The Spaniards perceiuing this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a sallie of threescore men; and the gouernor seeing their aduantage, thought to follow the aduise of his captains, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Ansoze Martin more hasty than aduised, and more rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slain; and the lord gouernor compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he founded the retract; and being not able to annote the enimie, nor puenale at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by fournetes he came to Keshell: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yielded vp all his companie, and his commission, and then made prouision of his men, and for victuals, to fol- low the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horse- men and footmen, vnder the leadings of capteine Zouch, capteine Walter Raleigh, capteine De- nie, who had also capteine George Carews compa- nie vnder his ensigne, capteine Sparrowth, cap- teine Achin, and others: and then he marched to- wards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were settled.

Capteine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Keshell, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staied be- hind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a maner among the Irish kerns, that whensoever anie Eng- lish campe was dislodged and remoued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore li- eing, and keeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the coming of the said kerns; who suspec- ting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their maners and old vsages to the said place, and there toke

The detrac- tions of the pape and king Phillip, to make a through conquest of Ire- land.

The earle of Desmond incamped in the fort.

The earle of Desmond incamped in the fort.

The Spaniards leave their fort.

The lord deputie cometh to Keshell, and is there met by the earle of Desmond.

take their pleasure; who when they were in their circuit, the captaine and his men came upon them, and took them all. Among them there was one, who carried and was laden with withs, which they used at first of halsters: and being demanded what he would do with them, and whie he carried them: gaue answer, that they were to hang up English thurs: for so they call Englishmen. As it so (quoth the captaine) well, they shall not so forue for an Irish berne: and so commanded him to be hanged up with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their desires.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as nere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also newly returned from out of England: but he arrived at Kinsale, and his viceadmirall captaine Whigham came into the baie of Saint Gerles weke or Smereweke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these means the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir William Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before any assault given, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to do, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in his maiesties land, & required therewith to yeld to the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had given that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receive and recover that land to the holie church of Rome, which by his maiesties means was become schismaticall, and out of the church, with other reprochfull speeches: and that therfore they were in that respect to keepe what they had, and to recover what they yet had not. Whereupon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what fort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossessing of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillery and munitions might be best placed and laid for the batterie; and betwene whom it was then determined how all things should be done.

Whiles they were thus in speeches, and consulting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some advantage, made a sallie upon the Englishmen: which was forthwith answered by captaine Denie (who as then had but a dozen shot) and by Michaell Butler lieutenant to captaine Raleigh: & these so valiantlie behaved themselves, and so worthilie followed the fight, that they made the Spaniards with more hast than with good speed to returne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion betwene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be unladen certeine culuerings, and like peeces of ordinance out of his maiesties ships, which then lay in the roade of Smereweke, and then there being a great banke betwene the shores side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it, and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the daie, and before it was open daie the batterie was ready to be given. A pece of service (the place and time considered) thought worthe great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had done the like upon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to follow the service, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a pece of ordinance, offering unto them mercede if they would yeld. But they knowing nothing what was done that night, answered as before, that they would keepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Whereupon they began to batter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water.

This first daie of batterie was captaine Raleighs ward daie. But the Spaniards made their brazes, that they cared not for this; and to set a good face upon it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skirmish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both upon the first daie, the second daie, and the third daie, little was done, but onelie the continuance of the batterie. The fourth daie was captaine Edmoundes ward daie; under whom was a lustie young gentleman named John Cheeke, who drew so nere the fort, that he looked over the purport into it, which being sene and perceived, one of the Spaniards leuelled a pece at him; & with his shot strake him in the head; wherewith he died. About the end of these foure daies, the trenches for the full batterie were drawne and brought so nere unto the fort, that now they left to ballie any longer with the fort, but verie hotlie and sharpelie. they battered at it on both sides. The Spaniards, who had staied themselves upon the hope of some further supplie, to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had received; and seeing also the batterie to be such as they could not be able to withstand and hold out, they desired a parlie with the lord deputie, who utterlie denied it: saying, that his service was against traitors and rebels, with whom no speeches nor paroles are allowed. And forsomuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like preferencement with them. Then they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. Then they requested that certeine particular men among themselves might haue their free passage, and certeine other conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions, requiring an absolute yelding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile any waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Misericordia, misericordia*, and offered to yeld both themselves and the fort, without any condition at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent captaine Jaques Wingfield master of the ordinance to the fort, and to make trial whether this their offer were true and unfeigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receivede there, and forthwith the captaine of the fort came unto him, and in all humble maner yelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented unto the lord deputie: and at the commandement of the said Jaques Wingfield he disarmd himselfe, and caused all his companie to do the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laid their pikes acrosse upon the same. Which being done, the said captaine Wingfield came out of the fort, and brought the captaine with him, promising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receive him at his hands, and willed the said Jaques Wingfield to returne againe to the fort.

In this fort sir James Fitzgiral knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the earle of Desmond, and one Blunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the captaine had yelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, captaine Raleigh together with captaine Sparworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie of the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were clere, the lord deputie came to the fort, and having done what pleased.

The lord deputie made more trench to the fort, and by the way.

The fort is surrounded.

The answer of the fort.

The Spaniards made a sallie upon the Englishmen.

The diligent search of the warrant.

The fort is better upon the land side.

John Cheeke is slain.

The fort is battered on currie side.

The Spaniards desire a parlie.

Captaine Wingfield is sent to the fort.

The prisoners in the fort were executed.

sed him, his lordly returned, and manie of the captains he saved. The fort forthwith was raised, the arms and munitions were dispersed abroad, and all things done as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the colonell and campeimaster ouer into England by capteine Denie, and dismissed the armie, and sent euerie capteine to his garrison. And his lordship went from thence to Dingham, which is a long scattering waste to wone, and in it foure or five castels, which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defaced in the beginning of this rebellion.

Capteine Zouch made the gouernour of Desmond.

Capteine Berkeley came into Ireland, and saie at Kilkenny.

Connagh, Leinster and Mounster are all vp in rebellion.

The earle of Desmond is the gouernour of Mounster.

The cleargies band was ariue into Ireland.

The earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin had in suspicion, and are committed to ward.

And here the earle of Desmond met with the lord deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, being readie to haue followed the seruice if need had so requiried. In this towne the lord deputie made capteine Zouch gouernour of Kertie and Desmond, and appointed vnto him three hundred men, and accompanied him with capteine Calh, who had one hundred men, and capteine Achin, who had fiftie horsemen, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that towne, or where they thought good. And these had to them giuen all the viuals which were found in the fort. And from hence his lordship went to Limerike, and came thither the seauen and twentieth of November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred & eighty. At which time there arriued out of England six new bands of soldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Berkeley, capteine Cruse, capteine Herd, and capteine Lanner, all which his lordship bestowed in severall garrisons, and in such places as were most meet for seruice; capteine Berkeley one lie of the captains remained in Mounster, and was placed in the house of Alketten, the chiefe castell of the earle of Desmond with two hundred men. The others went into Connagh, where the wicked sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now upon their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Spaniards were ouerthrowne, and thereby a sufficient warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke themselves, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the like would also insue vpon them: yet for how that the venemous hyddra had no sooner lost one of hir heads, but in stead of one, sundrie and manie others are sprong vp. For at the verie instant, the barbarous brood of the earle Clanricard, the viscount of Balinglassie, associated with the Oshins, Omoys, and Keuenaghs in Leinster, & with sundrie others of that wicked nation, conspire, and are vp in open rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Mounster, Connagh, and a great pece of Leinster are in arms and actual rebellion: onelie Ulster (which was wont to be the worst) is now the best and most quiet.

The lord deputie being at this present in Limerike, & aduertised of these troubles, letteth all things in order for the seruice in Mounster, and committed the whole gouernement of that prouince vnto the earle of Desmond, and then he returned vnto Dublin, where he toke order for Connagh & Leinster. And about this time there arriued out of England 150 horsemen set out at the charges of the cleargie of England, vnder the leadings of William Russell sonne to the earle of Bedford, and of Brian Fitzwilliams, which were dispersed according to the seruice. The lord deputie being returned vnto Dublin, the earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin his sonne in law, were had in suspicion to be partakers and secret dealers in these rebellions, and thereupon were committed to ward vnder the custodie of Iaquus Wingfield master of the ordinance. Immediately vpon whose apprehensions, the lord Henry Fitzgiralde, sonne and heire to the said earle, and of the age about seauenteene yeares, being persuaded by his fosterfathers and followers, he fled into

Dhalla whereof he was baron, and there (as it was said) he was taken by the Deconhours, and kept against his will for his safetie, vntill they did heare further what should be become of the earle.

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie, he considered that this was but a surmised and colourable kind of dealing, to blear his lordships eyes; wherefore by order and good aduise he first willed the earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his messenger returned with an answer, that the young lord was willing to come, but the Deconhours, who were in doubt what should be become of the earle, would in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, vntill they might haue good assurance for his safe returne againe vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these kind of sordid excuses and disordered dealings, sent the earle of Desmond then being in Dublin, to deale with the Deconhours, who being accompanied with sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas White master of the rolles, capteine George Carew, capteine Spactworth, and sundrie other captains and gentlemen, made their repaire to the borders and marches of Dhalla; wher after much talke to no purpose, they all returned without the young lord. Nevertheless afterwards the Deconhours when they had better considered of the matter, and had had some conference with Husken and others the earles men, and mistrusting that some further troubles would insue, euen as the earle of Desmond had partlie threatened them; and doubting also least the flatering of the sonne might be preiudiciall to the father, then in all hast did send the young lord to the earle of Desmond, who caried him to Dublin, and deliuered him to the lord deputie: and his lordship forthwith sent him to the ward, where he remained with his father, vntill they both and the baron of Deluin were sent into England, where the earle and the baron were sent to the Tower, and the young lord committed to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The earle died after in London, and his bodie was caried into Ireland, and there buried amongst his ancestors.

Capteine Walter Raleigh, lieng in garrison at Cork, and nothing liking the outrages, bodgages, and villanies daily practised by Barrie, Condon, and others vpon the good subiects and hir maiesties garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had bene made, and small redresse had, he rode himselfe to Dublin vnto the lord deputie, and made his complaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the Barries and his consorts were such, that vntill they were proclaimed traitors, and with all diligence followed and pursued, the euent thereof would be verie euill, to the aggrauance of good subiects, & to the incouragement of the wicked: whose insolencie and pride was growne to such a height, that the sword with extremitie was the onelie meane now to redresse the same.

The lord deputie and counsell, when they had heard and well considered this, they sent him backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to seise and enter vpon the castell and house of Barrie court, and all other the lands of the said Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in the best maner as he thought good: and for his better seruice to be done herein, he had certaine horsemen in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto his ensigne of foot men: wher vpon he returned. But before he was come backe to Cork, the case was altered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by such as there and then were in authoritie, and so manie delaies were vsed to hinder the good seruice proposed, that his commission auailed him verie little; nothing, for the castell of Barrie was committed

Capteine Raleigh was sent to ward.

The earle of Desmond is sent to the Tower.

The earle of Desmond is sent to the Tower.

The young lord is sent to the earle of Desmond.

The earle of Kildare and his sonne are sent into England.

Capteine Raleigh was sent to ward.

Capteine Raleigh was sent to ward.

Barrie was sent to ward.

mitted and deliuered to the custodie of the mother of the said Dauid Barrie, and by hir set ouer vnto him hir sonne: and who forthwith burned and defaced the said castell being his principall house, as also wasted the whole countrie, and became moze worse and outrageous than he was before. This capteine making his returne from Dublin, & the same well knowne vnto the seneschall of Imokellie, through whose countrie he was to passe, late in ambush for him to haue intrapped him betwene Boughall and Corke, lying at a foze, which the said capteine must passe ouer with six horsemen, and certeine kerne. The capteine little mistrusting anie such matter, had in his companie onelie two horsemen and foure shot on horsebacke, which was too small a force in so doubtful and dangerous times: neuertheless he had a verie good guide, which was the seruant of John Fitz Edmunds of Cloue, a good subiect, and this guide knew euerie corner and starting hole in those places.

Capteine Raleigh was set by the seneschall.

The seneschall was with capteine Raleigh.

The distressed by the kerne was.

The command of the seneschall.

The capteine being come towards the foze, the seneschall had espied him alone, his companie being scattered behind, and verie fiercelie pursued him, and crossed him as he was to ride ouer the water, but yet he recovered the foze and was passed ouer. The Irishman who was his guide, when he saw the capteine thus alone, and so narrowlie distressed, he thifted for himselfe and fled vnto a broken castell fast by, there to saue himselfe. The capteine being thus ouer the water, Henrie Poile, riding alone about a bowes shot before the rest of his companie, when he was in the middle of the foze, his horse foundered and cast him downe; and being afraid that the seneschalls men would haue followed him and haue killed him, cried out to the capteine to come and to saue his life; who not respecting the danger he himselfe was in, came vnto him, and recovered both him and his horse. And then Poile coueting with all hast to leape vp, did it with such hast and vehemencie, that he quite ouer leapt the horse, and fell into a mire fast by, and so his horse ran awaie, and was taken by the enemie. The capteine neuertheless staid still, and did abide for the coming of the residue of his companie, of the foure shot which as yet were not come forth, and for his man Jenkin, who had about two hundred pounds in monie about him, and sat vpon his horse in the meane while, hauing his staffe in one hand, and his pistol charged in the other hand. The seneschall, who had so fiercelie followed him vpon spur, when he saw him to stand and tarrie as it were for his coming, notwithstanding he was counted a man (as he was indeed) of great seruice, and hauing also a new supplie of twelve horsemen and sundrie shot come vnto him; yet neither he nor anie one of them, being twentie to one, durst to giue the onset vpon him, but onelie railed and vsed hard speeches vnto him, vntill his men behind had recovered and were come vnto him, and then without anie further harme departed.

It happened that not long after, there was a parlay appointed betwene the lord gouernour and the rebels; at which the seneschall was present, and stood much vpon his reputation. Capteine Raleigh being present began to charge him of his cowardnesse before the earle of Desmond, that he being twentie of his sise, to him alone, durst not to incounter with him. Wherevnto he gaue no answer. But one of his men standing by, said; that his maister was that daie a coward; but he would neuer be so forgetfull againe, if the like seruice were to be done, and in manie great terms exalted his maister the seneschall for his valiantnesse and seruice. The earle of Desmond hearing those great speeches, took the matter

in hand, and offered vnto the seneschall, that if he and sir John of Desmond there present, and three or foure others, the best they could chose, would appoint to meet him; capteine Raleigh, and such foure others as they would bring with them, they would come to the same place, and passe ouer the great river vnto them, and would there fite for fite, foure for foure, or six for six, fight and trie the matter betwene them; but no answer was then giuen: wherupon the white knight was afterwards sent vnto him with this challenge, but the rebels refused it. Not long after this, there were speeches made, that the earle of Desmond was to depart from this long and wearie seruice into England, & capteine Zouch should in his place be the generall. Betwene the removing of the one, and the placing of the other, sir William Morgan, capteine Raleigh, and capteine Piers had a commission to be gouernours of that part of Mounster, where they spent all that summer, and laie for the most part at Kilmoge, and in the countrie and woods thereabouts, in continuall seruices vpon the enemies from time to time, as occasion and oportunitie serued.

The challenge made by the earle of Desmond to the seneschall.

Capteine Raleigh a commissioner in Mounster.

And when the summer was spent, capteine Raleigh returned with all his band vnto Corke, being in number eight horsemen and foure score footmen. And as he passed through the countrie, it was advertised to him, that Dauid Barrie an archtraitor was at Cloue with a great troupe of sundrie hundreds of men. Whereupon he thought good to passe that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to trie the valor of Dauid Barrie, if by anie meanes he might meet with him. And euen at the verie towne end he found Barrie and all his companie, and with a lustie courage gaue the onset vpon him. But Barrie refused it, and fled. And then this capteine passing from thence, in his towne he espied in a plaine nere adjoining to a woods side, a companie of footmen by themselves, vpon whom with sir horsemen he gaue the charge: but these being cut off from the wood wherevnto they were fleeing, and hauing not succor now to helpe & relieue themselves, they turned backe, & conioining themselves together to withstand this force and onset made vpon them, in which they behaued themselves verie valiantlie, and of the horses they killed fise, of which capteine Raleigh his horse was one, and he himselfe in great danger, and like to haue bene slaine, if his trustie seruant Nicholas Wright a Yorkshire man bozne had not bin. For he perceluing that his maisters horse was galled and stricken with a dart, and plunged so much, that to his seeming he was past seruice; the said Nicholas willed and called to an Irishman there, whose name was Parthe Fragato, that he should take to his capteine, and either to rescue him, or to giue charge vpon the enemie. Whereupon the said Fragato rescued his capteine, & the said Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the onset vpon sir of the enemies and slue one of them. And therewith came one James Fitzrichard an Irish gentleman with his kerne to the rescue of the capteine, but his kerne was slaine, and himselfe in danger. For Wright not looking on them followed the enemie verie eagerly, and recompensed the losse of one with the slaughter of others. Which capteine Raleigh perceluing cried out to his man, saying; Wright, if thou be a man, charge about hand & saue the gentelman. Who at his maisters commandment pressed vnto the middle of the enemies, and slue one of them, and so saued the gentleman: and in which skirmish his horse leg was cut vnder him. Diuerse footmen were slaine of the enemies, and two were taken prisoners, whome they carried with them to Corke.

Capteine Raleigh followeth vpon Barrie.

Capteine Raleigh in danger to be killed.

The good seruice of Nicholas Wright.

The lord
Koch is had in
suspicion, and
is sent for.

Captaine Ka-
leigh cometh
to the lord Ko-
ches house.

Captaine Ka-
leigh being re-
ceived into the
castell getteth
in all his men.

At his lying in Cozke there were sundrie pe-
ces of seruices done by him, all which doe verie well
deserue to be for euer registred. And amongst all o-
thers this one point of his seruice deserueth both
commendation and perpetuall remembrance. The
lord Koch was growen into a suspicion that he was
not found of his loialtie. Whereupon captaine Ka-
leigh by commandement was to fetch him and his
ladie to Cozke vnto the generall. This thing was
not so pitailie determined, but that the seneſchall and
Dauid Barrie had knowledge thereof, and mind-
ing verelie to take the captaine at some advantage,
they had assembled a great companie of themselues
to the number of seven or eight hundred men to
haue met with him either coming or going. The
captaine perceiuing and forethinking how dange-
rous his enterprise was against so noble a man in
that countrie as the lord Koch was, who was verie
well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his
men one and other, both horsemen and footmen,
which in the whole were not above foure score and
ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of
death betwene ten and eleuen of the clocke of the
same night. At which time euerie man being in a
readinesse, he took his horse and marched toward
the lord Koches house called Wallie in Darth, which
is about twentie miles out of Cozke, and came thi-
ther somewhat earlie in the morning. At his com-
ming he went forthwith to the castell gate.

The townsmen when they saw their lords house
and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the
worst, did arme about fise hundred of themselues.
Whereupon captaine Kaleigh placed and bestowed
his men in battell rate in the towne it selfe, & mar-
ched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his
officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Spi-
chaell Butler, James Fildord, Nicholas Wriste,
Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Winking Wulth;
and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a
while there came thre or foure of the said lord Koches
gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their coming,
vnto whome the captaine answered, that he was
come to speake with my lord: which was offered
he should, so that he would bying in with him but
two or thre of his gentlemen, which the captaine
was contented with, yet in the end (but with much
adw) he came in with all these few persons before
named. When the captaine was once come within
the castell, and had entred into some speeches with
the lord Koch, he so handled the matter by deuises
and meanes, that by little and little, and by some
and some, he had gotten in within the iron doore or
gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing
the advantage, he commanded his men to stand
and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in
or out: and likewise charged euerie man to come
into the hall with his peece well prepared, with two
bullets. The lord Koch when he saw this, he was
suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare:
but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the
matter, and calling for meat, requested the captaine
and his foresaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to keepe
him companie at dinner.

After dinner, the captaine falling into speeches
with the said lord Koch, declared plainlie vnto him
the cause of his coming, and shewed that he and
his wife were accused to be traitors, and that he had
a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take
and carie them along with him to Cozke: which he
was to perforce, and so would. The lord Koch alled-
ged manie excuses for himselfe and for his wife, sai-
eng in the end that he neither could nor would go:
the captaine answered, that if they would not go
with a good will, they should perforce go against their

will. The lord Koch seeing that there was no remedie,
he yielded: and then the captaine minding to
lose no time, willed him to command and cause all
those of the towne, and all such as were about the
house, to attend and be in readinesse to aid him, and
to set him forth in his horse: which he did, and verie
willinglie shewed himselfe to abide and obeye the
captaines commandement, saying that he would
answer the matter well inough, and discharge what-
soener should be laid to his charge, for he knew him-
selfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his
wife redie to take the horse in hand, as the cap-
taine did appoint and command: and towards night
they did set forthward to Cozke. But the night fell out
to be verie tempestuous and foule, and therewith so
darke, that no man could see hand or foot, nor yet dis-
cerne one another; and the waies also were so foule,
so full of barks, hillocks, pits, and rocks, that the
souldiours thereby were maruellouslie troubled and
incombyed, some stumbled among the stones, some
plunged into holes, and some by their often falls
were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and
were marvellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they
were among and in the middle of the enemies, who
laie in sundrie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue
intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the
darke night which was cumbersome to themlues,
was a shadow to shadow them from their enemies.
And in the end, though with much trouble, they came
to Cozke in safetie, saving one soldier named John
Whelium, who by his often falling and stumbling a-
mong the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his
feet, that he could neuer recover the same, but did in
the end consume and rot awaie.

The captaine being come to the towne somewhat
earlie in the morning, he was received in, and pre-
sented his prisoners to the generall, with no little
admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a for-
neie, being verelie supposed of all men that he could
neuer haue escaped. The lord Koch being brought
to be examined, did so well answer for himselfe, that
in the end he was acquitted, and taken for a true and
a good subject, and which in time was well tried and
knowne. For not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons
and followers, did attend and performe all such ser-
uices as were laid vpon them; and in which, thre of
his sonnes were killed by the enemy in his mai-
ties seruice.

Captaine Zouch (as is afore said) laie at the Ding-
ham, among whose companie there fell a dangerous
and an extreme sicknesse: few or none escaped it,
howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse
it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond
and Dauid Barrie was assembled at Agbado with
thre thousand men; and he being verie desirous to
do some seruice vpon them, drew all his full force of
horsemen and footmen vnto Castelmange. And
then by the aduise of his captains Achim and Caly,
he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enemies, before
they wist of any such thing, and slew a great com-
panie of them, and dreane the erle to such a pith, that he
in his shirt was driven to shift for himselfe, in the
middle of his gallowglasses, and by that means he
escaped. The earle nothing liking this course success-
fought a better place of safetie, and removed him-
selfe to Harlowe wood, and passed by the waie to Kill-
mallocke. Which when the garrison there did under-
stand, they pursued and followed him, namelie cap-
taine Bourchier, captaine Dowdall, captaine Spaw-
worth, and captaine Morris, thre miles together vpon
the plains betwene Killmallocke and the wood,
and slew manie of the rebels. And captaine Dowdall
who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and
in it had serued sundrie times, he would needs, and
did

did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gaue the onset vpon him, killed a great number of his men, take from them their carriages, and dyone atwaie a great preie of kine, and brought them to Kilmallocke to the garrison. Here about this time the seneschall came to Lismore, and preied that countrie, and dyone atwaie their cattell. Which when the garrison heard, and were aduertised thereof, they stired, and followed the preie to recover it; but they were so encountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the preie, and sine and floentie of their men were slaine. Diuerse skirmishes were battle done vpon the entrie, and manie forcelies made vpon them to their great damages and hurts.

In the moneth of August next following, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a forcelie into Spenser, where when he had taken an account of all their doings and seruices, he established capteine Zouch to be gouernour of all Spenser, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh into Dublin. This now new gouernour, being accompanied with capteine Kaleigh and capteine Dowdall, travelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certeine place of their resting was at Cozke, where for the most part they laie in garrison: making in the meane time sundrie forcelies, as occasion of seruice did require. And they being in Cozke, newes was brought vnto the gouernour that there was a great quarell fallen out betweene Dauid Barrie and the seneschall, and that they were mortall enemies, and at a deablie fad; and they laie both in Dunfirmin fide, not far from the blacke water. The earle of Desmond and John his brother laie in Datribe Condons countrie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie foie for this quarell, and would haue come on to them, but the waters were so great, they could not yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect.

Capteine Dowdall vpon these newes sent out an Irish man which he had, and who was a notable spiall, named Richard mac James, and willed him to seeke out where the seneschall was, to the end that he might make adraught vpon him. This Richard drauing himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lieng among them in their cabins where they laie in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entered into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds vnto the seneschall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse vnto him the businesse which he had there to do: and told him that the next daie following, sir John of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agreement betweene Barrie and the seneschall. When as Richard mac James had heard at full all his speeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Cozke with him, which in the end the felloie was contented so to do. And in the next morning they went together to Cozke, and at their coming thither, did declare vnto capteine Dowdall the whole matter, and he forthwith aduertised the same to the gouernour: who albeit he did not altogether beleue what was told, yet he agreed that it was best that some seruice should be done vpon them, and concluded that himselfe and capteine Dowdall should do the same, vnder the colour that they were to make a iourneie vnto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowone of that which they had determined. And hauing prepared all things necessarie for this seruice, the same night they left the charge of the gar-

rison vnto capteine Kaleigh lieutenant: and themselves taking their leaue, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by break of the daie they came to castell Lions, the weather being verie mistie and thicke, and in the castell they found but one poze man, who told them that Dauid of Barrie was gone but a little before them vnto Humacquilliam. The gouernour and the capteine being verie eger, and desirous to do some seruice, they followed the tract of the horse a good prettie waie; but the capteine mistrusting that no good seruice would be done that waie, perswaded the gouernour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were fast by, where as he thought some good seruice would be done, whose aduise the gouernour followed: and they had ridden but a little waie, but they saw two horsemen come riding toward them, but as soon as they had seene the said gouernour and capteine, they returned backe againe.

Then the capteine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his aduise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betwene the bog and the wood; which being done, they followed those two men so short, that they were driuen to forsake their horses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose shot being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe vpon the horsemen, who gaue the onset vpon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond they soze hurted with a horsemans staffe, that he spake verie few words after. And the other, whose name was James Fitzjohn of Strongercullie, they take: and both they caried with them to Cozke. Sir Johns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged by by the heeles vpon a gibbet, and set vpon the north gate of Cozke. And James Fitzjohn was drauone, hanged, & quartered. And thus haue you the third head of the venemous Hydracut off, who had his iust reward and merit, if not to too good for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honoz of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholly imbrued in bloud and villanie; and in blond he died, and had his reward by Gods iust iudgement.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made vpon Dauid Barrie, for the preie which he and Cozen mac Swene had made in Carbery, and passed with the same by Bentrise, where laie a garrison vnder the leading of capteine Appelleie: but he being deceased, the same was committed to captein Jenson, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the preie, fell in to the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drummajor left aliuie, who by swiftnesse of his fote escaped. The foresaid Appelleie was a verie proper man, a gentleman bozne, and of a good house, and brought vp in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliuer his speeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who perswaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the mone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being some inticed and perswaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the baddest; whereof great troubles ensued, and he at length was driuen to leaue the seas, and to wander a long time on the seacoasts in the prouince of Spenser: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whom he found such fauor, that no Englishman could do more with him than

Sir John of Desmond killed, and his bodie hanged vpon a gibbet by the heeles.

Capteine Dowdall made a forcelie into Spenser.

Capteine Dowdall made a forcelie into Spenser.

The lord deputie made a forcelie into Spenser.

The lord deputie made a forcelie into Spenser.

Capteine Dowdall made a forcelie into Spenser.

Sir John of Desmond appointed to come thither.

The gouernour caused it to be said.

The gouernor
and capteine
Dowdall
spoil and en-
ter into War-
ries campe
and kill his
men.

Barrie suchy
for a protection

The L. de-
putie calleth
sundrye bands
in Spounser.

Fitzmozis bar-
on of Lerna
breaketh into
open rebellion.
The cause of
this his break-
ing out, some
do impute it to
the hard dea-
ling of the go-
uernor, who lo
narrowly wat-
ched him, that
he alwaies took
from him what
he had, and so
intercepted
him from his
prouision, that
he had nothing
left to eat.
Fitzmozis
seruant to Ca-
rew lord of
Lerna killeth
his maister.

he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henrie Dauels, whome he found rather a father than a friend unto him: and then his behauiour was such, that he grew to be in god fauour with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to do sundrie seruices in Spounser, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honestlie and faithfullie. The gouernor continuing still in one and the same mind, to do some seruice vpon Barrie, who then late in Duntrennin, he together with capteine Dowdall marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distressed case, and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some aduantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue thenceforth in some dutifull and rellifull order; which he in the end did obtaine.

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of John of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Spounser; he thought good to ease his maiesties charge, and so called sundrie bands and discharged sundrie garisons, leauing for the seruice of Spounser in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernor, one hundred vnder capteine Dowdall, and one hundred vnder Sir George Bourcher; and the first hostlemen were vnder capteine Achin, who late in garison at Adare in Barrie. When all things (as saie) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, behold a new stirre (and vnlooked for) is now raised; for Fitzmozis baron of Lerna, who had himselfe to dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue bene a dutifull subiect, when he saw the weaknesse of the Englishmen, & how that the garisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarce able to saue and keepe themselves, much lesse to hurt others: he breaketh out into open rebellion, and ioineth with him his wicked, traitorous, and perjured sonne. This baron of Lerna his first annoyances were seruants to the barons of Carew, and of Oron, and lords of Lerna, and had the chiefe rule and gouernment vnder him of all his countrie in Spounser, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmozis, who by the authoritie vnder his maister was grown into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carew his maister, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lerna & his other possessions in Spounser, euen as the like was done by the Hauenaghs in Oron in Leinster. And the betre of Carew in England, who had great and large possessions in Devon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.

This new baron of Lerna, the first thing that he toke in hand, was to cleanse and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an aduantage, slue him, and reconered the ward of Adare. Af-

ter that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of Lescouille, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he used this stratagem. He laid verie close & tealie a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old tooman, which was wonte, verie moyning to bring a great basket of coles or turfie into the ward, that as soone as the was betwene the two gates of the castell, he should let fall his basket and crie out: which she did. For when the was come to the castell, and had after his accustomed maner called to the ward, one of them came and loosed the vtter iron doze, and then he did open the inner doze for him to come in. When the was come betwene the two dozes, she let fall his great basket of coles and cried out. The companie forthwith lying in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to drave vnto them the vtter iron doze, nor to shut fast the inner doze, the enimie entred, toke the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them ouer the wals. The good successe of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vnder other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Adnagh. For he supposing that hungrie soldi-ers would be contented to accept anie courtesie, he procured a yong harlot, who was somewhat notable faire, to go to the castell, pretending some iniurie to haue bene done to her, and to humble herselfe to the capteins deuotion, being supposed, that he by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasising of her, and so would reteine her. And by these meanes, she by her cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betwene Fitzmozis and her, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betraye the castell. The capteine receiued her into the castell, and not forgetting the late former practise at Lescouille, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to looke vnto himselfe. Whereupon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried her vp vnto the top of the castell and cast her ouer the wals, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmozis being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thence, and ranged ouer all the countries of Tipperarie, Dymond, and Waterford, where were no garisons to resist him, and there played his parts.

The gouernor, who late at Cozke, being aduertised of these outrages, called his companie together, which (as is before said, was not above foure hundred persons) and other reported (but vntrue) to be about foure thousand: yet minding not to suffer an iniurie, marched with such companie as he had into Clannozis, which is the said Fitzmozis countrie, and distant from Cozke about thre daies iourne. The baron by his espials being aduertised of their comming, forsooke his castell at Adare, and defaced his castell at Lerna, and drave his goods, and all his forces into the wood of Lescouille. When the gouernor was come to Adare, he found the towne burnt, and the few Englishmen (which were in the abbey) greatlie distressed. From thence he went to Lescouille, which is ten miles further, where he discourred the baron and all his companie, which then late in a plaine bottome in the said wood, hauing then in his companie of gallowglafes, kerne, shot, and horsemen, about seven hundred men.

The gouernor taking aduise what was best to be done, because that place was full of fastnesse, and no passage for anie hostlemen, but all rested vpon the seruice of the footmen; they diuided their companie. And capteine Dowdall being verie desirous to aduenture the seruice vpon him, he had the score footmen appointed and deliuered vnto him, and the rest

The baron of
Lerna be-
strong all the
Englishmen
countie, and
take the
quarres toge.

A stratagem
used in the
the castell of
Lescouille.

A stratagem
at Adnagh.

The gouernor
marcheth into
Clannozis
to encounter
with Fitz-
mozis.

Capteine
Dowdall en-
tereth vpon
Fitzmozis,
and queth
him the day.

due be reserved to himselfe. The capitaine entred in
to the wood, and followed until he came into the
plains where Fitzmoyses was; who having a great
company, and the capitaine but (as it were) a hand-
full to his, he divided his whole companie into foure
parts, thinking to have inclosed the capitaine, and to
have his will upon them. The capitaine perceived it,
and forthwith brake upon one of the companies, and
had such a hand upon them, that he slew a number of
them. Which when Fitzmoyses saw, like a valiant
man turned his backe and fled awaie into the moun-
teins of Sloughblougher, and left all his goods be-
hind; which the capitaine took, and also all the cattell
there, and brought the same to the gouernor. From
thence they marched to the castell of Glan, of which
Oliver Stephanson had the ward and keeping; and
there newes was brought unto him, that the lord de-
putie had sent unto him two bands of footmen, of
which one hundred were sir Henrie Wallops, and
the other capitaine Morris. Whereupon he travelled
unto Limerike, and left the whole charge of Glan
moyses, and of Kerrie vnto capitaine Dowdall. And
the said capitaine being put to weet that the baron
was incamped at Glanliff with two hundred and
fourtie galloglasses, two hundred kerne, foure score
shot, and thirtie horsemen, and he himselfe having
then but the lieutenant Allingfield in his companie,
made a sallie vpon them, and killed with the sword,
and dyaue into the river aboue seven score of them,
and recovered a preie of eight hundred kine, fise
hundred horses and mares, besides a great number
of sheepe and goates: and in the taking of the baron,
he found store of monie and plate, and making gar-
ments. And from hence he marched with his cattell,
and incamped besides Alogh, neere vnto the earle
of Clancar his house, and from thence to Castell-
mange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went e-
uerie ward and garrison with store of vittells, and
with the goods he rewarded his souldiours. From this
time, the baron Fitzmoyses hauing lost all his proui-
sion, was neuer able to recover himselfe, nei-
ther to credit nor to wealch, nor yet to hold by his
head, but was forsaken of all his frends and follow-
ers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad
and disolofall trecheries, walked and wandered abroad
as a forlorne man, not knowing what to do, whither
to go, or where to seeke for succor and helpe.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his
distressed miseries, bethinketh vpon the earle of
Dymond, whome notwithstanding that without
cause he had verie much intured, hauing most out-
ragioulie preyed his countreies, burned his villages,
and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse
vnto his lordship, acknowledgeth his fault, confes-
seth his follies; and being most soie for the same, de-
sireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most
humble requesteth him to haue vnder him a protec-
on. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great
injuries done vnto him, and he of a great courage
and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put by
so great injuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion,
Parcere proftratis) when he had shewed the great
griefes of the said Fitzmoyses, he forgat all his owne
wronges, and granted him his request. Capitaine
Dowdall, leauing the gouernors souldiours and com-
panie at Adare, vnder the leading of capitaine
Smith, he marcheth towards Cork, where he rested
and laie in garrison. Now when all these broils were
ended, and verelie supposed that all things had bene
at rest, and the whole prouince of Mounster at peace;
behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to
be either dead or fled, beginneth to appeare, and to
show himselfe; and hauing assembled a great com-
panie, came to Adare, where the garrison issued out

upon him: betwene whom the fight was hot, and
manie slaine on both sides. Amongst whom, Smith
sergeant of the band, and Morgan the lieutenant
were both slaine: but yet the English souldiours re-
couered the abbey. About this time one Thomas
Borne lieutenant to the notable archtraitor Fitzgh-
ralt, being wearie of the wicked actions which
therto he had followed among the rebels, sent his
messenger to capitaine George Carew, requesting
him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon,
and for so manie of his companie as would foine
with and accompanie him in a pece of seruice to
be done: which he promised to recompense with the
price of his capitaine's head, which he would in a bag
present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie
of his companie as would not consent with him
thereinto.

When this deuise was readie to be practised, the
clerke of the band, who was one of the confederates,
verie trecherously did discover the same vnto Fitz-
ghralt, who immediatlie took and hanged his lieut-
enant, the sergeant of his band (who was an Eng-
lishman) and so manie of the souldiours as were of
that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzghralt be-
thinking vpon the extreme miseries, which in this
rebellion he had endured, and the small hope which he
had to preuaile in these his bad and traitorous ac-
tions, but chieflie being afraid of his owne life, least
at one time or other he should be slaine by his sould-
iours: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices,
requiring his pardon, and which he would redeme
with the head of his best friend and fellow in armes
Theon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and
rebellion in Leinster.

This was not so couertlie done, but that Theon
mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he
forthwith intreated Fitzghralt in the like manner
as he before had done with the lieutenant, and so
hanged him by. The lord deputie after long sute for
his renocation, receiued his maiesties letters for the
same, and then he sent for capitaine Zouch gouernor
of Mounster to come to Dublin: and in the end of
August 1582, after that he had serued full two yeres
he deliuered by the sword vnto the archbishop of Du-
blin then lord chancellor, and to sir Henrie Wallop
then treasurer at armes, and took shipping; hauing
with him capitaine Zouch, who was after slaine by
one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie
other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man
of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient
descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and
dutifull to his maiestie in all obedience. And albeit
he had deserued well of that Irish nation, and had
sowed the good seeds of notable seruices, as well for
his martiall seruices, as for his ciuill gouernment;
yet he reped (as his predecessours before him) but dar-
nell and cockle for they had among them not one
lie conspired his death, for which some paid deuelie;
but made also sundrie complaints against him, to
which he answered to his commendation and acquit-
tall, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a bry-
ken time, the warres being not ended, the people not
quieted, and the gouernment not staid nor settled;
yet they both foining their wisedoms, seruices, and
god wills, were so blessed therein, that by them that
land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse.
For not long after they had taken the sword in hand
doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who
came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all
wickednesse, with James Fitzmoyses in Iulie in the
yeare of our Lord one thousand fise hundred seuen-
tie and nine, to beare arms in this land against his
maiestie, after that he had wandered by and done
there

The fight at
Adare.

A draught
made to kill
Fitzghralt.

Fitzghralt
executed to
death so ma-
nie as conspi-
red against
him.

Fitzghralt
practised the
death of Theon
mac Hugh.

Fitzghralt is
hanged for his
conspiracie.

The lord
Greie yieldeth
up the sword
returneth into
England.

1582
The lord chan-
cellor and sir
Henrie Wal-
lop are lord
iustices.

The death of
doctor San-
ders.

the peales together with the eale and his brethren
the John, in woods and bogs, and had lived with them
a most miserable and wretched life, and had bene
partaker of their most cruell bloodsheds, outrages,
murthers, and robberies, a life god and too good for a
traitor, and a rebell. He fell sicke of an Irish ague
and of the bloudie fit, and late in the wood of Glen-
neke, which is a wood full of alleys, withies, byres,
thornes, and through which is no passage; where part
le of his sicknesse, but cheselle for tammie and wait
he died. Quen in this filthie place, that most misera-
ble wretch and traitor, was lodged and died, bequea-
thing his treasons, treacheries, and disloyalties a-
gainst his soueraigne mistesse and ladie hir maiestie
unto the pope, reseruing the punishment to the Lord
himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge upon all tra-
itors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some
say) was deuoured by of twolues, but (as some do
thinke) that so much as was left was buried at
Glancartie, not farre off from the place where he
died.

The two lords justices being entred into this broken
gouernement, did what they could to keepe the
same in peace, and vnderstanding the willfull dispo-
sition of Desmond, they did vse all the means and
waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he
imbued and poisoned with the venim of treason and
rebellion, that no reason, no daffe, noz anie other re-
spect could perswade him to be a lofall and dutifull
subject. Wherefore he continued still in his old ac-
customed spolling and wastling the countreies, and
trussing to no house noz castell, did throw himselfe
in woods and bogs, and in the winter following he
kept his Christmas in the wood of Kilquieg nere
to Kilmallocke. And about the fourth of Iannarie
then following, one John Welsh a valiant and a
good souldior, was resolved to make a draught vpon
the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith
capitaine Wolodall, capitaine Bangor, and George
Thozington pionost marshall of Mounster, all which
late then in garrison in Kilmallocke, and according
to the order betwene them then agreed vpon, they
marched in the night time to the place and wood
where the earle laie.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer
a great riuer, before they could come to enter into
the wood of Kilquieg, & by reason of the great raines
then falling, it was impossible for man or horse to
passe ouer the same, which thing John Welsh did be-
fore mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went
thither verie close, with such few persons as he
had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a
number of stakes and hurdels to be made of halson,
allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be drowne
ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose
which could swim verie well. And this fellow when
he had fastened some of the hurdels to a tree in the
further side of the water, and then by a rope drew o-
uer the residue one after another, did so fasten and
tie one vnto another, and so cunninglie handled the
matter, that when the captains came, they passed o-
uer the riuer verie well without danger or perill.
And so from thence the said Welsh did guide and
bring them by the breakes of the dawe vnto the earles
cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so
murie, that they were faine to go a speares length
wide from the cabin to come vnto it. The earle hea-
ring a great noise, and suspecting some extraordinarie
and a greater companie to be in place more than
his owne, and doubting the wood, ran out of his bed
in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin,
and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard by
to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his wife
with him. The souldiors made diligent search for him

both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but
could not find him; whereupon they did put to the
wood so mane as they found there, and carried a-
waie the goods with them, and so returned to Kil-
mallocke.

At this time the seneschall secretlie with all the
force which he could make, came vnto the towne of
Droghda, which was the end of the same towne.
Whereupon the alarm was raised, and forthwith
Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capteine Morgan,
having all his souldiors together, of which he had for-
te the night, went vnto that end of the towne where the
seneschall sealed the walls, & there he made a sconce,
or a little hill worke, and by that meanes saved the
towne, and haue the seneschall from his purpose,
and killed aboue fiftie of his men: and so being dis-
appointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the
end of this moneth of Iannarie the earle of Dy-
mond arrived from out of England to Waterford
with a new supplye of foure hundred men, whom he
divided and committed vnto the severall leadings
of Sir George Bourcher, Sir William Stanleie, cap-
taine Edward Berkeley, and capteine Roberts.
And being now lord generall by hir maiesties ap-
pointment ouer all Mounster, and having obtained
an augmentation of two pence by the daie for eu-
rie souldiors wages, he assembled all the souldiors
and euerie capteine which had anie charge, and toke
order with euerie of them for such seruices as were
to be done, furnished them with bittels, munifi-
cences, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for
them, requesting euerie one of them to shew them-
selues like good and valiant souldiors, in the pursuing
of the rebels, and banquishing of the enemies: and
such grace and loue he found among the souldiors,
that he was no more desirous than they most glad
and willing to performe the same. Such a good af-
fection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

At this time advertisement was given vnto his
lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped
in the fastnesse of Harlo wood with a great number
of takehels & rebels. His lordship missered all his
companies, and minding to do some seruice vpon
the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse
of Harlo wood. And being come thither, he di-
uideth his companies into foure parts, and they en-
tered into foure severall places of the wood at one in-
stant: and by that meanes they scotored the wood
throughout, in killing as mane as they toke, but
the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels be-
ing thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they ne-
uer after met together in the like companies, noz
assembled themselves in such great numbers: but
the most part of them, which were the chiefest follow-
ers and greatest friends vnto Desmond, as Fitz-
moris of Lerna before named, the seneschall, the
lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Inought, & sun-
drie others, some and some came awaie, and sought
for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit
outrages, murthers, bloodsheds and spoiles, had
deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship con-
sidering their repentance, sorowes, and humble sub-
missions, and respecting more hir maiesties godlie
disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the
most part) grant vnto euerie of them their request.
The souldiors after this peece of seruice were disper-
sed abroad into their severall garrisons. And albeit
the greater parts of the rebels were come by flight,
and some by protection abated, and much decreased,
yet none of them late altogether idle, but did follow
the seruice as time and occasion offered. For the
earle himselfe, though he were thus vnteachered of
his greatest helpe, yet he was one & the same man,
a most ranke traitor and rebell: and therefore vpon
him

The earle of
Desmond be-
geth his
Christmas in
the woods.
A draught
made vpon the
earle by John
Welsh.

A device how
to passe ouer a
great riuer.

The earle of
desperly verie
hardlie.

The sen-
eschall as-
saulted the
city & entred
into yonghe
and hath the
republic.

The earle of
Desmond was
souldior and
generall of
Mounster.

The loue of
the captiues
and souldiors
the earle of
Desmond.

The lord ge-
nerall com-
meth Harlo
wood.

Desmond is
captured of all
his followers
and friends.

him dailie were draughtes and purtates made, and neuer left, untill in the end he came into confusion.

In the moneth of August, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and three, it was aduertised to the garrisons in Killmallocke and Castell, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to barborough himselfe in Harle wood, and had aboute three score gallowglasse besides kerne a great number, vpon whom capteine Dowdall hauing good espials, made a foynete thither, and being entred into the wood berie earlie laye close all the forenone. For these gallowglasse had bin so dard from time to time, that now like a lost of bere they laye vpon their keepings; and so feareful they were, that they would not farrie in anye one place anye long time, but where they did desse their meat, wheris they would remoue, and eat it in another place, and from thence go vnto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch, in the forenones they would be vpon the hilles and mounteins, to deserie the countrie, and in the afternone they would sleepe. The capteine breaking time with them, made state in the wood accordinglie; and in the afternone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of the m were asleepe, and some of them occupied in drelling of a boile for to eat; for other vittels were scant. The capteine suddentlie entred vpon them, and toke them at such advantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which fite and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these gallowglasse, which are counted the best men of watre among the Irish: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismayd, that a man might without anye great danger passe throughout Spounser.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yere one thousand five hundred foure score & three, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall nere to Trusham; were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the earle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or three horsemen and a priest. The kernes which attended the said lord Roches men, inuironed & compassed them about; but the earle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the priest they toke, by reason of his bad horse, and him the lord Roch sent the next date vnto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in corners, & would not be sene. And further, that he had his onelie release and was fostered by Goron mac Swene, a capteine of the gallowglasse, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not bene heard of since he was garred out of Harle wood) is now discouered. Wherevpon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cully: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaite thither, and there to lie in garison; which he did forthwith performe. The earle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discouered, and how that vittels and a garison were sent to Dingle a Cully to the working of his too; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bourchier did from time to time gall and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Goron mac Swene, & Golle Porrough mac Swene his brother, he gathered a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his gard. Goron mac Swene in the meane time entresth into Carberie, and taketh a

great preie of him, which he bound forthwith into Desmond toward the earle, but the preie was so long, that he late most of the earle that night about three or foure miles.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their goods, thre of them with their swords and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stolen a waie their owne kine if by anye means they could, and if opportunitie would so ferue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recover anye thing at all. The foresaid Goron, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abroad in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alonie, hauing onelie one kenne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelve score off from his lodging. About which place it hapned the foresaid thre men had hidden and couched themselves in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betwene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed the m both; and as sone as they had cut off their heads, they stitted for themselves. Gorons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abroad to seeke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lying dead vpon the ground; which cast them into such a maze, as they wold not what to thinke or to do: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for garison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whome they could suspect. But this is the iust iudgement of God, who in his iustice looketh vpon the persecuted and wicked; and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the earle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the garisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his kenne, his cheefe and onelie state, was in a great agonie, and maruellouslie dismayd; and seeing no other remedie, he prepareth the best for himselfe, and taking the advantage of the time, before the garison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie nere Traleigh, minding to take a preie from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherefore in the euening he sent two horsemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Traleigh vnto a castell there, & commanded them to take their preie from thence, which they did, and brought the same a waie with them.

Among those kine thus driten a waie, a poxe woman of that countrie lost all those few that she had, and being distressed of that which was the cheefe, and in a maner the onelie release of hir and hir children and household; and not knowing how she could by anye meanes recover them: she bethought hir selfe vpon a brother which she had, dwelling on the other side of the mounteine, in a castell named Wyome, which was one of the Goretos; and to him she runneth in all the hast she could, and declareth hir estate and case, praiering him to helpe hir, and that he would follow the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two horsemen & a few kerne which had driten the preie a waie, he to pleasure his sister toke thre other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castelmartie, which castell was in the waie. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Chellon, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Werkeleie) that he would spare him some shot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the preie which was driten that waie. The constable and the soldiors were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had seuen shot and a dozen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fall vnder

A draught made vpon the gallowglasse in Harle wood.

The gallowglasse in Harle wood put to sword.

The lord Roches men discouered.

The erle released by Goron mac Swene.

A garison appointed to be in the Dingle.

Desmond from the Dowdall.

Goron mac Swene in Carberie.

Goron mac Swene is killed.

The erle commandeth preie to be taken in Kerrie.

der the castell, & so they went altogether to Craleigh, they being in number thre and twentie persons; one of these was an Irish man bozne, named Hollie, but serued alwaies vnder Englishmen, and could speake verie good English. This man, & in they came to Craleigh, they appointed & made him their leader or capteine; and Pozetto because he was bozne in those parties, and best knewe the countrie, they appointed to be their guide; and from thence they followed the tract untill they came to the side of a mounteine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come upon them, there they staid and rested themselves for that night. And in the darke night one of them had espied through the trees a fire not farre off, whereupon they drew themselves close together, and caused one of themselves to closethe and secretlie to draw towards the fire and to discover what companie was there, and how manie was of them; which man did so. And then he returned backe vnto them, he told them that there was an old had house, and about five or six persons therein: whereupon they all determined and agreed to repaite to that place to knowe the whole matter. Pozetto was the guide to bring them to the house, and Hollie did set his companie in order and good array, as was most for their service. If need should so require. And when they were come to the house, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the rest were gone. When Hollie drew his sword and strake the old man, with which blow he had almost cut off one of his arms; and then he strake him againe, and gaue him a great blow on the side of his head; where with the said old man cried out, desiring them to saue his life, for he was earle of Desmond, and then Hollie staid his hands: but the erle bled so fast, that he was dead verie saine, and could not trauell anie further: whereupon the said Hollie bid and willed him to prepare himselfe to die; and then he strake off the earls head.

The earle of Desmond taken in an old house alone and slaine.

The residue of the companie in this meane time spoiled and rifled the house, and toke what they liked: and then they all departed and went to Castlemange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the same were deuoured by the wolues or buried by his kerne, it is not certaine knowne. As soon as they came to Castlemange, they sent the said earles head vnto the lord generall, who forthwith sent the same into England for a present to hir maiestie; which forthwith was put vpon a pole, and set on London bridge. When this his death was noised and knowne, there was no more seruice to be done: for euerie rebell cast awaie his weapon, and sought all the waies they could to humble themselves and to become good subiects: sauing one John Bourke, who stood vpon his protection, and yet neuertheless he and his companie went to Adare, there to haue taken a preie. But as he passed by the castell, a boie therein discharged his peece vpon the said Bourke, & strake him in the head, whereof he died. The common people, who had felt the great smart of this troublesome time, reioiced and were glad of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles should haue an end, and they to be the more at rest. During these continuall troubles in spounser, the two lord iustices which late at Dublin were much eased from all martiall affaires elsewhere, and were troubled but with the clamourings, exclamations, and chabbling of the Irish people, not worthy the remembying: sauing that a certeine combat was fought and tried before them in the castell of Dublin, betwene two Deonours, verie nere cosens & kinsmen: the one was named Teig mac Gwill Patrike Deonbour appellant; the other was named Con

The earle of Desmonds head sent into England and put vpon London bridge.

John Bourke hauing a protection, made a death, and was killed.

A combat betwene two Deonours.

mac Coymake Deonbour defendant. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundrie treasons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other trial but by combat, which was granted vnto them. Whereupon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and according to the same, the lord iustices, the iudges, and the counsellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintife was brought in before the face of the court, being stripped into his shirt, hauing onlie his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and when he had done his reuerence and dutie to the lord iustices, and to the court, he was brought to a stole set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendant brought in, in the like maner and order; and with the like weapons: and when he had done his dutie and reuerence to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to his chaire placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openly read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not: who then he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendant was likewise asked whether he would confesse the action, or stand to the trial of the same: who did answer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the sword.

The manner of the combat.

Upon this their severall answers, they were severallie called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a copposall oath that their quarell was true, and that they would iustifie the same both with sword & blood. Thus they being sworne are brought backe againe euerie of them to their severall places as before. And then when by the sound of a trumpet a signe was giuen vnto them when they should enter into the fight; they arose out of their seats, and met each one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned vnto them, they fought: in which fight the appellant did preuaile, and he not onlie did disarme the defendant, but also with the sword of the said defendant did cut off his head, and vpon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord iustices, and so with the victorie of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to saie somewhat of much of the manner of a combat, which together with manie circumstances therein to belonging is now for want of tise almost cleane forgotten, and yet verie necessarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was so valiantlie done, that a great manie did wish that it had rather fallen vpon the whole sex of the Deonours, than vpon these two gentlemen.

The vicount of Baltinglas, being aduertised of the death of the earle of Desmond, which was no small grieue vnto him, and he also verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places (being altogether distressed, and in great miserie, and now destitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head anie longer against his maiesties force) did imbarke himselfe for Spaine, in hope to haue some releefe and succor, and to procure some aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of some abilitie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie small comfort. And therefoze of a verie melancholie graue & sorrowful mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreame pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iustices, who had ruled and gouerned the land in these troublesome and broken times in great wisdom, care, & circumspection, when they had brought the

The vicount of Baltinglas being distressed by his life.

The vicount of Baltinglas being distressed by his life.

the whole land to a peaceable & quiet government, and deliuered the same from all open or knowne rebellion; they called and discharged all the garrisons in Mounster, onelie two hundred soldiers excepted: they kept it in god quietnesse, untill the arrivall of sir John Perot knight, who was sent ouer to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of June, one thousand five hundred fourescore and foure, the fir and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne vnto whome they deliuered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his god beginnings a great hope was conceived of the like to insue. For he was a right worthy seruitor in that land, when he was lord president in Mounster: and by whome James Fitzmorris was subdued, and the whole prouince maruellously well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they do well deserue, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registred to his perpetuall fame and immortall honor. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensiue to remember some speciall points of his late seruice, which do deserue to be remembred: as also for the encouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which do halson and giue a hope that he will *Adde colophonem*, and bring that land to a full and perfect government & regiment; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be done much before domesdaie.

Not long after the arrivall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed maner, for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are by in armes ready for the warre. His lordship hauing notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to meete with them, and to stop them of their purpose: and therein he is ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were diuised to seeke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselves, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to hir maiestie. Which when they had obtained, then they toke the lands where in they dwelled, of hir highnesse, yeilding a yearely rent, which before they had not bene accustomed nor wont to doe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

Then when he was from this seruice returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and induer was to deuise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the government, according to the laws of England. Whereupon he thought and did berie often assemble the whole counsell, as so manie of them as were there, for their aduise herein; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin, lord chancellor, the earle of Dymond lord treasurer, the primate of Armagh, the bishop of Meath, the bishop of Kilmore, sir John Perot lord president of Mounster, sir Henrie Wallop treasurer at armes, sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshal, Robert Gardner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Dillon knight chiefe iustice of the common pleas, sir Lucas Dillon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the rolls, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Colclote knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Wyndesore, Gesele Fenton secretaire, sir Warham Senteleger & sir Valentine Broton knights; but discontinued. By the god aduise, helpe, and counsell of these wise and prudent counsellors, he first thought it best to bring the whole land into three groudies; whereby the laws of England might haue a throughe course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Stonet before had done in a few counties; that he perfo-

med in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie severall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To enerie of which new counties he appointed and assigned severall shiriffes, and all such inferior officers as were most requisite, and to the same incident and appertaining. All and enerie which shires hitherto not registred, nor published in chronicle, together with such as tofore were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their severall names, and in their prouinces as followeth.

Counties in Mounster.	Limerike	} Old counties.
	Corke	
	Kerrie	
	Tipporaria	
	Crosse	
	Waterford	} New counties.
Desmond		

Counties in Ulster.	Lough	} Old counties.
	Downe	
	Antrim	
	Monahon	
	Tiron	} New counties.
	Armagh	
	Colrane	
	Donergall	
Farmanagh		
Cauon		

Counties in Leinster.	Dublin	} Old counties.
	Wexford	
	Catherlogh	
	Kilkennie	
	Kildare	
	Kings countie	} New counties.
	Queenes countie	
	Meath & West-Meath	
Longesford		
Wickelaw		
Ferries		

Counties in Connaught.	Clare	} Old counties.
	Lettrimme	
	Gallowaie	} New counties.
	Rosecomin	
Maio		
Sligo		

When he had performed this, and established the same by act of parliament, then hir maiesties writs and procelle had a free passage, and were current througout the whole land, and hir maiestie knowne to be sovereigne lady and quene of the same: When the Irish by little and little gaue ouer their Breton lawes, and their Irish blage, and became obedient vnto the English lawes; vnto which they referred themselves to be tried; and to haue all their quarels to be decided and determined: wherof at these presents is extant a deuie notable president & example betwene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the prouince of Ulster. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Ouele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Ouele. These two and their ancestors, and aliother noble men in that prouince, when so euery amie discorde and enmitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloodshed was the fault decided. Fewer the lesse, these two noble men leauing to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile maner, do refer themselves to the trial of the lawes; and each one of them sueth the other at the common lawes, and in the chancerie in hir maiesties court

The shires in Ireland.

English lawes current througout Ireland.

Ouele and the earle of Tiron sue each one the other at law.

at Dublin, and there as dutifull subjects doe abide the trial of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse; and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so hapie a progresse and successe, as it hath a good enterance and beginning; no doubt, but that partie by the lawes, and partie by the sword; an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be established, the common societie shall be preserved, the whole realme shall flourish and prosper, his maiestie shall be obeyed, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Israel. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the hapie victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasion, were met and encountered withall, by the right worthy sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were vanquished & ouerthrowne, to the number of fiftene hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the newes of their successe: but were either killed or drowned.

Sir Richard Bingham his victorie vpon the Scots.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the gouernment of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, vntill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue bene done, worthy to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the attaining to the knowledge whereof, though John Hooker the writer hereof haue bene a diligent traveller and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that good successe, as both the historie it selfe requirerh, and he himselfe wisheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their most sacred kings and queenes, or amongst themselves. But whatsoeuer tofore hath bene done, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnaturall, as were the last warres of the Giraldines of Desmond in Spounser. For of the Giraldines of that name, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and see most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as doe rebell against the Lords appointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honored and obeyed in all humbilitie and vltie; because they are his vicars, substitutes, and lieutenants vpon the earth, to defend the good, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, do resist his ordinances, and shall receiue his iudgement: as most manifestlie it doth appeare in this rebellion of Desmonds. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as it doth in the book of the rebellion, it should be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And therefore leauing the large discourses, it shall suffice to shut and conclude this historie, with the briefe recitall of the most speciall points, to moue each man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his loving mercie and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore James Fitzmoris, the firstingleader in this pageant, and who most vnaturallie had flocked in strangers and foreigners to invade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriuing of his maiestie from his imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yielded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his idolatrous pilgrimage to the holie crosse, and his traitorous iourneys to practise with all the rebels

and inhabitants in Connagh and Ulster: whome with him, he did commit a robbetrie; and being pursued for the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kindmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Kilmallocke.

Then James of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robbetrie vpon sir Cormac mac Telge, was likewise taken and caried to Corke, where he was hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and walls of the citie of Corke. After him, sir John of Desmond, another brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, bulls, and Agnos dei, which should keepe and preserve him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dunsall, and by them he receiued his iust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a frændkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Corke, where his bodie was hanged by the heels, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe was also taken, and with the sword the head was diuided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge; and his bodie vncertaine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beasts. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of pyinces, is now for treasons and rebellions vterlie extinguisht and ouerthrowne; onelie one sonne of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two brothers, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their solly fantasies dreamed that they had the holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords annointed: the one of them lifting up his sword against his sacred maiestie, vnder the popes banner at Spounser, one thousand five hundred threescore and ninetene, was slaine and killed: the other, after that he had followed the heels of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserable in the wood of Cleneles, in such diseases as famine and penurie be to bring. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their consorts and companies, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie newes of their successe; but were all put to the sword. And as for the great companies of soldiers, galloglasles, kernes, & the common people, who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinit, whose bloods the earth dranke vp, and whose carcasses the foules of the aire and the rauening beasts of the field did consume and deuoure. After this followeth an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not beate, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining alie; sauing such as dwelled in cities and towne, and such as were fled into the bogs and woods: and yet the store in the towne was verie fast spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who liued at large. For they were not permitted to eat horses, dogs and dead carions; but also to deuoure the carcasses of dead men; thereof there be many examples: namelie one in the countie of Corke, where when a maiestie was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallows, certaine poore people secretlie came, toke him downe, and vnder him. At the same time, the date of some weeke, or saint sparte weeke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened a ship to be there lost through fowle weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

the common people, who had a long time lived on limpets, oyster shells, and such shellfish as they could find, and which were now spent; as soon as they saw these dead bodies, they took them up, and most greedily did eat and devour them: and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land it selfe, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentiful of coyne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no coyne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, everie waie the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did travell from the one end unto the other of all Spounster, even from Waterford to the head of Somereweke, which is about six score miles, he should not meet anie man, woman, or child, saving in towne and cities; nor yet for anie beast, but the verie wolues, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts: manie of them late dead being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere. A heauie, but a iust iudgement of God upon such a Pharoscall and stiffnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclaimed and reduced to serve God in true religion, and to obeie their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made choise of a wicked dole, the god spasm to honor, and of that wicked antichrist of Rome to obeie, unto the utter everthyng of themselves and of their posteritie. This is the godnesse that cometh from that great citie upon the seven hills, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abominations upon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, master pope, the sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enemy unto the crosse of Christ, whose blood-tyranny will neuer be quenched, but in the blood of the saints, and the servants of God; and whose ravening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of such as do serve the Lord in all godlines, & who will not be drunke in the cup of his fornications: as it doth appere by the infinit & most horrible massacres, and bloodie persecutions, which he daile exerciseth throughout all christian lands. Which because he can not performe also within the realmes of England & Ireland, what practices hath he made by inchant-

ments, sorceries, witchcrafts, & treasons to bereave his maiestie of his life: What deuises hath he used to raise by his owne subjects to rebellions and commotions, to supplant him of his roiall estate and government: What practices hath he used with forein princes and potentates, to seake occasions of breaches of peace and raisings of warres: And how craftilie hath he suborned his unholie & traitorous Jesuits, under colour of holines, to range from place to place through his maiesties realmes, and to moue and persuade his people from dutifull obedience unto his highnesse, and to denie his supreme authoritie and government: Finally, how doth he from time to time like a ravening wolfe seake the denouring of him, and of all his good subjects, which live in the feare of God, and in the religion established upon his holie word and gospell: Whereof hath ensued the losse of infinit thousands of people, as therof manie apparent examples are set downe and recorded in the histories of England; but of them all, none more lamentable than is this historie of Ireland, and especially this tragedie of Spounster. In which it doth appere, how that for the maintenance of the popes quarels, the earth hath drunke up the blood, the souls of the aire haue preyed, and the beasts of the field haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes & numbers of people. Which if euery man would well looke into and consider, the vngodlie shall see the great iudgements of God, and his seuerer iustice against all such as shall dishono: his holie name; and against such as shall rebell and resist against his annointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their liues, and be conuerted unto the Lord, both in true religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience to his annointed. And the good and godlie shall see, and thereby consider the great good mercies shewed upon them, in that he hath and continuallie doth preserve and keepe them from out of the talues of the lion in all safetie, that they should dash more and more grow from grace to grace, and live in all holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all dutifull obedience unto his maiestie our soueraigne ladie and quene; whose daies the Lord God continue and prolong to reigne ouer vs to his good will and pleasure: and so shall we his people see god daies, live in security, and the peace of Israel shall be upon vs.

Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker
alias Vowell, Gent.

